OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES

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OLIVER CROMWELL.

From the painting by R. WALKER in the National Portrait Gallery.

Cromwell's Letters and Speeches] [*Frontispiece*

OLIVER CROMWELL'S

LETTERS AND SPEECHES

WITH ELUCIDATIONS

BY

THOMAS CARLYLE

THREE VOLUMES COMPLETE IN ONE

REPRINTED FROM
THE AUTHOR'S SECOND REVISED EDITION
(DESIGNATED BY HIMSELF AS "THE FINAL ONE")
Containing a large number of additional Letters and many Notes and Observations not included in the First Edition

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EXPLANATORY NOTICE OF THE AUTHOR'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES OF CROMWELL.

THE author of this book has wisely noticed the remarkable way in which the memory of one of the greatest of Englishmen has gradually been cleared of the mist of calumny and falsehood that surrounded it, and how the mighty figure of the mighty Protector at length stands forth in all its grandeur before the British people. It was in vain that servile court sycophants wrote lying biographies, assailing the dead lion in all the moods and tenses of vituperation, seeking to gibbet his memory before the eyes of posterity as his corpse had been gibbetted at Tyburn. Time, the avenger, Time who tries all, has redressed the injury done to truth and right by Heath, and similar prevaricators and false witnesses; and in this direction no man has done more noble work than Thomas Carlyle himself. Speaking of the gradual clearing up of the mind of England on the subject of the life and deeds of Cromwell, he says: "The helpless, incoherent, but placid and favourable notion he (Mark Noble, the biographer) has of Cromwell in 1787, contrasts notably with that which Carrion Heath (the author of the scurrilous and mendacious *Flagellum*) has gathered of him in 1663. For in spite of the stupor of histories, it is beautiful once more to see how the memory of Cromwell, in its huge inarticulate significance, not able to *speak* a wise word for itself to anyone, has nevertheless been steadily growing clearer and clearer in the popular English mind; how from the day when high dignitaries and pamphleteers of the Carrion species did their ever-memorable feat at Tyburn, onwards to this day, the progress does not stop." Carlyle then proceeds to note how, for half a century from the publication of the Rev. Mark Noble's dull but honest book, there had been an increasing tendency in writers to look upon Cromwell in a fairer and more impartial manner. Especially he praises Mr. Forster's *Life of the Protector* as "amounting in result to a vigorous, decisive tearing-up

of all the old hypotheses on the subject, and an opening of the general mind for new."

The method chosen by Carlyle to place before his readers' eyes the great man who played the chief part in that all important period which formed the very crisis of the history of England, is admirable for its plain, lucid common-sense. Premising that of the actual biography of Cromwell there is little to be known from the books and sources available at the time when he wrote, he determined in a great measure to let Cromwell speak for himself, and vindicate and explain, in his own words, his actions and his policy, by means of his letters and speeches. "It is from his own letters and speeches well read," says the author, "that the world may first obtain some dim glimpse of the actual Cromwell, and see him darkly, face to face." And thus, in the following pages will the reader find himself brought into communication with the heart and mind, the hopes and aspirations, the deep policy and lofty schemes of Oliver Cromwell, afterwards Protector of the Commonwealth of England. In these letters and speeches is seen, as he really was, the man who would have scorned to appear to posterity under a flattering mask, and whose words to young Lely who was taking his portrait: "Paint me as I am; if you leave out the blotches and wrinkles I will not pay you a penny," were eminently characteristic of his great mind. Here in his letters and speeches we meet with the man himself, in all the various phases of his chequered life, and in the moods they engendered—sometimes jubilant, but always with a certain gravity and awe in the presence of victory and success; sometimes with despondency and bitterness in his heart, when the burden and heat of the day are sufficient to weigh down even that iron frame, and bow that dauntless spirit; now infusing fresh courage into the hearts of his comrades and co-workers by his own steadfast faith and strong belief; exhorting, counselling, aiding, even consoling, and occasionally laying bare for a moment a most affectionate heart and deep feelings of sympathy in the midst of difficulties and dangers demanding the utmost promptness and the firmest determination; cherishing the home affections in moments of intercourse with his wife and children, painfully snatched amid the engrossing occupations of politics and war; giving words of kindly advice, admonition, and encouragement to those he loved; and mindful, amid all his cares and anxieties, of the health of one, the worldly pros-

pects of another, the wifely trials of his married daughters, and the necessity of support to be given to that weak, vacillating son, Richard, the "Tumble-down Dick," respecting whom he made to himself no illusions, but whose shiftlessness and unreadiness he tries with his best efforts to counteract, and in whose behalf he enlists the best efforts and services of the friend he can trust.—"I have delivered up my son to you," he writes to Richard Mayor, the father-in-law of Dick Cromwell, "and I hope you will counsel him: he will need it; and, indeed, I believe he likes well what you say, and will be advised by you. I wish he may be serious; the times require it." To his wife again he writes, amid all the troubles and anxieties of his campaign against the Scots, in a style of simple, homely affection, infinitely touching in a man on whose Atlantean shoulders rested the weight of Empires, and on whose brow "Deliberation sat, and princely care." He tells his wife that she is dearer to him than any creature, and begs her to pray for him, as he prays daily for her and for the dear family; sends his love to the little ones, and prays for grace for them, especially adding: "If Dick Cromwell and his wife be with you, my dear love to them. I pray for them; they shall, God willing, hear from me. I love them very dearly. Truly I am not able as yet to write much. I am weary." Then, how the hidden grief of his own heart, all the more bitterly wrung for the calmness and dignity he maintains, appears in that noble letter indited after the battle of Marston Moor to his brother-in-law, Colonel Valentine Walton, when, after writing of the great victory gained as "a great favour from the Lord," having "all the evidences of an absolute victory gained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally," he proceeds to break to the colonel the news of a bitter grief. Walton's eldest son had perished in the battle. Cromwell himself had already experienced a similar sorrow, having lost his own eldest son, Oliver, earlier in the contest. Simply and sadly, but with touching sympathy, he tells the sad news: "Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon shot. It broke his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died. Sir, you know my own trials this way; but the Lord supported me with this, That the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for, and live for. There is your precious child, full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. He was a gallant young man, exceedingly gracious. God give you His comfort. . . . You may

do all things by the strength of Christ. Seek that, and you shall easily bear your trial. Let this public mercy to the Church of God make you forget your private sorrow. The Lord be your strength."

In other letters he appears in a very different aspect, as the shrewd negociator, seeing with wonderful perspicacity through the devices and delusions set up before him by the enemy; peremptory and rough, threatening sometimes in a fashion none the less impressive for its curt gravity; sometimes in the wrong, sometimes impatient and inclined to be harsh and exacting, but always very much in earnest, and determined to work each matter out to the very end. The letters of Cromwell, to those who read them carefully, are a revelation of the man himself throughout the whole course of his career.

Equally important are the speeches. In these the character of Cromwell appears in the most vivid colours. One of these, spoken when the House was sitting in committee to consider the sad state of the nation, has been justly characterised by Mr. Frederic Harrison in his excellent monograph on Cromwell in terms that will apply to the majority among them. "Such was the first speech of Cromwell's which has come down to us, where he appears as a statesman impressing his policy on Parliament and the nation. Both in form and in substance it is in the highest sense characteristic. There is the strong personality, the rough mother wit, the vivid and racy phrase, as of a man in authority taking counsel with his familiars, not as an orator addressing the senate. There is the directness of purpose, with laborious care to avoid premature precision in detail, any needless opposition, and all personal offence. The form is conciliatory, guarded and qualified, almost allusive; even the specific measure recommended is left to be inferred or subsequently defined. Yet the general purpose how clear! the will how kind! the words how strenuous!"

The speech in which he vindicates his position as Protector is a fine instance of the thorough belief he had in his vocation. "I called not myself to this place," he says. "I say again, I called not myself to this place! Of that God is my witness: and I have many witnesses who, I do believe, could lay down their lives bearing witness to the truth of that, namely that I called not myself to this place. ("*His Highness is growing emphatic*," observes Mr. Carlyle.) And being in it, I bear not witness to myself or my office, but God and the People of these Nations

have also borne testimony to it and me. If my calling be from God and my testimony from the People, God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. ("*Do you mark that, and the air ana manner of it, my honourable friends?*"—Carlyle.) I should be false to the trust that God hath placed in me, and to the interests of the People of these Nations if I did. 'That I called not myself to this place,' is my first assertion—'That I bear not witness of myself, but have many witnesses,' is my second. These two things I shall take the liberty to speak more fully to you of. To make plain and clear what I have here asserted, I must take liberty to look a little back. I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the Nation—to serve in Parliament, and others—and, not to be tedious, I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man in those services, to God and His People's interest, and to the Commonwealth, having, when time was, a competent acceptation in the hearts of men, and some evidences thereof."

The method chosen by Mr. Carlyle in the arrangement and presentation of the letters and speeches is admirable. He has placed them in chronological order, interspersing sufficient matter in the way of biography, explanation, and comment, to give them the form of a continuous narrative. It is as though the reader were perusing the documents in the presence of a judicious commentator, thoroughly competent to throw light upon every doubtful point, and to direct his judgment on the whole. In the Introduction and in the First Part will be found the chief particulars of Cromwell's career during the period when he led the life of a private man, before the exigencies of the armed struggle brought out the mighty capacity for war and politics that was latent in his nature: the rest is judiciously divided into periods devoted to the successive phases of that great career which gave a new direction to the History of England.

H. W. D.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE First Edition of this Work having, contrary to expectation, spread itself abroad with some degree of impetus, has, as in that case was partly natural, brought me into correspondence with various possessors and collectors of Cromwell Letters, has brought obliging contributions, and indications true and fallacious, from far sources and from near; and, on the whole, has disinterred from their widespread slumber a variety of Letters not before known to me, or not before remembered by me. With which new Letters it became a rather complex question what was now to be done.

They were not, in general, of much, or almost of any, intrinsic importance; might here and there have saved some ugly labour and research, had they been known in time; but did not now, as it turned out, tend to modify, in any essential particular, what had already been set down, and sent forth to the world as a kind of continuous connected Book. It is true, all clearly authentic Letters of Cromwell, never so unimportant, do claim to be preserved; and in this Book, by the title of it, are naturally to be looked for. But, on the other hand, how introduce them now? To unhoop your cask again, and try to insert new staves, when the old staves, better or worse, do already hang together, is what no cooper will recommend! Not to say, that your Set of Cromwell Letters can never, in this Second or in any other Edition, be considered as *complete:* an uncounted handful of needles to be picked from an unmeasured continent of hay,—how can you ever assure yourself that you have them all?

After deliberation, the law of the case seemed to be somewhat as follows: *First*, that whatever Letters would easily fit themselves into the Book as it stood,—easily, or even with labour if that were all,—should be duly admitted. *Secondly*, that for such Letters as

tended to bring into better relief any feature of the Man or his Work,—much more, had they tended to correct or alter in any respect any feature I had assigned to him or to it: that for these an effort should be made, if needful; even a considerable effort; effort, in fact, to be limited only by this consideration, Not to damage by it to a still greater degree the already extant, and so by one's effort accomplish only loss. *Thirdly*, that for such Cromwell Letters as did not fall under either of these descriptions, but were nevertheless clearly of his composition, there should be an *Appendix* provided. In which, without pretension to commentary, and not needing to be read along with the Text, but only apart from it if at all, they might at least stand correctly printed:—they, and certain other Pieces of more doubtful claim; for most part Letters too, but of half, or in some cases of wholly, official character;—if by chance they were elucidative, brief, and not easily attainable elsewhere. Into which Appendix also, as into a loose back-room or lumber-room, not bound to be organic or habitable, bound only to be maintained in a reasonably swept condition, any still *new* Letters of Cromwell might without ceremony be disposed.

Upon these principles this Second Edition has been produced. New Letters intercalated into the Text, and Letters lying in loose rank in the Appendix, all that I had, or could hear of or get any trace of hitherto, are here given. For purchasers of the First Edition, the new matter has been detached, printed as a *Supplement*, which the Bookseller undertakes to sell at prime cost.—And now, having twice escaped alive from these detestable Dust-Abysses, let me beg to be allowed to consider this my small act of Homage to the Memory of a Hero as finished;—this Second Edition of *Oliver's Letters and Speeches* as the final one. New Letters, should such still turn up, I will not, except they contradict some statement, or fibre of a statement, in the Text, undertake to introduce there; but deposit them without ceremony in the loose lumber-room, in a more or less swept condition

T. CARLYLE.

London, 11*th May*, 1846

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

ANTI-DRYASDUST.

WHAT and how great are the interests which connect themselves with the hope that England may yet attain to some practical belief and understanding of its History during the Seventeenth Century, need not be insisted on at present; such hope being still very distant, very uncertain. We have wandered far away from the ideas which guided us in that Century, and indeed which had guided us in all preceding Centuries, but of which that Century was the ultimate manifestation: we have wandered very far; and must endeavour to return, and connect ourselves therewith again! It is with other feelings than those of poor peddling Dilettantism, other aims than the writing of successful or unsuccessful Publications, that an earnest man occupies himself in those dreary provinces of the dead and buried. The last glimpse of the God-like vanishing from this England, conviction and veracity giving place to hollow cant and formulism,—antique "Reign of God," which all true men in their several dialects and modes have always striven for, giving place to modern Reign of the No-God, whom men name Devil: this, in its multitudinous meanings and results, is a sight to create reflections in the earnest man! One wishes there were a History of English Puritanism, the last of all our Heroisms; but sees small prospect of such a thing at present.

"Few nobler Heroisms," says a well-known Writer long occupied on this subject, "at bottom perhaps no nobler Heroism ever transacted itself on this Earth; and it lies as good as lost to us; overwhelmed under such an avalanche of Human Stupidities as no Heroism before ever did. Intrinsically and ex-

trinsically it may be considered inaccessible to these generations. Intrinsically, the spiritual purport of it has become inconceivable, incredible to the modern mind. Extrinsically, the documents and records of it, scattered waste as a shoreless chaos, are not legible. They lie there, printed, written, to the extent of tons and square miles, as shot-rubbish; unedited, unsorted, not so much as indexed; full of every conceivable confusion;—yielding light to very few; yielding darkness, in several sorts, to very many. Dull Pedantry, conceited idle Dilettantism,—prurient Stupidity in what shape soever,—is darkness and not light! There are from Thirty to Fifty Thousand unread Pamphlets of the Civil War in the British Museum alone: huge piles of mouldering wreck, wherein, at the rate of perhaps one pennyweight per ton, lie things memorable. They lie preserved there, waiting happier days; under present conditions they cannot, except for idle purposes, for dilettante excerpts and such like, be got examined. The Rushworths, Whitelockes, Nalsons, Thurloes; enormous folios, these and many others have been printed, and some of them again printed, but never yet edited,—edited as you edit waggonloads of broken bricks and dry mortar, simply by tumbling up the waggon! Not one of those monstrous old volumes has so much as an available Index. It is the general rule of editing on this matter. If your editor correct the press, it is an honourable distinction to him.

"Those dreary old records, they were compiled at first by Human Insight, in part; and in great part, by Human Stupidity withal;—but then it was by Stupidity in a laudable diligent state, and doing its best; which was something:—and, alas, they have been successively elaborated by Human Stupidity in the *idle* state, falling idler and idler, and only pretending to be diligent; whereby now, for us, in these late days, they have grown very dim indeed! To Dryasdust Printing-Societies, and such like, they afford a sorrowful kind of pabulum; but for all serious purposes, they are as if non-extant; might as well, if matters are to rest as they are, not have been written or printed at all. The sound of them is not a *voice*, conveying knowledge or memorial of any earthly or heavenly thing; it is a wide-spread inarticulate slumberous mumblement, issuing as if from the lake of Eternal Sleep. *Craving* for oblivion, for abolition and honest silence, as a blessing in comparison!—

"This then," continues our impatient friend, "is the Elysium we English have provided for our Heroes! The Rushworthian Elysium. Dreariest continent of shot-rubbish the eye ever saw

Confusion piled on confusion to your utmost horizon's edge: obscure in lurid twilight as of the shadow of Death; trackless, without index, without finger-post, or mark of any human foregoer; —where your human footstep, if you are still human, echoes bodeful through the gaunt solitude, peopled only by somnambulant Pedants, Dilettants, and doleful creatures, by phantasms, errors, inconceivabilities, by Nightmares, pasteboard Norroys, griffins, wiverns; and chimeras dire! There, all vanquished, overwhelmed under such waste lumber-mountains, the wreck and dead ashes of some six unbelieving generations, does the Age of Cromwell and his Puritans lie hidden from us. This is what we, for our share, have been able to accomplish towards keeping our Heroic Ones in memory. By way of sacred poet they have found voluminous Dryasdust, and his Collections and Philosophical Histories.

"To Dryasdust, who wishes merely to compile torpedo Histories of the philosophical or other sorts, and gain immortal laurels for himself by writing about it and about it, all this is sport; but to us who struggle piously, passionately, to behold, if but in glimpses, the faces of our vanished Fathers, it is death!—O Dryasdust, my voluminous friend, had Human Stupidity continued in the diligent state, think you it had ever come to this? Surely at least you might have made an Index for these huge books! Even your genius, had you been faithful, was adequate to that. Those thirty thousand or fifty thousand old Newspapers and Pamphlets of the King's Library, it is you, my voluminous friend, that should have sifted them, many long years ago. Instead of droning out these melancholy scepticisms, constitutional philosophies, torpedo narratives, you should have sifted those old stacks of pamphlet matter for us, and have had the metal grains lying here accessible, and the dross-heaps lying there avoidable; you had done the human memory a service thereby; some human remembrance of this matter had been more possible!"

Certainly this description does not want for emphasis: but all ingenuous inquirers into the Past will say there is too much truth in it. Nay, in addition to the sad state of our Historical Books, and what indeed is fundamentally the cause and origin of that, our common spiritual notions, if any notion of ours may still deserve to be called spiritual, are fatal to a right understanding of that Seventeenth Century. The Christian Doctrines which then dwelt alive in every heart, have now in a manner died out of all hearts,—very mournful to behold; and are not the guidance of this world any more. Nay, worse still, the Cant of them

does yet dwell alive with us, little doubting that it is Cant;—in which fatal intermediate state the Eternal Sacredness of this Universe itself, of this Human Life itself, has fallen dark to the most of us, and we think that too a Cant and a Creed. Thus the old names suggest new things to us,—not august and divine, but hypocritical, pitiable, detestable. The old names and similitudes of belief still circulate from tongue to tongue, though now in such a ghastly condition; not as commandments of the Living God, which we must do, or perish eternally; alas, no, as something very different from that! Here properly lies the grand unintelligibility of the Seventeenth Century for us. From this source has proceeded our maltreatment of it, our miseditings, miswritings, and all the other "avalanche of Human Stupidity," wherewith, as our impatient friend complains, we have allowed it to be overwhelmed. We have allowed some other things to be overwhelmed! Would to Heaven that were the worst fruit we had gathered from our Unbelief and our Cant of Belief!—Our impatient friend continues:

"I have known Nations altogether destitute of printer's-types and learned appliances, with nothing better than old songs, monumental stone-heaps and Quipo-thrums to keep record by, who had truer memory of their memorable things than this! Truer memory, I say: for at least the voice of their Past Heroism, if indistinct, and all awry as to dates and statistics, was still melodious to those Nations. The body of it might be dead enough; but the soul of it, partly harmonised, put in real accordance with the 'Eternal Melodies,' was alive to all hearts, and could not die. The memory of their ancient Brave Ones did not rise like a hideous huge leaden vapour, an amorphous emanation of Chaos, like a petrifying Medusa Spectre, on those poor Nations: no, but like a Heaven's Apparition, which it *was*, it still stood radiant beneficent before all hearts, calling all hearts to emulate it, and the recognition of it was a Psalm and Song. These things will require to be practically meditated by-and-bye. Is human Writing, then, the art of burying Heroism, and highest Facts, in Chaos; so that no man shall henceforth contemplate them without horror and aversion, and danger of locked-jaw? What does Dryasdust consider that he was born for; that paper and ink were made for?

"It is very notable, and leads to endless reflections, how the Greeks had their living *Iliad* where we have such a deadly indescribable *Cromwelliad*. The old *Pantheon*, home of all the gods, has become a *Peerage-Book*—with black and white surplice-

controversies superadded, not unsuitably. The Greeks had their Homers, Hesiods, where we have our Rymers, Rushworths, our Norroys, Garter-Kings, and Bishops Cobweb. Very notable, I say. By the genius, wants and instincts and opportunities of the one People, striving to keep themselves in mind of what was memorable, there had fashioned itself, in the effort of successive centuries, a *Homer's Iliad:* by those of the other People, in successive centuries, a *Collins's Peerage* improved by Sir Egerton Brydges. By their Pantheons ye shall know them! Have not we English a talent for Silence? Our very Speech and Printed-Speech, such a force of torpor dwelling in it, is properly a higher power of Silence. There is no Silence like the Speech you cannot listen to without danger of locked-jaw! Given a divine Heroism, to smother it well in human Dulness, to touch it with the mace of Death, so that no human soul shall henceforth recognise it for a Heroism, but all souls shall fly from it as from a chaotic Torpor, an Insanity and Horror,—I will back our English genius against the world in such a problem!

"Truly we have done great things in that sort; down from Norman William all the way, and earlier: and to the English mind at this hour, the past History of England is little other than a dull dismal labyrinth, in which the English mind if candid will confess that it has found of knowable (meaning even *conceivable*), of loveable, or memorable—next to nothing. As if we had done no brave thing at all in this Earth;—as if not Men but Nightmares had written of our History! The English, one can discern withal, have been perhaps as brave a People as their neighbours; perhaps, for Valour of Action and true hard labour in this Earth, since brave Peoples were first made in it, there has been none braver anywhere or anywhen:—but also, it must be owned, in Stupidity of Speech they have no fellow! What can poor English Heroisms do in such case, but fall torpid into the domain of the Nightmares? For of a truth, Stupidity is strong, most strong: as the Poet Schiller sings, 'Against Stupidity the very gods fight unvictorious;' there is in *it* a placid inexhaustibility, a calm viscous infinitude, which will baffle even the gods,—which will say calmly, 'Try all your lightnings here; see whether I cannot quench them!'

"'Mit der Dummheit kämpfen Götter selbst vergebens.'"

Has our friend forgotten that it is Destiny withal as well as "Stupidity;" that such is the case more or less with Human History always! By very nature it is a labyrinth and chaos, this

that we call Human History; an *abatis* of trees and brushwood, a world-wide jungle, at once growing and dying. Under the green foliage and blossoming fruit-trees of To-day, there lie, rotting slower or faster, the forests of all other Years and Days. Some have rotted fast, plants of annual growth, and are long since quite gone to inorganic mould; others are like the aloe, growths that last a thousand or three thousand years. You will find them in all stages of decay and preservation; down deep to the beginnings of the History of Man. Think where our Alphabetic Letters came from, where our Speech itself came from; the Cookeries we live by, the Masonries we lodge under! You will find fibrous roots of this day's occurrences among the dust of Cadmus and Trismegistus, of Tubalcain and Triptolemus; the tap-roots of them are with Father Adam himself and the cinders of Eve's first fire! At bottom, there is no perfect History; there is none such conceivable.

All past Centuries have rotted down, and gone confusedly dumb and quiet, even as that Seventeenth is now threatening to do. Histories are *as* perfect as the Historian is wise, and is gifted with an eye and a soul! For the leafy blossoming Present Time springs from the whole Past, remembered and unrememberable, so confusedly as we say:—and truly the Art of History, the grand difference between a Dryasdust and a sacred Poet, is very much even this: To distinguish well what does still reach to the surface, and is alive and frondent for us; and what reaches no longer to the surface, but moulders safe underground, never to send forth leaves or fruit for mankind any more: of the former we shall rejoice to hear; to hear of the latter will be an affliction to us; of the latter only Pedants and Dullards, and disastrous *male*factors to the world, will find good to speak. By wise memory and by wise oblivion; it lies all there! Without oblivion, there is no remembrance possible. When both oblivion and memory are wise, when the general soul of man is clear, melodious, true, there may come a modern *Iliad* as memorial of the Past: when both are foolish, and the general soul is overclouded with confusions, with unveracities and discords, there is a "Rushworthian chaos." Let Dryasdust be blamed, beaten with stripes if you will; but let it be with pity, with blame to Fate chiefly. Alas, when sacred Priests are arguing about "black and white surplices;" and sacred Poets have long *professedly* deserted Truth, and gone a woolgathering after "Ideals" and such like, what can you expect of poor secular Pedants? The labyrinth of History must grow ever darker, more intricate and dismal; vacant cargoes of "Ideals"

will arrive yearly, to be cast into the oven; and noble Heroisms of Fact, given up to Dryasdust, will be buried in a very disastrous manner!—

But the thing we had to say and repeat was this, That Puritanism is not of the Nineteenth Century, but of the Seventeenth; that the grand unintelligibility for us lies *there*. The Fast-day Sermons of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, in spite of printers, are all grown dumb! In long rows of little dumpy quartos, gathered from the bookstalls, they indeed stand here bodily before us: by human volition they can be read, but not by any human memory remembered. We forget them as soon as read; they have become a weariness to the soul of man. They are dead and gone, they and what they shadowed; the human soul, got into other latitudes, cannot now give harbour to them. Alas, and did not the honourable Houses of Parliament listen to them with rapt earnestness, as to an indisputable message from Heaven itself? Learned and painful Dr. Owen, learned and painful Dr. Burgess; Stephen Marshall, Mr. Spurstow, Adoniram Byfield, Hugh Peters, Philip Nye: the Printer has done for them what he could, and Mr. Speaker gave them the thanks of the House;—and no most astonishing Review-Article of our day can have half such "brilliancy," such potency, half such virtue for producing *belief*, as these their poor little dumpy quartos once had. And behold, they are become inarticulate men; spectral; and instead of speaking, do but screech and gibber! All Puritanism has grown inarticulate; its fervent preachings, prayings, pamphleteerings are sunk into one indiscriminate moaning hum, mournful as the voice of subterranean winds. So much falls silent: human Speech, unless by rare chance it touch on the "Eternal Melodies," and harmonise with them; human Action, Interest, if divorced from the Eternal Melodies, sinks all silent. The fashion of this world passeth away.

The Age of the Puritans is not extinct only and gone away from us, but it is as if fallen beyond the capabilities of Memory herself; it is grown unintelligible, what we may call incredible. Its earnest purport awakens now no resonance in our frivolous hearts. We understand not even in imagination, one of a thousand of us, what it ever could have meant. It seems delirious, delusive; the sound of it has become tedious as a tale of past stupidities. Not the body of heroic Puritanism only, which was bound to die, but the soul of it also, which was and should have been, and yet shall be immortal, has for the present passed away. As Harrison said of his Banner and Lion of the Tribe of Judah: "Who shall rouse him up?"—

"For indisputably," exclaims the above-cited Author, in his vehement way, "this too was a Heroism; and the soul of it remains part of the eternal soul of things! Here, of our own land and lineage, in practical English shape, were Heroes on the Earth once more. We knew in every fibre, and with heroic daring laid to heart, That an Almighty Justice does verily rule this world; that it is good to fight on God's side, and bad to fight on the Devil's side! The essence of all Heroisms and Veracities that have been, or that will be.—Perhaps it was among the nobler and noblest Human Heroisms, this Puritanism of ours: but English Dryasdust could not discern it for a Heroism at all;—as the Heaven's lightning, born of its black tempest, and destructive to pestilential Mud-giants, is mere horror and terror to the Pedant species everywhere; which, like the owl in any sudden brightness, has to shut its eyes,—or hastily procure smoked-spectacles on an improved principle. Heaven's brightness would be intolerable otherwise. Only your eagle dares look direct into the fire-radiance; only your Schiller climbs aloft 'to discover whence the lightning is coming.' 'God-like men love lightning,' says one. Our old Norse fathers called it a God; the sunny blue-eyed Thor, with his all-conquering thunder-hammer,—who again, in calmer season, is beneficent Summer-heat. Godless men love it not; shriek murder when they see it; shutting their eyes, and hastily procuring smoked-spectacles. O Dryasdust, thou art great and thrice great!"

"But alas," exclaims he elsewhere, getting his eye on the real nodus of the matter, "what is it, all this Rushworthian inarticulate rubbish-continent, in its ghastly dim twilight, with its haggard wrecks and pale shadows; what is it, but the common Kingdom of Death? This *is* what we call Death, this mouldering dumb wilderness of things once alive. Behold here the final evanescence of Formed human things; they had form, but they are changing into sheer formlessness;—ancient human speech itself has sunk into unintelligible maundering. This is the collapse,—the etiolation of human features into mouldy blank; *dis*solution; progress towards utter silence and disappearance; disastrous ever-deepening Dusk of Gods and Men!—Why has the living ventured thither, down from the cheerful light, across the Lethe-swamps and tartarean Phlegethons, onwards to these baleful halls of Dis and the three-headed Dog? Some Destiny drives him. It is his sins, I suppose:—perhaps it is his love, strong as that of Orpheus for the lost Eurydice, and likely to have no better issue!"—

Well, it would seem the resuscitation of a Heroism from the Past Time is no easy enterprise. Our impatient friend seems

really getting sad! We can well believe him, there needs pious love in any "Orpheus" that will risk descending to the Gloomy Halls;—descending, it may be, and fronting Cerberus and Dis, to no purpose! For it oftenest proves so; nay, as the Mythologists would teach us, always. Here is another Mythus. Balder the white Sungod, say our Norse Skalds, Balder, beautiful as the summer-dawn, loved of gods and men, was dead. His Brother Hermoder, urged by his Mother's tears and the tears of the Universe, went forth to seek him. He rode through gloomy winding valleys, of a dismal leaden colour, full of howling winds and subterranean torrents; nine days; ever deeper, down towards Hela's Death-realm: at Lonesome Bridge, which, with its gold gate, spans the River of Moaning, he found the Portress, an ancient woman, called Modgudr, "the Vexer of Minds," keeping watch as usual: Modgudr answered him, "Yes, Balder passed this way; but he is not here; he is down yonder—far, still far to the North, within Hela's Gates yonder." Hermoder rode on, still dauntless, on his horse, named "Swiftness" or "Mane of Gold;" reached Hela's Gates; leapt sheer over them, mounted as he was; *saw* Balder, the very Balder, with his eyes:—but could not bring him back! The Nornas were inexorable; Balder was never to come back. Balder beckoned him mournfully a still adieu; Nanna, Balder's Wife, sent "a thimble" to her mother as a memorial: Balder never could return!—Is not this an emblem? Old Portress Modgudr, I take it, is Dryasdust in Norse petticoat and hood: a most unlovely beldame, the "Vexer of Minds!"

We will here take final leave of our impatient friend, occupied in this almost desperate enterprise of his; we will wish him, which it is very easy to do, more *patience*, and better success than he seems to hope. And now to our own small enterprise, and solid despatch of business in plain prose!

CHAPTER II.

OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF OLIVER.

OURS is a very small enterprise, but seemingly a useful one; preparatory perhaps to greater and more useful, on this same matter: The collecting of the *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, and presenting them in natural sequence, with the still possible elucidation, to ingenuous readers. This is a thing that can be done; and after some reflection, it has appeared worth doing. No great thing: one other dull Book added to the thousand, dull every one of them, which have been issued on this

subject! But situated as we are, new Dulness is unhappily inevitable; readers do not re-ascend out of deep confusions without some trouble as they climb.

These authentic utterances of the man Oliver himself—I have gathered them from far and near; fished them up from the foul Lethean quagmires where they lay buried; I have washed, or endeavoured to wash them clean from foreign stupidities (such a job of buck-washing as I do not long to repeat); and the world shall now see them in their own shape. Working for long years in those unspeakable Historic Provinces, of which the reader has already had account, it becomes more and more apparent to one, That this man Oliver Cromwell was, as the popular fancy represents him, the soul of the Puritan Revolt, without whom it had never been a revolt transcendently memorable, and an Epoch in the World's History; that in fact he, more than is common in such cases, does deserve to give his name to the Period in question, and have the Puritan Revolt considered as a *Cromwelliad*, which issue is already very visible for it. And then farther, altogether contrary to the popular fancy, it becomes apparent that this Oliver was not a man of falsehoods, but a man of truths; whose words do carry a meaning with them, and above all others of that time, are worth considering. His words—and still more his *silences*, and unconscious instincts, when you have spelt and lovingly deciphered these also out of his words—will in several ways reward the study of an earnest man. An earnest man, I apprehend, may gather from these words of Oliver's, were there even no other evidence, that the character of Oliver and of the Affairs he worked in is much the reverse of that mad jumble of "hypocrisies," &c. &c., which at present passes current as such.

But certainly, on any hypothesis as to that, such a set of Documents may hope to be elucidative in various respects. Oliver's Character, and that of Oliver's Performance in this world: here best of all may we expect to read it, whatsoever it was. Even if false, these words, authentically spoken and written by the chief actor in the business, must be of prime moment for understanding of it. These are the words this man found suitablest to represent the Things themselves, around him, and in him, of which we seek a History. The newborn Things and Events, as they bodied themselves forth to Oliver Cromwell from the Whirlwind of the passing Time—this is the name and definition he saw good to give of them. To get at these direct utterances of his, is to get at the very heart of the business; were there once light for us in these, the business had begun again at the heart of it to be

luminous !—On the whole, we will start with this small service, the *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* washed into something of legibility again, as the preliminary of all. May it prosper with a few serious readers. The *heart* of that Grand Puritan Business once again becoming visible, even in faint twilight to mankind, what masses of brutish darkness will gradually vanish from all fibres of it, from the whole body and environment of it, and trouble no man any more ! Masses of foul darkness, sordid confusions not a few, as I calculate, which now bury this matter very deep, may vanish : the heart of this matter and the heart of serious men once again brought into approximation, to write some "History" of it may be a little easier,—for my impatient friend or another.

To dwell on or criticise the particular *Biographies* of Cromwell, after what was so emphatically said above on the general subject, would profit us but little. Criticism of these poor Books cannot express itself except in language that is painful. They far surpass in "stupidity" all the celebrations any Hero ever had in this world before. They are in fact worthy of oblivion,—of charitable Christian *burial.*

Mark Noble reckons up some half dozen "Original Biographies of Cromwell ;"[1] all of which and some more I have examined ; but cannot advise any other man to examine. There are several laudatory, worth nothing ; which ceased to be read when Charles II. came back, and the tables were turned. The vituperative are many : but the origin of them all, the chief fountain indeed of all the foolish lies that have circulated about Oliver since, is the mournful brown little Book called *Flagellum, or the Life and Death of O. Cromwell, the late Usurper*, by James Heath ; which was got ready so soon as possible on the back of the *Annus Mirabilis* or Glorious Restoration,[2] and is written in such spirit as we may fancy. When restored potentates and high dignitaries had dug up "above a hundred buried corpses, and flung them in a heap in St. Margaret's Churchyard," the corpse of Admiral Blake among them, and Oliver's old Mother's corpse ; and were hanging on Tyburn gallows, as some small satisfaction to themselves, the dead clay of Oliver, of Ireton, and Bradshaw ;—when high dignitaries and potentates were in such a humour, what could be expected of poor pamphleteers and garreteers ? Heath's poor little brown lying *Flagellum* is described by one of the moderns as a "*Flagitium*;" and Heath himself is called "*Carrion* Heath,"

[1] Noble's *Cromwell*, i. 294-300. His list is very inaccurate and incomplete, but not worth completing or rectifying.

[2] The First Edition seems to be of 1663.

—as being "an unfortunate blasphemous dullard, and scandal to Humanity;—blasphemous; who when the image of God is shining through a man, reckons it in his sordid soul to be the image of the Devil, and acts accordingly; who in fact has no soul except what saves him the expense of salt; who intrinsically is Carrion and not Humanity:" which seems hard measure to poor James Heath. "He was the son of the King's Cutler," says Wood, "and wrote pamphlets," the best he was able, poor man. He has become a dreadfully dull individual, in addition to all!—Another wretched old book of his, called *Chronicle of the Civil Wars*, bears a high price in the Dilettante Sale-catalogues; and has, as that *Flagellum* too has, here and there a credible trait not met with elsewhere: but in fact, to the ingenuous inquirer, this too is little other than a tenebrific Book; cannot be read except with sorrow, with torpor and disgust,—and in fine, if you be of healthy memory, with *oblivion*. The latter end of Heath has been worse than the beginning was! From him, and his *Flagellums* and scandalous Human Platitudes, let no rational soul seek knowledge.

Among modern Biographies, the great original is that of Mark Noble above cited;[1] such "original" as there is: a Book, if we must call it a Book, abounding in facts and pretended-facts more than any other on this subject. Poor Noble has gone into much research of old leases, marriage-contracts, deeds of sale and such like: he is learned in parish-registers and genealogies, has consulted pedigrees "measuring eight feet by two feet four;" goes much upon heraldry;—in fact, has amassed a large heap of evidences and assertions, worthless and of worth, respecting Cromwell and his Connexions; from which the reader, by his own judgment, is to extract what he can. For Noble himself is a man of extreme imbecility; his judgment, for most part, seeming to lie dead asleep; and indeed it is worth little when broadest awake. He falls into manifold mistakes, commits and omits in all ways; plods along contented, in an element of perennial dimness, purblindness; has occasionally a helpless broad innocence of platitude which is almost interesting. A man indeed of extreme imbecility; to whom nevertheless let due gratitude be borne.

His Book, in fact, is not properly a Book, but rather an Aggregate of bewildered jottings; a kind of Cromwellian Biographical Dictionary, *wanting* the alphabetical, or any other, arrangement or index: which latter want, much more remediable than the want of judgment, is itself a great sorrow to the reader. Such as

[1] *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*, by the Rev. Mark Noble 2 vols., London, 1787.

it is, this same Dictionary without judgment and without arrangement, "bad Dictionary gone to pie," as we may call it, is the storehouse from which subsequent Biographies have all furnished themselves. The reader, with continual vigilance of suspicion, once knowing what man he has to do with, digs through it, and again through it; covers the margins of it with notes and contradictions, with references, deductions, rectifications, execrations,—in a sorrowful, but not entirely unprofitable manner. Another Book of Noble's called *Lives of the Regicides*, written some years afterwards, during the French Jacobin time, is of much more stupid character; nearly meaningless indeed; mere water bewitched; which no man need buy or read; and it is said he has a third Book, or some other subject, stupider still, which latter point, however, may be considered questionable.

For the rest, this poor Noble is of very impartial mind respecting Cromwell; open to receive good of him, and to receive evil, even inconsistent evil: the helpless, incoherent, but placid and favourable notion he has of Cromwell in 1787, contrasts notably with that which Carrion Heath had gathered of him in 1663. For, in spite of the stupor of Histories, it is beautiful, once more, to see how the Memory of Cromwell, in its huge inarticulate significance, not able to *speak* a wise word for itself to any one, has nevertheless been steadily growing clearer and clearer in the popular English mind; how from the day when high dignitaries and pamphleteers of the Carrion species did their ever-memorable feat at Tyburn, onwards to this day, the progress does not stop. In 1698,[1] one of the earliest words expressly in favour of Cromwell was written by a Critic of *Ludlow's Memoirs*. The anonymous Critic explains to solid Ludlow that he, in that solid but somewhat wooden head of his, had not perhaps seen entirely into the centre of the Universe, and workshop of the Destinies; that, in fact, Oliver was a questionable uncommon man, and he, Ludlow, a common handfast, honest, dull and indeed partly wooden man,—in whom it might be wise to form no theory at all of Cromwell. By and by, a certain "Mr. Banks," a kind of Lawyer and Playwright, if I mistake not, produced a still more favourable view of Cromwell, but in a work otherwise of no moment; the exact date, and indeed the whole substance of which is hardly worth remembering.[2] The *Letter* of "John Maidston to Governor Winthrop,"

[1] So dated in *Somers' Tracts* (London, 1811), vi., 416,—but liable to correction if needful. Poor Noble (i., 297) gives the same date, and then placidly, in the next line, subjoins a fact inconsistent with it. As his manner is!

[2] Short Critical Review of the Life of Oliver Cromwell; By a Gentleman of the Middle Temple. London, 1732.

—Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, a Suffolk man, of much American celebrity,—is dated 1659; but did not come into print until 1742, along with Thurloe's other Papers.[1] Maidston had been an Officer in Oliver's Household, a Member of his Parliaments, and knew him well. An Essex man he; probably an old acquaintance of Winthrop's; visibly a man of honest affections, of piety, decorum, and good sense. Whose loyalty to Oliver is of a genuine and altogether manful nature,—mostly silent, as we can discern. He had already published a credible and still interesting little Pamphlet, *Passages concerning his late Highness's last Sickness;* to which, if space permit, we shall elsewhere refer. In these two little off-hand bits of writing there is a clear credibility for the reader; and more insight obtainable as to Oliver and his ways than in any of the express Biographies.

That anonymous *Life of Cromwell*, which Noble very ignorantly ascribes to Bishop Gibson, which is written in a neutral spirit, as an impartial statement of facts, but not without a secret decided leaning to Cromwell, came out in 1724. It is the *Life of Cromwell* found commonly in Libraries:[2] it went through several editions in a pure state; and I have seen a "fifth edition" with foreign intermixtures, "printed at Birmingham in 1778," on grey paper, seemingly as a Book for Hawkers. The Author of it was by no means "Bishop Gibson," but one Kimber, a Dissenting Minister of London, known otherwise as a compiler of books. He has diligently gathered from old Newspapers and other such sources; narrates in a dull, steady, concise, but altogether unintelligent manner; can be read without offence, but hardly with any real instruction. Image of Cromwell's self there is none, express or implied, in this Book; for the man himself had none, and did not feel the want of any: nay, in regard to external facts also, there are inaccuracies enough—here too, what is the general rule in these books, you can find as many inaccuracies as you like: dig where you please, water will come! As a crown to all the modern Biographies of Cromwell, let us note Mr. Forster's late one:[3] full of interesting original excerpts, and indications of what is notablest in the old Books; gathered and set forth with real merit, with *energy* in abundance and superabundance; amounting in result, we may say, to a vigorous, decisive tearing up of all the old hypo-

[1] Thurloe, i., 763-8.

[2] The Life of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. Impartially collected, &c. London, 1724. Distinguished also by a not intolerable Portrait.

[3] Statesmen of the Commonwealth, by John Forster (London, 1840), vols. iv. and v.

theses on the subject, and an opening of the general mind for new.

Of Cromwell's actual biography, from these and from all Books and sources, there is extremely little to be known. It is from his own words, as I have ventured to believe, from his own Letters and Speeches well read, that the world may first obtain some dim glimpse of the actual Cromwell, and see him darkly face to face. What little is otherwise ascertainable, cleared from the circumambient inanity and insanity, may be stated in brief compass. So much as precedes the earliest still extant Letters, I subjoin here in the form most convenient.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE CROMWELL KINDRED.

OLIVER CROMWELL, afterwards Protector of the Commonwealth of England, was born at Huntingdon, in St. John's Parish there, on the 25th of April 1599. Christened on the 29th of the same month; as the old Parish-registers of that Church still legibly testify.[1]

His Father was Robert Cromwell, younger son of Sir Henry Cromwell, and younger brother of Sir Oliver Cromwell, Knights both; who dwelt successively, in rather sumptuous fashion, at the Mansion of Hinchinbrook hard by. His Mother was Elizabeth Steward, daughter of William Steward, Esquire, in Ely; an opulent man, a kind of hereditary Farmer of the Cathedral Tithes and Church lands round that city; in which capacity his son, Sir Thomas Steward, Knight, in due time succeeded him, resident also at Ely. Elizabeth was a young widow when Robert Cromwell married her: the first marriage, to one "William Lynne, Esquire, of Bassingbourne in Cambridgeshire,"[1] had lasted but a year: husband and only child are buried in Ely Cathedral, where their monument still stands; the date of their deaths, which followed near on one another, is 1589.[2] The exact date of the young widow's marriage to Robert Cromwell is nowhere given; but seems to have been in 1591.[3] Our Oliver was their fifth child; their second boy; but the first soon died. They had ten children in all; of whom seven came to maturity, and Oliver was their only son. I may as well print the little Note, smelted long

[1] Noble i. 92.
[2] Noble, ii. 198, and MS. *penes me.* [3] Noble, i. 86

ago out of huge dross-heaps in Noble's Book, that the reader too may have his small benefit of it.[1]

This Elizabeth Steward, who had now become Mrs. Robert Cromwell, was, say the genealogists, "indubitably descended from the Royal Stewart Family of Scotland;" and could still count kindred with them. "From one Walter Steward, who had accompanied Prince James of Scotland," when our inhospitable politic Henry IV. detained the poor Prince, driven in by stress of weather to him here. Walter did not return with the Prince to Scotland; having "fought tournaments,"—having made an advantageous marriage-settlement here. One of his descendants, Robert Steward, happened to be Prior of Ely when Henry VIII. dissolved the Monasteries; and, proving pliant on that occasion, Robert Steward, last Popish Prior, became the first Protestant Dean of Ely, and—"was remarkably attentive to his family," says Noble. The profitable Farming of the Tithes at Ely, above mentioned; this, and other settlements, and good dotations of Church lands among his Nephews, were the fruits of Robert Steward's pliancy on that occasion. The genealogists say, there is no doubt of this pedigree;—and explain in intricate tables, how Elizabeth Steward, Mother of Oliver Cromwell, was indubitably either the ninth, or the tenth, or some other fractional part of half a cousin to Charles Stuart King of England.

Howsoever related to Charles Stuart or to other parties, Robert

[1] OLIVER CROMWELL'S BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

Oliver's mother had been a widow (Mrs. *Lynne* of Bassingbourne) before marrying Robert Cromwell; neither her age nor his is discoverable here.

1. *First* child (seemingly), *Joan*, baptised 24th September, 1592; she died in 1600 (Noble i. 88).

2. Elizabeth, 14th October, 1593; died unmarried, thinks Noble, in 1672, at Ely.

3. *Henry*, 31st August, 1595; died young, "before 1617."

4. Catherine, 7th February, 1596-7; married to Whitstone, a Parliamentary Officer; then to Colonel Jones.

5. OLIVER, born 25th April 1599.

6. Margaret, 22d February, 1600-1; she became Mrs. Wanton, or Walton, Huntingdonshire; her son was killed at Marston Moor,—as we shall see.

7. Anna, 2d January, 1602-3; Mrs. Sewster, Huntingdonshire; died 1st November, 1646:—her Brother Oliver had just ended the "first Civil War" then.

8. Jane, 19th January, 1605-6; Mrs. Disbrowe, Cambridgeshire; died, *seemingly*, in 1656.

9. *Robert*, 18th January, 1608-9; died same April.

10. Robina, so named for the above Robert: uncertain date: became Mrs. Dr. French; then Mrs. Bishop Wilkins: her daughter by French, her one child, was married to Archbishop Tillotson.

Cromwell, younger son of the Knight of Hinchinbrook, brought her home, we see, as his Wife, to Huntingdon, about 1591; and settled with her there, on such portion, with such prospects as a cadet of the House of Hinchinbrook might have. Portion consisting of certain lands and messuages round and in that Town of Huntingdon,—where, in the current name "Cromwell's Acre," if not in other names applied to lands and messuages there, some feeble echo of him and his possessions still survives, or seems to survive. These lands he himself farmed: the income in all is guessed or computed to have been about £300 a year; a tolerable fortune in those times; perhaps somewhat like £1000 now. Robert Cromwell's Father, as we said, and then his elder Brother, dwelt successively in good style at Hinchinbrook near by. It was the Father Sir Henry Cromwell, who from his sumptuosity was called the "Golden Knight," that built, or that enlarged, remodelled and as good as built, the mansion of Hinchinbrook, which had been a Nunnery, while Nunneries still were: it was the son, Sir Oliver, likewise an expensive man, that sold it to the Montagues, since Earls of Sandwich, whose seat it still is. A stately pleasant House, among its shady lawns and expanses, on the left band of the Ouse river, a short half mile west of Huntingdon;—still stands pretty much as Oliver Cromwell's Grandfather left it; rather kept good and defended from the inroads of Time and Accident, than substantially altered. Several Portraits of the Cromwells, and other interesting portraits and memorials of the seventeenth and subsequent centuries, are still there. The Cromwell blazonry "on the great bay window," which Noble makes so much of, is now gone; has given place to Montague blazonry; and no dull man can bore us with that any more.

Huntingdon itself lies pleasantly along the left bank of the Ouse; sloping pleasantly upwards from Ouse Bridge, which connects it with the old village of Godmanchester; the Town itself consisting mainly of one fair street, which towards the north end of it opens into a kind of irregular market-place, and then contracting again soon terminates. The two churches of All-Saints and St. John's, as you walk up northward from the Bridge, appear successively on your left; the churchyards flanked with shops or other houses. The Ouse, which is of very circular course in this quarter, "winding as if reluctant to enter the Fen-country," says one Topographer, has still a respectable drab-colour, gathered from the clays of Bedfordshire; has not yet the Stygian black which in a few miles farther it assumes for good. Huntingdon, as it were, looks over into the Fens; Godmanchester.

just across the river, already stands on black bog. The country to the East is all Fen (mostly unreclaimed in Oliver's time, and still of a very dropsical character); to the west it is hard green ground, agreeably broken into little heights, duly fringed with wood, and bearing marks of comfortable long-continued cultivation. Here on the edge of the firm green land, and looking over into the black marshes with their alder-trees and willow-trees, did Oliver Cromwell pass his young years. Drunken Barnabee, who travelled, and drank and made Latin rhymes, in that country about 1635, through whose glistening satyr-eyes one can still discern this and the other feature of the Past, represents to us on the height behind Godmanchester, as you approach the scene from Cambridge and the south, a big Oak Tree,—which has now disappeared, leaving no notable successor.

Veni Godmanchester, ubi
Ut Ixion captus nube,
Sic, &c.

And he adds in a Note,

Quercus anilis erat, tamen eminus oppida spectat;
Stirpe viam monstrat, plumea fronde tegit;—

Or in his own English version,

An aged Oak takes of this Town survey,
Finds birds their nests, tells passengers their way.[1]

If Oliver Cromwell climbed that Oak Tree, in quest of bird-nests or boy-adventures, the Tree, or this poor ghost of it, may still have a kind of claim to memory.

The House where Robert Cromwell dwelt, where his son Oliver and all his family were born, is still familiar to every inhabitant of Huntingdon; but it has been twice rebuilt since that date, and now bears no memorial whatever which even Tradition can connect with him. It stands at the upper or northern extremity of the Town—beyond the Market-place we spoke of; on the left or river-ward side of the street. It is at present a solid yellow brick house, with a walled courtyard; occupied by some townsman of the wealthier sort. The little Brook of Hinchin, making its way to the Ouse which is not far off, still flows through the courtyard of the place—offering a convenience for malting or brewing, among other things. Some vague but confident tradition as to Brewing attaches itself to this locality; and traces of evidence, I understand, exist that *before* Robert Cromwell's time, it had been employed as a Brewery; but of this or even of Robert Cromwell's

[1] Barnabæ Itinerarium (London, 1818), p. 96.

own brewing, there is, at such a distance, in such an element of distracted calumny, exaggeration and confusion, little or no certainty to be had. Tradition, "the Rev. Dr. Lort's Manuscripts," Carrion Heath, and such testimonies, are extremely insecure as guides! Thomas Harrison, for example, is always called "the son of a Butcher;" which means only that his Father, as farmer or owner, had grazing-lands down in Staffordshire, wherefrom naturally enough proceeded cattle, fat cattle as the case might be —well fatted, I hope. Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex in Henry Eighth's time, is in like manner called always "the son of a blacksmith at Putney;"—and whoever figures to himself a man in black apron with a hammer in hand, and tries to rhyme this with the rest of Thomas Cromwell's history, will find that here too he has got into an insolubility. "The splenetic credulity and incredulity, the calumnious opacity, the exaggerative ill-nature, and general flunkeyism and stupidity of mankind," says my author, "are ever to be largely allowed for in such circumstances." We will leave Robert Cromwell's brewing in a very unilluminated state. Uncontradicted Tradition and old printed Royalist Lampoons do call him a Brewer; the Brook of Hinchin, running through his premises, offered clear convenience for malting or brewing; in regard to which, and also to his Wife's assiduous management of the same, one is very willing to believe Tradition. The essential trade of Robert Cromwell was that of managing those lands of his in the vicinity of Huntingdon; the grain of them would have to be duly harvested, thrashed, brought to market; whether it was as corn or as malt that it came to market, can remain indifferent to us.

For the rest, as documents still testify, this Robert Cromwell did Burgh and Quarter-Session duties; was not slack but moderately active as a country-gentleman; sat once in Parliament in his younger years;[1] is found with his elder or other Brothers on various Public Commissions for Draining the Fens of that region, or more properly for inquiring into the possibility of such an operation; a thing much noised of then; which Robert Cromwell, among others, reported to be very feasible, very promising, but did not live to see accomplished, or even attempted. His social rank is sufficiently indicated;—and much flunkeyism, falsity, and other carrion ought to be buried! Better than all social rank, he is understood to have been a wise, devout, stedfast and worthy man, and to have lived a modest and manful life in his station there.

[1] "35to Eliz.:" Feb.—April, 1593 (Noble, i. 83; from Willis).

Besides the Knight of Hinchinbrook, he had other Brothers settled prosperously in the Fen regions, where this Cromwell Family had extensive possessions. One Brother Henry was "seated at Upwood," a fenny district near Ramsey Mere; one of his daughters came to be the wife, second wife, of Oliver St. John, the Shipmoney Lawyer, the political "dark lantern," as men used to name him; of whom we shall hear farther. Another Brother "was seated" at Biggin House between Ramsey and Upwood; a moated mansion, with ditch and painted paling round it. A third Brother was seated at—my informant knows not where! In fact I had better, as before, subjoin the little *smelted* Note which has already done its duty, and let the reader make of that what he can.[1] Of our Oliver's Aunts one was Mrs. Hampden of Great

[1] OLIVER'S UNCLES.

1. Sir Oliver of Hinchinbrook; his eldest son John born in 1589 (ten years older than our Oliver) went into the army, "Colonel of an English regiment in the Dutch service:" this is the Colonel Cromwell who is said or fabled to have sought a midnight interview with Oliver, in the end of 1648, for the purpose of buying off Charles I.; to have "laid his hand on his sword," &c. &c. The story is in Noble, i. 51; with no authority but that of Carrion Heath. Other sons of his were soldiers, royalists these; there are various Cousin Cromwells that confusedly turn up on both sides of the quarrel.—Robert Cromwell, our Oliver's Father, was the next Brother of the Hinchinbrook Knight. The third Brother, second uncle, was

2. Henry Cromwell, of Upwood near Ramsey Mere: adventurer in the Virginia Company; sat in Parliament 1603-1611; one of his daughters Mrs. St. John. Died 1630 (Noble, i. 28).

3. Richard: "buys in 1607" a bit of ground in Huntingdon; died "at Ramsey," 1628; was Member for Huntingdon in Queen Elizabeth's time:—*Lived* in Ramsey? Is buried at Upwood.

4. Sir Philip: Biggin House; knighted at Whitehall, 1604 (Noble, i. 31). His second son, Philip, was in Colonel Ingoldsby's regiment;—wounded at the storm of Bristol, in 1645. Third son, Thomas, was in Ireland with Strafford (signs Montnorris's death-warrant there, in 1630); lived afterwards in London; became Major, and then Colonel, in the *King's* Army Fourth son, Oliver, was in the Parliamentary Army; had watched the King in the Isle of Wight—went with his cousin, our Oliver, to Ireland in 1649, and died or was killed there. Fifth son, Robert, "poisoned his Master, an Attorney, and was *hanged at London*,"—if there be truth in "Heath's Flagellum," (Noble, i. 35) "and some Pedigrees;"—year not given; say about 1635, when the lad, "born 1617," was in his 18th year? I have found no hint of this affair in any other quarter, not in the wildest Royalist-Birkenhead or Walker's-Independency lampoon; and consider it very possible that *a* Robert Cromwell having suffered "for poisoning an Attorney," he may have been *called* the cousin of Cromwell by "Heath and some Pedigrees." But of course anybody *can* "poison an Attorney," and be hanged for it!

Oliver's Aunt Elizabeth was married to William Hampden of Great Hampden, Bucks (year not given, Noble i. 36, nor at p. 68 of vol. ii.; nor in Lord

Hampden, Bucks; an opulent, zealous person, not without ambitions; already a widow and mother of two boys, one of whom proved very celebrated as JOHN HAMPDEN;—she was Robert Cromwell's Sister. Another Cromwell Aunt of Oliver's was married to "Whalley, heir of the Whalley family in Notts;" another to the "heir of the Dunches of Pusey, in Berkshire;" another to— In short the stories of Oliver's "poverty," if they were otherwise of any moment, are all false; and should be mentioned here, if still here, for the *last* time. The family was of the rank of substantial gentry, and duly connected with such in the counties round, for three generations back. Of the numerous and now mostly forgetable cousinry we specify farther only the Mashams of Otes in Essex, as like to be of some cursory interest to us by and by.

There is no doubt at all but Oliver the Protector's family *was* related to that of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, the Putney "Blacksmith" or Iron-master's son, transiently mentioned above; *the Malleus Monachorum*, or as old Fuller renders it, "Mauler of Monasteries," in Henry Eighth's time. The same old Fuller, a perfectly veracious and most intelligent person, does indeed report as of "his own knowledge," that Oliver Protector, once upon a time when Bishop Goodman came dedicating to him some unreadable semi-popish jargon about the "mystery of the Holy Trinity," and some adulation about "his Lordship's relationship to the former great purifier of the Church," and Mauler of Monasteries,—answered impatiently, "My family has no relation to his!" This old Fuller reports, as of his own knowledge. I have consulted the unreadable semi-popish jargon, for the sake of that Dedication; I find that Oliver's relationship to Thomas Cromwell is in any case stated *wrong* there, not right: I reflect farther that Bishop Goodman, oftener called "Bishop Badman" in those

Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden*); he died in 1597; she survived him 67 years, continuing a widow (Noble, ii. 69). Buried in Great Hampden Church, 1664, aged 90. She had two sons, John and Richard: John, born 1594—Richard, an Oliverian too, died in 1659 (Noble, ii. 70).

Aunt Joan (elder than Elizabeth) was "Lady Barrington;" Aunt Frances (younger) was Mrs. Whalley. Richard Whalley of Kerton, Notts; a man of mark; sheriff, &c.; three wives, children only by this second, "Aunt Fanny." Thomas Whalley (no years given, Noble, ii. 141) died in his father's lifetime: left a son who was a kind of royalist, but yet had a certain acceptance with Oliver too. Edward Whalley, the famed "Colonel," and Henry Whalley, "the Judge-Advocate" (wretched *biographies* of these two, Noble, pp. 141, 143-56). Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goff, after the Restoration, fled to New England, lived in "caves" there, and had had a sore time of it.

Enough of the Cousinry!—

times, went over to Popery; had become a miserable impoverished old piece of confusion, and at this time could appear only in the character of begging *bore*—when, at any rate, for it was in the year 1653, Oliver himself, having just turned out the Long Parliament,[1] was busy enough! I infer therefore that Oliver said to him impatiently, without untruth, "You are quite wrong as to all that: good morning!"—and that old Fuller, likewise without untruth, reports it as above.

But at any rate there is other very simple evidence entirely conclusive. Richard or Sir Richard Cromwell, great-grandfather of Oliver Protector, was a man well known in his day; had been very active in the work of suppressing monasteries; a righthand man to Thomas the Mauler: and indeed it was on Monastic Property, chiefly or wholly, that he had made for himself a sumptuous estate in those Fen regions. Now, of this Richard Cromwell there are two Letters to Thomas Cromwell, "Vicar-General," Earl of Essex, which remain yet visible among the Manuscripts of the British Museum; in both of which he signs himself with his own hand, "your most bounden Nephew,"—an evidence sufficient to set the point at rest. Copies of the Letters are in my possession; but I grudge to inflict them on the reader. One of them, the longer of the two, stands printed, with all or more than all its original mis-spelling and confused obscurity, in Noble:[2] it is dated "Stamford," without day or year; but the context farther dates it as contemporary with the Lincolnshire Rebellion, or Anti-Reformation riot, which was directly followed by the more formidable "Pilgrimage of Grace" in Yorkshire to the like effect, in the autumn of 1536.[3] Richard, in company with other higher official persons, represents himself as straining

[1] The date of Goodman's Book is 25th June, 1653; here is the correct title of it (King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 73, § 1): "The two great Mysteries of Christian Religion; the Ineffable Trinity and Wonderful Incarnation: by G. G. G." (meaning Godfrey Goodman, Glocestrensis). Unfortunate persons who have read Laud's writings are acquainted with this Bishop Goodman, or Badman; he died a declared Papist. Poor man, his speculations, now become jargon to us, were once very serious and eloquent to him! Such is the fate that soon overtakes all men who, quitting the "Eternal Melodies," take up their abode in the outer Temporary Discords, and seek their subsistence there! This is the part of the Dedication that concerns us:

"To his Excellency my Lord Oliver Cromwell, Lord General. My Lord,—Fifty years since the name of Socinus," &c.—"Knowing that the Lord Cromwell (your Lordship's great uncle) was then in great favour," &c.—"GODFREE GOODMAN."

[2] i. 242.

[3] Herbert (in Kennet, ii. 204-5).

every nerve to beat down and extinguish this traitorous fanatic flame, kindled against the King's Majesty and his Reform of the Church; has an eye in particular to a certain Sir John Thymbleby in Lincolnshire, whom he would fain capture as a ringleader; suggests that the use of arms should be prohibited to these treasonous populations, except under conditions;—and seems hastening on, with almost furious speed; towards Yorkshire and the Pilgrimage of Grace, we may conjecture. The second Letter, also without date except "Saturday," shadows to us an official man, again on business of hot haste; journeying from Monastery to Monastery; finding this Superior disposed to comply with the King's Majesty, and that other not disposed, but capable of being made so; intimates farther that he will be at his own House (presumably Hinchinbrook), and then straightway "home," and will report progress to my Lord in person. On the whole, as this is the earliest articulate utterance of the Oliver Family; and casts a faint glimmer of light, as from a single flint-spark, into the dead darkness of the foregone century; and touches withal on an acquaintance of ours the "Prior of Ely,"—Robert Steward, last Popish Prior, first Protestant Dean of Ely, and brother of Mrs. Robert Cromwell's ancestor, which is curious to think of—we will give the Letter, more especially as it is very short:

"*To my Lord Cromwell.*

"I have me most humbly commended unto your Lordship. I rode on Sunday to Cambridge to my bed;[1] and the next morning, was up betimes, purposing to have found at Ely Mr. Pollard and Mr. Williams. But they were departed before my coming: and so, 'they' being at dinner at Somersham with the Bishop of Ely, I overtook them 'there.'[2] At which time, I opened your pleasure unto them in everything. Your Lordship, I think, shall shortly perceive the Prior of Ely to be of a froward sort, by evident tokens;[3] as, at our coming home, shall be at large related unto you.

"At the writing hereof we have done nothing at Ramsey; saving that one night I communed with the Abbot; whom I found comformable to everything, as shall be at this time put in

[1] From London, we suppose.

[2] The words within *single commas*, 'they' and 'there,' are added, for bringing out the sense; a plan we shall follow in all the Original Letters of this Collection.

[3] He proved tameable, Sir Richard,—and made *your* Great-grandson rich, for one consequence of that!

act.[1] And then, as your Lordship's will is, as soon as we have done at Ramsey, we go to Peterborough. And from thence to my House; and so home.[2] The which, I trust, shall be at the farthest on this day come seven days.

"That the blessed Trinity preserve your Lordship's health!

"Your Lordship's most bounden Nephew,

RICHARD CROMWELL.

"From Ramsey, on Tuesday in the morning."[3]

The other Letter is still more express as to the consanguinity; it says, among other things, "And longer than I may have heart so, as my most bounden duty is, to serve the King's Grace with body, goods, and all that ever I am able to make; and your Lordship, as Nature and also your manifold kindness bindeth,—I beseech God I no longer live." "As *Nature bindeth*." Richard Cromwell then thanks him, with a bow to the very ground, for "my poore wyef," who has had some kind remembrance from his Lordship; thinks all "his travail but a pastime;" and remains, "at Stamford this Saturday at eleven of the clock,—your humble Nephew most bounden," as in the other case. A vehement, swift-riding man!—Nephew, it has been suggested, did not mean in Henry the Eighth's time so strictly as it now does, brother's or sister's son; it meant *nepos* rather, or kinsman of a younger generation: but on all hypotheses of its meaning, the consanguinity of Oliver Protector of England and Thomas Mauler of Monasteries is not henceforth to be doubted.

Another indubitable thing is, That this Richard, your Nephew most bounden, has signed himself in various Law-deeds and Notarial papers still extant, "Richard Cromwell *alias* Williams;" also that his sons and grandsons continued to sign Cromwell *alias* Williams; and even that our Oliver himself in his youth has been known to sign so. And then a third indubitable thing on this matter is, That Leland, an exact man, sent out by Authority in those years to take cognisance and make report of the Church Establishment in England, and whose well known *Itinerary* is

[1] Brought to legal black-on-white.

[2] To London.

[3] *MSS. Cotton.* Cleopatra E. IV. p. 2046. The envelope and address are not here; but this label of address, given in a sixteenth century hand, and otherwise indicated by the text, is not doubtful. The signature alone, and line preceding that, are in Richard's hand. In the Letter printed by Noble the address *remains*, in the hand of Richard's clerk.

the fruit of that survey, has written in that work these words, under the head, "Commotes [1] in Glamorganshire:"

"Kibworth lieth," extendeth "from the mouth of Remny up to an Hill in the same Commote, called Kevenon, a six miles from the mouth of Remny. This Hill goeth as a Wall overthwart betwixt the Rivers of Thave[2] and Remny. A two miles from his Hill by the south, and two miles from Cardiff, be vestigia of a Pile or Manor Place decayed, at Egglis Newith[3] in the Parish of Landaff. On the south side of this Hill was born Richard William alias Cromwell, in the Parish 'of Llanilsen.'"[4]

That Richard Cromwell, then, was of kindred to Thomas Cromwell; that he and his family after him signed "alias Williams;" and that Leland, an accurate man, said and printed, in the official scene where Richard himself was living and conspicuous, he was born in Glamorganshire: these three facts are indubitable; —but to these three we must limit ourselves. For, as to the origin of this same "alias Williams," whether it came from the general "Williamses of Berkshire,"[5] or from "Morgan Williams, a Glamorganshire gentleman married to the sister of Thomas Cromwell," or from whom or what it came, we have to profess ourselves little able, and indeed not much concerned to decide. Williamses are many: there is Richard Cromwell, in that old Letter, hoping to breakfast with a Williams at Ely,—but finds both him and Pollard gone! Facts, even trifling facts, when indisputable may have significance; but Welsh Pedigrees, "with seventy shields of arms," "Glothian Lord of Powys" (prior or posterior to the Deluge), though "written on a parchment 8 feet by 2 feet 4, bearing date 1602, and belonging to the Miss Cromwells of Hampstead,"[6] are highly unsatisfactory to the ingenious mind! We have to remark two things: First, that the Welsh Pedigree, with its seventy shields and ample extent of sheepskin, bears date London, 1602; was not put together, therefore, till about a hundred years after the birth of Richard, and at a great

[1] Commote is the Welsh word *Cwmwd*, now obselete as an official division, equivalent to *cantred, hundred*. Kibworth Commote is now Kibbor Hundred.

[2] Egglis Newith is, *Eglwys Newydd*, New Church, abolished now.

[3] Thave means Taff; the description of the wall-like Hill between these two streams is recognisably correct; Kevenon, spelt *Cevn-on*, "ash-tree ridge," is still the name of the Hill.

[4] Noble, i. 238, collated with Leland (Oxford, 1769), iv. fol. 56, pp. 37, 8. Leland gathered his records "in six years" between 1533 and 1540; he died, endeavouring to assort them, in 1552. They were long afterwards published by Hearne.

[5] Biographia Britannica (London, 1789), iv. 474.

[6] Noble, i. 1.

distance from the scene of that event: circumstances which affect the unheraldic mind with some misgivings. Secondly, that "learned Dugdale," upon whom mainly, apart from these uncertain Welsh sheepskins, the story of this Welsh descent of the Cromwells seems to rest, has unfortunately stated the matter in *two* different ways,—as being, and then also as not being,—in two places of his learned Lumber-Book.[1] Which circumstance affects the unheraldic mind with still fataller misgivings,—and in fact raises irrepressibly the question and admonition, "What boots it? Leave the vain region of blazonry, of rusty broken shields, and genealogical marine-stores; let it remain forever doubtful! The Fates themselves have appointed it even *so*. Let the uncertain Simulacrum of a Glothian, prior or posterior to Noah's Deluge, hover between us and the utter Void; basing himself on a dust-chaos of ruined heraldries, lying genealogies, and saltires checky, the best he can!"

The small Hamlet and Parish Church of Cromwell, or Crumwell (the well of Crum, whatever that may be), still stands on the Eastern edge of Nottinghamshire, not far from the left bank of the Trent; simple worshippers still doing in it some kind of divine service every Sunday. From this, without any ghost to teach us, we can understand that the Cromwell kindred all got their name,—in very old times indeed. From torpedo rubbish-records we learn also, without great difficulty, that the Barons Cromwell were summoned to Parliament from Edward Second's time and downward; that they had their chief seat at Tattershall in Lincolnshire; that there were Cromwells of distinction, and of no distinction, scattered in reasonable abundance over that Fen-country,—Cromwells Sheriffs of their Countries there in Richard's own time.[2] The Putney Blacksmith, Father of the *Malleus*, or Hammer that smote Monasteries on the head,—a Figure worthy to take his place beside Hephaistos, or Smith Mimer, if we ever get a Pantheon in this Nation,—was probably enough himself a Fen-country man; one of the junior branches, who came to live by metallurgy in London here. Richard, also sprung of the Fens, might have been his kinsman in many ways, have got the name of Williams in many ways, and even been born on the Hill behind Cardiff, independently of Glothian. Enough: Richard Cromwell, on a background of heraldic darkness, rises clearly visible to us; a man vehemently galloping to and fro, in that sixteenth century;

[1] Dugdale's Baronage, ii. 374. and ii. 393.
[2] Fuller's Worthies, sec. Cambridgeshire, &c.

tourneying successfully before King Harry,[1] who loved a man; quickening the death-agonies of Monasteries; growing great on their spoil;—and fated, he also, to produce another *Malleus* Cromwell that smote a thing or two. And so we will leave this matter of the Birth and Genealogy.

CHAPTER IV.

EVENTS IN OLIVER'S BIOGRAPHY.

THE few ascertained, or clearly imaginable, Events in Oliver's Biography may as well be arranged, for our present purpose, in the form of annals.

1603.

Early in January of this year, the old Grandfather, Sir Henry, "the Golden Knight," at Hinchinbrook, died:[2] our Oliver, not quite four years old, saw funeralia and crapes, saw Father and Uncles with grave faces, and understood not well what it meant,—understood only, or tried to understand, that the good old Grandfather was gone away, and would never pat his head any more. The maternal Grandfather, at Ely, was yet, and for above a dozen years more, living.

The same year, four months afterwards, King James, coming from the North to take possession of the English crown, lodged two nights at Hinchinbrook; with royal retinue, with immense sumptuosities, addressings, knight-makings, ceremonial exhibitions; which must have been a grand treat for little Oliver. His Majesty came from the Belvoir-Castle region, "hunting all the way," on the afternoon of Wednesday 27th April 1603; and set off, through Huntingdon and Godmanchester, towards Royston, on Friday forenoon.[3] The Cambridge Doctors brought him an Address while here; Uncle Oliver, besides the ruinously splendid entertainments, gave him hounds, horses and astonishing gifts at his departure. In return there were Knights created, Sir Oliver first of the batch, we may suppose; King James had decided that there should be no reflection for the want of Knights at least. Among the large batches manufactured next year was Thomas Steward of Ely, henceforth Sir Thomas, Mrs. Robert Cromwell's Brother, our Oliver's Uncle. Hinchinbrook got great honour by

[1] Stowe's Chronicle (London, 1631), p. 580; Stowe's Survey, Holinshed, &c.

[2] Poor Noble, unequal sometimes to the copying of a Parish-register, with his judgment *asleep*, dates this event 1603-4 (at p. 20, vol. i.), and then placidly (at p. 40) states a fact inconsistent therewith.

[3] Stowe's Chronicle, 812, &c.

this and other royal visits; but found it, by-and-by, a dear bought honour.—

Oliver's Biographers, or rather Carrion Heath his first Biographer whom the others have copied, introduce various tales into these early years of Oliver: of his being run away with by an ape, along the leads of Hinchinbrook, and England being all but delivered from him, had the Fates so ordered it; of his seeing prophetic spectres; of his robbing orchards, and fighting tyrannously with boys; of his acting in School Plays; of his &c. &c. —The whole of which, grounded on "Human Stupidity" and Carrion Heath alone, begs us to give it Christian burial once for all. Oliver attended the Public School of Huntingdon, which was then conducted by a worthy Dr. Beard, of whose writing I possess a book[1] of whom we shall hear again; he learned, to appearance moderately well, what the sons of other gentlemen were taught in such places; went through the universal destinies which conduct all men from childhood to youth, in a way not particularised in any one point by an authentic record. Readers of lively imagination can follow him on his bird-nesting expeditions, to the top of "Barnabee's big Tree," and elsewhere if they choose; on his fen-fowling expeditions, social sports and labours manifold; vacation-visits to his Uncles, to Aunt Hampden and Cousin John among others: all these things must have been; but how they specially were is forever hidden from all men. He had kindred of the sort above specified; parents of the sort above specified, rigorous yet affectionate persons, and very religious, as all rational persons then were. He had two sisters elder, and gradually five younger; the only boy among seven. Readers must fancy his growth there, in the North end of Huntingdon, in the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, as they can.

In January 1603-4,[2] was held, at Hampton Court, a kind of

[1] *The Theatre of God's Judgements: by Thomas Beard, Doctor of Divinity and Preacher of the Word of God, in the town of Huntingdon; third* edition, increased by many new examples (Examples of God's Justice vindicating itself openly on Violaters of God's Law; that is the purport of the Book), London 1631. A kindly ingenuous little Book, still partly readable, almost lovable; some thin but real vein of perennial ingenuity and goodness recognisable in it. What one might call a set of Percy-Anecdotes; but Ancedotes authentic, solemnly select and *with* a purpose. Percy Ancedotes for a more earnest Century than ours. Dedicated to the Mayor and Burgesses of Huntingdon, for sundry good reasons, among others "Because, Mr. Mayor, you were my scholar, and brought up in my house."

[2] Here, more fitly perhaps than afterwards, it may be brought to mind, that the English year in those times did not begin till March; that New Year's Day was the 25th of March. So in England, at that time, in all records,

Theological Convention, of intense interest all over England, and doubtless at Huntingdon too; now very dimly known, if at all known, as the "Hampton-Court Conference." It was a meeting for the settlement of some dissentient humours in religion. The Millennary Petition,—what we should now call the "Monster Petition," for the like in number of signatures was never seen before,—signed by *near* a thousand Clergymen, of pious straitened consciences: this and various other Petitions to his Majesty, by persons of pious straitened consciences, had been presented; craving relief in some ceremonial points, which, as they found no warrant for them in the Bible, they suspected (with a very natural shudder in that case) to savour of Idol-worship and Mimetic Dramaturgy, instead of God-worship, and to be very dangerous indeed for a man to have concern with! Hampton-Court Conference was accordingly summoned. Four world-famous Doctors, from Oxford and Cambridge, represented the pious straitened class, now beginning to be generally nicknamed Puritans. The Archbishop, the Bishop of London, also world-famous men, with a considerable reserve of other bishops, deans, and dignitaries, appeared for the Church by itself Church. Lord Chancellor, the renowned Egerton, and the highest official persons, many lords and courtiers with a tincture of sacred science, in fact the flower of England, appeared as witnesses; with breathless interest. The King himself presided; having real gifts of speech,

writings and books; as indeed in official records it continued so till 1752. In Scotland it was already not so; the year began with January there ever since 1600;—as in all Catholic countries it had done ever since the Papal alteration of the *Style* in 1582; and as in most Protestant countries, excepting England, it soon after that began to do. Scotland in respect of *the day of the month* still followed the Old Style.

"New Year's Day the 25th March:" this is the whole compass of the fact; with which a reader in those old books has, not without more difficulty than he expects, to familiarise himself. It has occasioned more misdatings and consequent confusions to modern editorial persons, than any other as simple circumstance. So learned a man as Whitaker Historian of *Whalley*, editing *Sir George Radcliffe's Correspondence* (London, 1810), with the lofty air which sits well on him on other occasions, has altogether forgotten the above small circumstance: in consequence of which we have Oxford Carriers dying in January, or the first half of March, and to our great amazement going on to forward butter-boxes in the May following;—and similar miracles not a few occurring: and in short the whole Correspondence is jumbled to pieces; a due bit of topsy-turvy being introduced into the Spring of every year; and the learned Editor sits, with his lofty air, presiding over mere Chaos come again!—In the text here, we of course translate into the modern year, but leaving the day of the month as we find it; and if for greater assurance both forms be written down, as for instance 1603-4, the *last* figure is always the modern one; 1603-4 means 1604 for our calendar

and being very learned in Theology,—which it was not then ridiculous but glorious for him to be. More glorious than the monarchy of what we now call Literature would be; glorious as the faculty of a Goethe holding *visibly* of Heaven: supreme skill in Theology then meant that. To know God, Θεός, the MAKER, —to know the divine Laws and *inner* Harmonies of this Universe, must always be the highest glory for a man! And not to know them, always the highest disgrace for a man, however common it be!—

Awful devout Puritanism, decent dignified Ceremonialism (both always of high moment in this world, but not of equally high) appeared here facing one another for the first time. The demands of the Puritans seem to modern minds very limited indeed: That there should be a new correct Translation of the Bible (*granted*), and increased zeal in teaching (*omitted*); That "lay impropriations" (tithes snatched from the old Church by laymen) might be made to yield a "seventh part" of their amount, towards maintaining ministers in dark regions which had none (*refused*); That the Clergy in districts might be allowed to meet together, and strengthen one another's hands as in old times (*passionately refused*); on the whole (if such a thing durst be hinted at, for the tone is almost inaudibly low and humble), That pious straitened Preachers, in terror of offending God by Idolatry, and useful to human souls, might not be cast out of their parishes for genuflexions, white surplices and such like, but allowed some Christian liberty in mere external things: these were the claims of the Puritans;—but his Majesty eloquently scouted them to the winds, applauded by all bishops, and dignitaries lay and clerical; said, If the Puritans would not conform, he would "hurry them out of the country;"—and so sent Puritanism and the Four Doctors home again, cowed into silence, for the present. This was in January 1604.[1] News of this, speech enough about it, could not fail in Robert Cromwell's house, among others. Oliver is in his fifth year,—always a year older than the Century.

In November 1605, there likewise came to Robert Cromwell's house, no question of it, news of the thrice unutterable Gunpowder Plot. Whereby King, Parliament, and God's Gospel in England, were to have been, in one infernal moment, blown aloft; and the Devil's Gospel, and accursed incredibilities, idolatries, and poisonous confusions of the Romish Babylon, substituted in their room! The eternal Truth of the Living God to become an empty formula, a shamming grimace of the Three-hatted Chimera! These things

[1] Neal's History of the Puritans (London, 1754), i. 411.

did fill Huntingdon and Robert Cromwell's house with talk enough in the winter of Oliver's sixth year. And again, in the summer of his eleventh year, in May 1610, there doubtless failed not news and talk, How the Great Henry was stabbed in Paris streets: assassinated by the Jesuits;—black sons of the scarlet woman, murderous to soul and to body.

Other things, in other years, the diligent Historical Student will supply according to faculty. The History of Europe, at that epoch, meant essentially the struggle of Protestantism against Catholicism, —a broader form of that same struggle, of devout Puritanism against dignified Ceremonialism, which forms the History of England then. Henry the Fourth of France, so long as he lived, was still to be regarded as the head of Protestantism; Spain, bound up with the Austrian Empire, as that of Catholicism. Henry's "Grand Scheme" naturally strove to carry Protestant England along with it; James, till Henry's death, held on, in a loose way, by Henry; and his Political History, so far as he has any, may be considered to lie there. After Henry's death, he fell off to "Spanish Infantas," to Spanish interests; and, as it were, ceased to have any History, nay began to have a *negative* one.

Among the events which Historical Students will supply for Robert Cromwell's house, and the spiritual pabulum of young Oliver, the Death of Prince Henry in 1612,[1] and the prospective accession of Prince Charles, fitter for a ceremonial Archbishop than a governing King, as some thought,—will not be forgotten. Then how the Elector Palatine was married; and troubles began to brew in Germany; and little Dr. Laud was made Archdeacon of Huntingdon:—such news the Historical Student can supply. And on the whole, all students and persons can know always that Oliver's mind was kept *full* of news, and never wanted for pabulum! But from the day of his Birth, which is jotted down, as above, in the Parish-register of St. John's, Huntingdon, there is no other authentic jotting or direct record concerning Oliver himself to be met with anywhere, till in Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, we come to this,[2]

1616.

"*A Festo Annunciationis*, 1616. *Oliverius Cromwell Huntingdoniensis admissus ad commeatum Sociorum, Aprilis vicesimo tertio; Tutore Magistro Ricardo Howlet:*" Oliver Cromwell from Huntingdon admitted here, 23d April 1616; Tutor Mr. Richard How

[1] 6 Nov. (Camden's Annals).

[2] Noble, i. 254.

let.—Between which and the next Entry some zealous individual of later date has crowded-in these lines: "*Hic fuit grandis ille Impostor, Carnifex perditissimus, qui pientissimo Rege Carolo Primo nefariâ cæde sublato, ipsum usurpavit Thronum, et Tria Regna per quinque ferme annorum spatium, sub Protectoris nomine, indomitâ tyrannide vexavit.*" *Pientissimo*, which might as well be *piantissimo* if conjugation and declension were observed, is accredited barbarous-latin for *most pious*, but means properly *most expiative;* by which title the zealous individual of later date indicates his martyred Majesty; a most "expiative" Majesty indeed.

Curious enough, of all days on this same day, Shakespeare, as his stone monument still testifies, at Stratford-on-Avon, died:

Obiit Anno Domini 1616.
Ætatis 53. *Die* 23 *Apr.*[1]

While Oliver Cromwell was entering himself of Sidney-Sussex College, William Shakespeare was taking his farewell of this world. Oliver's Father had, most likely, come with him; it is but twelve miles from Huntingdon; you can go and come in a day. Oliver's Father saw Oliver write in the Album at Cambridge: at Stratford, Shakespeare's Ann Hathaway was weeping over his bed. The first world-great thing that remains of English History, the Literature of Shakespeare, was ending; the second world-great thing that remains of English History, the armed Appeal of Puritanism to the Invisible God of Heaven against many very Visible Devils, on Earth and Elsewhere, was, so to speak, beginning. They have their exits and their entrances. And one People in its time plays many parts.

Chevalier Florian, in his *Life of Cervantes*, has remarked that Shakespeare's death-day, 23d April 1616, was likewise that of Cervantes at Madrid. "Twenty-third of April" is, sure enough, the authentic Spanish date: but Chevalier Florian has omitted to notice that the English twenty-third is of *Old Style*. The brave Miguel died ten days before Shakespeare; and already lay buried, smoothed right nobly into his long rest. The Historical Student can meditate on these things.—

In the foregoing winter, here in England, there was much trying of Ker Earl of Somerset and my Lady once of Essex, and the poisoners of Overbury; and before Christmas the inferior murderers and infamous persons were mostly got hanged: and in these very days, while Oliver began his studies, my Lord of Somerset

[1] Collier's Life of Shakespeare (London, 1845), p. 253.

and my Lady were tried, and not hanged. And Chief Justice Coke, Coke upon Lyttleton, had got into difficulties by the business. And England generally was overspread with a very fetid atmosphere of Court-news, murders, and divorce-cases, in those months; which still a little affects even the History of England. Poor Somerset Ker, King's favourite, "son of the Laird of Ferniehirst," he and his extremely unedifying affairs,—except as they might transiently affect the nostrils of some Cromwell of importance,—do not much belong to the History of England! Carrion ought at length to be *buried*. Alas, if "wise memory" is ever to prevail, there is need of much "wise oblivion" first.

Oliver's Tutor in Cambridge, of whom legible History and I know nothing, was "Magister Richard Howlet:" whom readers must fancy a grave, ancient Puritan and Scholar, in dark antiquarian clothes and dark antiquarian ideas, according to their faculty. The indubitable fact is, that he Richard Howlet did, in Sidney-Sussex College, with his best ability, endeavour to infiltrate something that he called instruction into the soul of Oliver Cromwell and of other youths submitted to him: but how, of what quality, with what method, with what result, will remain extremely obscure to every one. In spite of mountains of books, so are books written, all grows very obscure. About this same date, George Radcliffe, Wentworth Strafford's George, at Oxford, finds his green-baize table-cover, which his mother had sent him, too small, has it cut into "stockings," and goes about with the same.[1] So unfashionable were young Gentlemen Commoners. Queen Elizabeth was the first person in this country who ever wore knit stockings.

1617.

In March of this year, 1617, there was another royal visit at Hinchinbrook.[2] But this time, I conceive, the royal entertainment would be much more moderate; Sir Oliver's purse growing lank. Over in Huntingdon, Robert Cromwell was lying sick, somewhat indifferent to royal progresses.

[1] "University College, Oxford, 4 Dec. 1610.

"Loving mother,—* * Send also, I pray you, by Briggs" (this is Briggs the Carrier, who dies in January, and continues forwarding butter in May) "a green table-cloth of a yard and half a quarter, and two linen table-cloths. * * If the green table-cloth be too little, I will make a pair of warm stockings of it. **—Thus remembering my humble duty, I take my leave.—Your Loving Son,

GEORGE RADCLIFFE."

Radcliffe's Letters (by Whitaker), p. 64-5.

[2] Camden's Annals; Nichols's Progresses.

King James, this time, was returning northward to visit poor old Scotland again, to get his Pretended-Bishops set into activity, if he could. It is well known that he could not, to any satisfactory extent, neither now nor afterwards: his Pretended-Bishops, whom by cunning means he did get instituted, had the name of Bishops, but next to none of the authority, of the respect, or alas, even of the cash, suitable to the reality of that office. They were by the Scotch People derisively called *Tulchan* Bishops.—Did the reader ever see, or fancy in his mind, a Tulchan? Tulchan is, or rather was, for the thing is long since obsolete, a Calf-skin stuffed into the rude similitude of a Calf,—similar enough to deceive the imperfect perceptive organs of a Cow. At milking time the Tulchan, with head duly bent, was set as if to suck; the fond cow looking round fancied that her calf was busy, and that all was right, and so gave her milk freely, which the cunning maid was straining in white abundance into her pail all the while! The Scotch milkmaids in those days cried, "Where is the Tulchan; is the Tulchan ready?" So of the Bishops. Scotch Lairds were eager enough to milk the Church Lands and Tithes, to get the rents out of them freely, which was not always easy. They were glad to construct a *Form* of Bishops to please the King and Church, and make the milk come without disturbance. The reader now knows what a Tulchan Bishop was. A piece of mechanism constructed not without difficulty, in Parliament and King's Council, among the Scots; and torn asunder afterwards with dreadful clamour, and scattered to the four winds, so soon as the Cow became awake to it!—

Villiers Buckingham, the new favourite, of whom we say little, was of the royal party here. Dr. Laud, too, King's Chaplain, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, attended the King on this occasion; had once more the pleasure of seeing Huntingdon, the cradle of his promotions, and the birth-place of Oliver. In Scotland, Dr. Laud, much to his regret, found "no religion at all," no surplices, no altars in the east or any where; no bowing, no responding; not the smallest regularity of fuglemanship or devotional drill-exercise; in short, "no religion at all that I could see,"—which grieved me much.[1]

What to us is greatly more momentous: while these royal things went on in Scotland, in the end of this same June at Huntingdon, Robert Cromwell died. His Will is dated 6th June.[2] His burial-day is marked in the Church of All-Saints, 24th June

[1] Wharton's Laud (London, 1695), pp. 97, 109, 138.
[2] Noble, i. 84.

1617. For Oliver, the chief mourner, one of the most pregnant epochs. The same year, died his old Grandfather Steward at Ely. Mrs. Robert Cromwell saw herself at once fatherless and a second time widowed, in this year of bereavement. Left with six daughters and an only son; of whom three were come to years.

Oliver was now, therefore, a young heir; his age eighteen, last April. How many of his Sisters, or whether any of them, were yet settled, we do not learn from Noble's confused searching of records or otherwise. Of this Huntingdon household, and its new head, we learn next to nothing by direct evidence; but can decisively enough, by inference, discern several things. "Oliver returned no more to Cambridge." It was now fit that he should take his Father's place here at Huntingdon; that he should, by the swiftest method, qualify himself in some degree for that.

The universal very credible tradition is that he, "soon after," proceeded to London, to gain some knowledge of Law. "Soon after" will mean certain months, we know not how many, after July 1617. Noble says, he was entered "of Lincoln's Inn." The Books of Lincoln's Inn, of Gray's Inn, of all the Inns of Court have been searched; and there is no Oliver Cromwell found in them. The Books of Gray's Inn contain these Cromwell Names, which are perhaps worth transcribing:

> Thomas Cromwell, 1524; Francis Cromwell, 1561;
> Gilbert Cromwell, 1609; Henry Cromwell, 1620;
> Henry Cromwell, 22d February, 1653.

The first of which seems to me probably or possibly to mean Thomas Cromwell *Malleus Monachorum*, at that time returned from his Italian adventures, and in the service of Cardinal Wolsey; —taking the opportunity of hearing the "readers," old Benchers who then actually read, and of learning Law. The Henry Cromwell of February 1653 is expressly entered as "Second sonne to his Highness Oliver, Lord Protector:" an interesting little fact, since it is an indisputable one. For the rest, Henry Cromwell was already a Colonel in the Army in 1651:[1] in 1654, during the spring months he was in Ireland; in the month of June he was at Chippenham in Cambridgeshire with his father-in-law, being already married;[2] and next year he went again on political business

[1] Old Newspaper, in Cromwelliana, p. 91.

[2] "10th May, 1653,—Mr. Henry Cromwell to Elizabeth Russel" (Registers of Kensington Church, in Faulkener's History of Kensington, p. 360).

to Ireland, where he before long became Lord Deputy.[1] if for a while, in the end of 1654, he did attend in Gray's Inn, it can only have been, like his predecessor the *Malleus*, to gain some inkling of Law for general purposes; and not with any view towards Advocateship, which did not lie in his course at all, and was never very lovely either to his Father or himself. Oliver Cromwell's, as we said, is not a name found in any of the Books in that period.

Whence is to be inferred that Oliver was never of any Inn; that he never meant to be a professional Lawyer; that he had entered himself merely in the chambers of some learned gentleman, with an eye to obtain some tincture of Law, for doing County Magistracy, and the other duties of a gentleman citizen, in a reputable manner. The stories of his wild living while in Town, of his gambling and so forth, rest likewise exclusively on Carrion Heath; and solicit oblivion and Christian burial from all men. We cannot but believe he did go to Town to gain some knowledge of Law. But when he went, how long he stayed, cannot be known except approximately by years; under whom he studied, with what fruit, how he conducted himself as a young man and law-student, cannot be known at all. Of evidence that he ever lived a wild life about Town or elsewhere, there exists no particle. To assert the affirmative was then a great reproach to him; fit for Carrion Heath and others: it would be now, in our present strange condition of the Moral Law, one knows not what. With a Moral Law gone all to such a state of moonshine; with the hard Stone-tables, the god-given Precepts and eternal Penalties, dissolved all in cant and mealy-mouthed official flourishings,—it might perhaps, with certain parties, be a credit! The admirers and the censurers of Cromwell have alike no word to record on the subject.

1618.

Thursday, 29th October, 1618. This morning, if Oliver, as is probable, were now in Town studying Law, he might be eye-witness of a great and very strange scene; the Last Scene in the Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.[2] Raleigh was beheaded in Old Palace Yard; he appeared on the scaffold there "about 8 o'clock" that morning; "an immense crowd," all London, and in a sense all England,

[1] Here are the successive dates: 4th March, 1653-4, he arrives at Dublin (Thurloe's *State Papers*, ii. 149); is at Chippenham, 18th June, 1654 (*ib.* ii. 381); arrives at Chester on his way to Ireland again, 22d June, 1655 (*ib.* iii. 581);—produces his commission as Lord Deputy, 24th or 25th November, 1657 (Noble, i. 202).

[2] Camden; Biog. Britan.

looking on. A cold hoarfrosty morning. Earl of Arundel, now known to us by his Greek Marbles; Earl of Doncaster ("Sardanapalus" Hay, ultimately Earl of Carlisle): these with other earls and dignitaries sat looking through windows near by; to whom Raleigh in his last brief manful speech appealed, with response from them. He had failed of finding Eldorados in the Indies lately; he had failed, and also succeeded, in many things in his time: he returned home with his brain and his heart "broken," as he said:—and the Spaniards, who found King James willing, now wished that he should die. A very tragic scene. Such a man, with his head grown grey; with his strong heart "breaking,"—still strength enough in it to break with dignity. Somewhat proudly he laid his old grey head on the block; as if saying, in better than words, "There then!" The Sheriff offered to let him warm himself again, within doors again at a fire. "Nay, let us be swift," said Raleigh; "in a few minutes my ague will return upon me, and if I be not dead before that, they will say I tremble for fear." —If Oliver, among "the immense crowd," saw this scene, as is conceivable enough, he would not want for reflections on it.

What is more apparent to us, Oliver in these days is a visitor in Sir James Bourchier's Town residence. Sir James Bourchier, Knight, a civic gentleman; not connected at all with the old Bourchiers Earls of Essex, says my heraldic friend; but seemingly come of City Merchants rather, who by some of their quarterings and cognizances appear to have been "Furriers," says he:—Like enough. Not less but more important, it appears this Sir James Bourchier was a man of some opulence, and had daughters; had a daughter Elizabeth, not without charms for the youthful heart. Moreover he had landed property near Felsted in Essex, where his usual residence was. Felsted, where there is still a kind of School or Free-School, which was of more note in those days than now. That Oliver visited in Sir James's in Town or elsewhere, we discover with great certainty by the next written record of him.

1620.

The Registers of St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate, London, are written by a third party as usual, and have no autograph signatures; but in the List of Marriages for "August, 1620," stand these words, still to be read *sic:*

"Oliver Cromwell, to Elizabeth Bourcher. 22."

Milton's burial-entry is in another Book of the same memorable Church, "12 Nov. 1674;" where Oliver on the 22nd of August 1620, was married.

Oliver is twenty-one years and four months old on this his wedding-day. He repaired, speedily or straightway we believe, to Huntingdon, to his Mother's house, which indeed was now his. His Law-studies, such as they were, had already ended, we infer: he had already set up house with his Mother; and was now bringing a Wife home; the due arrangements for that end having been completed. Mother and Wife were to live together: the Sisters had got or were getting married,—Noble's researches and confused jottings do not say specially when: the Son, as new head of the house, an inexperienced head, but a teachable, ever-learning one, was to take his Father's place; and with a wise Mother and a good Wife, harmonising tolerably well we shall hope, was to manage as he best might. Here he continued, unnoticeable but easily imaginable by History, for almost ten years: farming lands; most probably attending quarter-sessions; doing the civic, industrial, and social duties, in the common way;—living as his Father before him had done. His first child was born here, in October, 1621; a son, Robert, baptised at St. John's Church on the 13th of the month, of whom nothing farther is known. A second child, also a son, Oliver, followed, whose baptismal date is 6th February 1623, of whom also we have almost no farther account,—except one that can be proved to be erroneous.[1] The List of his other children shall be given by-and-bye.

1623.

In October 1623, there was an illumination of tallow lights, a ringing of bells, and gratulation of human hearts in all Towns in England, and doubtless in Huntingdon too; on the safe return of Prince Charles from Spain *without* the Infanta.[2] A matter of endless joy to all true Englishmen of that day, though no Englishman of this day feels any interest in it one way or the other. But Spain, even more than Rome, was the chosen throne of Popery; which in that time meant temporal and eternal Damnability, Falsity to God's Gospel, love of prosperous Darkness rather than of suffering Light,—infinite baseness rushing short-sighted upon infinite peril for this world and for all worlds. King James, with his worldly-wise endeavourings to marry his son into some first-rate family, never made a falser calculation than in this grand business of the Spanish Match. The soul of England abhorred to have any concern with Spain on things

[1] Noble, i. 134.

[2] H. L. (Hamond l' Estrange): Reign of King Charles (London, 1656), p. 3. "October 5th," the Prince arrived.

Spanish. Spain was as a black Domdaniel, which, had the floors of it been paved with diamonds, had the Infanta of it come riding in such a Gig of Respectability as was never driven since Phaëton's Sun-chariot took the road, no honest English soul could wish to have concern with. Hence England illuminated itself. The articulate tendency of this Solomon King had unfortunately parted company altogether with the inarticulate but ineradicable tendency of the Country he presided over. The Solomon King struggled one way; and the English Nation with its very life-fibres was compelled to struggle another way. The rent by degrees became wide enough!

For the present, England is all illuminated, a new Parliament is summoned; which welcomes the breaking of the Spanish Match, as one might welcome the breaking of a Dr. Faustus's Bargain, and a deliverance from the power of sorcerers. Uncle Oliver served in this parliament, as was his wont, for Huntingdonshire. They and the Nation with one voice impelled the poor old King to draw out his fighting tools at last, and beard this Spanish Apollyon, instead of making marriages with it. No Pitt's crusade against French Sansculottism in the end of the Eighteenth Century could be so welcomed by English Preservers of the Game, as this defiance of the Spanish Apollyon was by Englishmen in general in the end of the Seventeenth. The Palatinate was to be recovered, after all; Protestantism, the sacred cause of God's Light and Truth against the Devil's Falsity and Darkness, was to be fought for and secured. Supplies were voted; "drums beat in the City" and elsewhere, as they had done three years ago,[1] to the joy of all men, when the Palatinate was first to be "defended:" but now it was to be "recovered;" now a decisive effort was to be made. The issue, as is well known, corresponded ill with these beginnings. Count Mansfeldt mustered his levies here, and set sail; but neither France nor any other power would so much as let him land. Count Mansfeldt's levies died of pestilence in their ships; "their bodies, thrown ashore on the Dutch coast, were eaten by hogs," till half the armament was dead on ship-board: nothing came of it, nothing could come. With a James Stuart for Generalissimo there is no good fighting possible. The poor King himself soon after died;[2] left the matter to develope itself in other still fataller ways.

In those years it must be that Dr. Simcott, Physician in Huntingdon, had to do with Oliver's hypochondriac maladies. He

[1] 11th June, 1620 (Camden's Annals).
[2] Sunday, 27th March, 1625 (Wilson, in Kennet, ii., 790).

told Sir Philip Warwick, unluckily specifying no date, or none that has survived, "he had often been sent for at midnight;" Mr. Cromwell for many years was very "splenetic" (spleen-struck), often thought he was just about to die, and also "had fancies about the Town Cross."[1] Brief intimation; of which the reflective reader may make a great deal. Samuel Johnson too had hypochondrias; all great souls are apt to have,—and to be in thick darkness generally, till the eternal ways and the celestial guiding-stars disclose themselves, and the vague Abyss of Life knit itself up into Firmaments for them. Temptations in the wilderness, Choices of Hercules, and the like, in succinct or loose form, are appointed for every man that will assert a soul in himself and be a man. Let Oliver take comfort in his dark sorrows and melancholies. The quantity of sorrow he has, does it not mean withal the quantity of *sympathy* he has, the quantity of faculty and victory he shall yet have? "Our sorrow is the inverted image of our nobleness." The depth of our despair measures what capability and height of claim we have to hope. Black smoke as of Tophet filling all your universe, it can yet by true heart-energy become *flame*, and brilliancy of Heaven. Courage!

It is therefore in these years, undated by History, that we must place Oliver's clear recognition of Calvinistic Christianity; what he, with unspeakable joy, would name his Conversion; his deliverance from the jaws of Eternal Death. Certainly a grand epoch for a man: properly the one epoch; the turning-point which guides upwards, or guides downwards, him and his activity forevermore. Wilt thou join with the Dragons; wilt thou join with the Gods? Of thee too the question is asked;—whether by a man in Geneva gown, by a man in "Four surplices at Allhallowtide," with words very imperfect; or by no man and no words, but only by the Silences, by the Eternities, by the Life everlasting and the Death everlasting. That the "Sense of difference between Right and Wrong" had filled all Time and all Space for man, and bodied itself forth into a Heaven and Hell for him: this constitutes the grand feature of those Puritan, Old-Christian Ages; this is the element which stamps them as Heroic, and has rendered their works great, manlike, fruitful to all generations. It is by far the memorablest achievement of our Species; without that element, in some form or other, nothing of Heroic had ever been among us.

For many centuries, Catholic Christianity, a fit embodiment of

[1] Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs (London, 1701), p. 249.

that divine Sense, had been current more or less, making the generations noble: and here in England, in the Century called the Seventeenth, we see the last aspect of it hitherto,—not the last of all, it is to be hoped. Oliver was henceforth a Christian man; believed in God, not on Sundays only, but on all days, in all places, and in all cases.

1624.

The grievance of Lay Impropriations, complained of in the Hampton-Court Conference twenty years ago, having never been abated, and many parts of the counttry being still thought insufficiently supplied with Preachers, a plan was this year fallen upon to raise by subscription, among persons grieved at that state of matters, a Fund for *buying-in* such Impropriations as might offer themselves; for supporting good ministers therewith, in destitute places; and for otherwise encouraging the ministerial work. The originator of this scheme was "the famous Dr. Preston,"[1] a Puritan College Doctor of immense "fame" in those and in prior years; courted even by the Duke of Buckingham, and tempted with the gleam of bishopricks; but mouldering now in great oblivion, not famous to any man. His scheme, however, was found good. The wealthy London Merchants, almost all of them Puritans, took it up; and by degrees the wealthier Puritans over England at large. Considerable ever-increasing funds were subscribed for this pious object; were vested in "Feoffees,"—who afterwards made some noise in the world under that name. They gradually purchased some Advowsons or Impropriations, such as came to market; and hired, or assisted in hiring, a great many "Lecturers," persons not generally in full "Priest's-orders" (having scruples about the ceremonies), but in "Deacon's" or some other orders, with permission to preach, to "lecture," as it was called: whom accordingly we find "lecturing" in various places, under various conditions, in the subsequent years:—often in some market-town, "on market-day;" on "Sunday-afternoon," as supplemental to the regular Priest when he might happen to be idle, or given to black and white surplices; or as "running Lecturers" now here, now there, over a certain district. They were greatly followed by the serious part of the community; and gave proportional offence in other quarters. In some years hence, they had risen to such a height these Lecturers, that Dr. Laud, now come into authority, took them seriously in hand, and with patient detail hunted them mostly out; nay brought the

[1] Heylin's Life of Laud.

Feoffees themselves and their whole Enterprise into the Star-chamber, and there, with emphasis enough, and heavy damages, amid huge rumour from the public, suppressed them. This was in 1633; a somewhat strong measure. How would the public take it now, if,—we say not the gate of Heaven, but the gate of the Opposition Hustings were suddenly shut against mankind,—if our Opposition Newspapers, and their morning Prophesyings, were suppressed!—That Cromwell was a contributor to this Feoffee Fund, and a zealous forwarder of it according to his opportunities, we might already guess; and by-and-by there will occur some vestige of direct evidence to that effect.

Oliver naturally consorted henceforth with the Puritan Clergy in preference to the other kind; zealously attended their ministry, when possible;—consorted with Puritans in general, many of whom were Gentry of his own rank, some of them Nobility of much higher rank. A modest devout man, solemnly intent "to make his calling and election sure,"—to whom, in credible dialect, the Voice of the Highest had spoken. Whose earnestness, sagacity and manful worth gradually made him conspicuous in his circle among such.—The Puritans were already numerous. John Hampden, Oliver's Cousin, was a devout Puritan, John Pym the like; Lord Brook, Lord Say, Lord Montague,—Puritans in the better ranks, and in every rank abounded. Already either in conscious act, or in clear tendency, the far greater part of the serious Thought and Manhood of England had declared itself Puritan.

1625.

Mark Noble, citing Willis's *Notitia,* reports that Oliver appeared this year as Member "for Huntingdon" in King Charles's first Parliament.[1] It is a mistake; grounded on mere blunders and clerical errors. Browne Willis, in his *Notitia Parliamentaria,* does indeed specify as Member for Huntingdon*shire* an "Oliver Cromwell, Esq.," who might be our Oliver. But the usual member in former Parliaments is Sir Oliver, our Oliver's Uncle. Browne Willis must have made, or have copied, some slip of the pen. Suppose him to have found in some of his multitudinous parchments, an "Oliver Cromwell, Knight of the Shire;" and in place of putting in the "Sir," to have put in "Esq.;" it will solve the whole difficulty. Our Oliver, when he indisputably did afterwards enter Parliament, came in for Huntingdon *Town;* so that, on this hypothesis, he must have first been Knight of the Shire, and then have sunk (an immense fall in those days) to be a Burgh

[1] Noble i. 100.

Member; which cannot without other ground be credited. What the original Chancery Parchments say of the business, whether the error is theirs or Browne Willis's, I cannot decide; on inquiry at the Rolls' Office, it turns out that the Records for some fifty years about this period, have vanished "a good while ago." Whose error it may be, we know not; but an error we may safely conclude it is. Sir Oliver was then still living at Hinchinbrook, in the vigour of his years, no reason whatever why he should not serve as formerly; nay, if he had withdrawn, his young Nephew, of no fortune, for a Knight of the Shire, was not the man to replace him. The Members for Huntingdon Town in this Parliament, as in the preceding one, are a Mr. Mainwaring and a Mr. St. John. The County Members in the preceding Parliament, and in this too with the correction of the concluding syllable in this, are "Edward Montague, Esquire," and "Oliver Cromwell, *Knight*."

1626.

In the Ashmole Museum at Oxford stands catalogued a "Letter from Oliver Cromwell to Mr. Henry Downhall, at St. John's College, Cambridge; dated, Huntingdon, 14 October, 1626;"[1] which might perhaps, in some very faint way, have elucidated Dr. Simcott and the hypochondrias for us. On applying to kind friends at Oxford for a copy of this Letter, I learn that there is now no Letter, only a mere selvage of paper, and a leaf wanting between two leaves. It was stolen, none knows when; but stolen it is;—which forces me to continue my Introduction some nine years farther, instead of ending it at this point. Did some zealous Oxford Doctor cut the Letter out, as one weeds a hemlock from a parsley-bed; that so the Ashmole Museum might be cleansed, and yield only pure nutriment to mankind? Or was it some collector of autographs zealous beyond law? Whoever the thief may be, he is probably dead long since, and has answered for this—and also, we may fancy, for heavier thefts, which were likely to be charged upon him. If any humane individual ever henceforth get his eye upon the Letter, let him be so kind as send a copy of it to the Publishers of this Book, and no questions will be asked.

1627.

A Deed of Sale, dated 20 June 1627, still testifies that Hinchinbrook this year passed out of the hands of the Cromwells into

[1] Bodleian Library: *Codices MSS. Ashmoleani*, No, 8398.
[2] Appendix, No. I.

those of the Montagues.[1] The price was £3000.; curiously divided into two parcels, down to shillings and pence,—one of the parcels being already a creditor's. The Purchaser is "Sir Sidney Montague, Knight, of Barnwell, one of his Majesty's Masters of the Requests." Sir Oliver Cromwell, son of the Golden Knight, having now burnt out his splendour, disappeared in this way from Hinchinbrook; retired deeper into the Fens, to a place of his near Ramsey Mere, where he continued still thirty years longer to reside, in an eclipsed manner. It was to this house at Ramsey that Oliver, our Oliver, then Captain Cromwell in the Parliament's service, paid the domiciliary visit much talked of in the old Books. The reduced Knight, his Uncle, was a Royalist or Malignant; and his house had to be searched for arms, for munitions, for furnishings of any sort, which he might be minded to send off to the King, now at York, and evidently intending war. Oliver's dragoons searched with due rigour for the arms; while the Captain respectfully conversed with his Uncle; and even "insisted" through the interview, say the old Books, "on standing uncovered:" which latter circumstance may be taken as an astonishing hyprocrisy in him, say the old blockhead Books. The arms, munitions, furnishings were with all rigour of law, not with more rigour and not with less, carried away; and Oliver parted with his Uncle, for that time, not "craving his blessing," I think, as the old blockhead Books say; but hoping he might, one day, either get it or a *better* than it, for what he had now done. Oliver, while in military charge of that country, had probably repeated visits to pay to his Uncle; and they know little of the man or of the circumstances, who suppose there was any likelihood or need of either insolence or hypocrisy in the course of these.

As for the old Knight, he seems to have been a man of easy temper; given to sumptuosity of hospitality; and averse to severer duties.[2] When his eldest son, who also shewed a turn for expense, presented him a schedule of debts, craving aid towards the payment of them, Sir Oliver answered with a bland sigh, "I wish they were paid." Various Cromwells, sons of his, nephews of his, besides the great Oliver, took part in the civil war, some on this side, some on that, whose indistinct designations in the old Books are apt to occasion mistakes with modern readers. Sir Oliver vanishes now from Hinchinbrook, and all the public business records, into the darker places of the Fens. His name

[1] Noble, i. 43.
[2] Fuller's Worthies, Sec. Huntingdonshire.

disappears from Willis :—in the next Parliament the Knight of the Shire for Huntingdon becomes, instead of him, "Sir Capell Bedall Baronet." The purchaser of Hinchinbrook, Sir Sidney Montague, was brother of the first Earl of Manchester, brother of the third Lord Montague of Boughton; and father of "the valiant Colonel Montague," valiant General Montague, Admiral Montague, who, in an altered state of circumstances, became first Earl of Sandwich, and perished, with a valour worthy of a better generalissimo than poor James Duke of York, in the Seafight of Solebay (Southwold Bay, on the coast of Suffolk) in 1672 [1]

In these same years, for the dates and all other circumstances of the matter hang dubious in the vague, there is record given by Dugdale, a man of very small authority on these Cromwell matters, of a certain suit instituted, in the King's Council, King's Court of Requests, or wherever it might be, by our Oliver and other relations interested, concerning the lunacy of his Uncle, Sir Thomas Steward of Ely. It seems they alleged, This Uncle Steward was incapable of managing his affairs, and ought to be restrained under guardians. Which allegation of theirs, and petition grounded on it, the King's Council saw good to deny: whereupon—Sir Thomas Steward continued to manage his affairs, in an incapable or semi-capable manner; and nothing followed upon it whatever. Which proceeding of Oliver's, if there ever was such a proceeding, we are, according to Dugdale, to consider an act of villany,—if we incline to take that trouble. What we know is, That poor Sir Thomas himself did not so consider it; for, by express testament some years afterwards, he declared Oliver his heir in chief, and left him considerable property, as if nothing had happened. So that there is this dilemma: If Sir Thomas was imbecile, then Oliver was right; and unless Sir Thomas was imbecile, Oliver was not wrong! Alas, all calumny and carrion, does it not incessantly cry, "Earth, O, for pity's sake, a little earth!"

1628.

Sir Oliver Cromwell has faded from the Parliamentary scene into the deep Fen-country, but Oliver Cromwell, Esq., appears there as Member for Huntingdon, at Westminster on "Monday the 17th of March," 1627-8. This was the Third Parliament of Charles: by much the most notable of all Parliaments till Charles's Long Parliament met, which proved his last.

Having sharply, with swift impetuosity and indignation dismissed two Parliaments, because they would not "supply" him

[1] Collins's Peerage (London, 1741), ii. 286-9.

without taking "grievances" along with them; and, meanwhile and afterwards, having failed in every operation foreign and domestic, at Cadiz, at Rhé, at Rochelle; and having failed, too, in getting supplies by unparliamentary methods, Charles "consulted with Sir Robert Cotton what was to be done;" who answered, Summon a Parliament again. So this celebrated Parliament was summoned. It met, as we said, in March 1628, and continued with one prorogation till March 1629. The two former Parliaments had sat but a few weeks each, till they were indignantly hurled asunder again; this one continued nearly a year. Wentworth (Strafford) was of this Parliament; Hampden too, Selden, Pym, Holles, and others known to us: all these had been of former Parliaments as well; Oliver Cromwell, Member for Huntingdon, sat there for the first time.

It is very evident, King Charles, baffled in all his enterprises, and reduced really to a kind of crisis, wished much this Parliament should succeed; and took what he must have thought incredible pains for that end. The poor King strives visibly throughout to control himself, to be soft and patient; inwardly writhing and rustling with royal rage. Unfortunate King, we see him chafing, stamping—a very fiery steed, but bridled, check-bitted, by innumerable straps and considerations; struggling much to be composed. Alas, it would not do. This Parliament was more Puritanic, more intent on rigorous Law and divine Gospel, than any other had ever been. As indeed all these Parliaments grow strangely in Puritanism; more and ever more earnest rises from the hearts of them all, "O Sacred Majesty, lead us not to Antichrist, to Illegality, to temporal and eternal Perdition!" The Nobility and Gentry of England were then a very strange body of men. The English Squire of the Seventeenth Century clearly appears to have believed in God, not as a figure of speech, but as a very fact, very awful to the heart of the English Squire. "He wore his Bible-doctrine round him," says one, "as our Squire wears his shot-belt; went abroad with it, nothing doubting." King Charles was going on his father's course, only with frightful acceleration: he and his respectable Traditions and Notions, clothed in old sheepskin and respectable Church-tippets, were all pulling one way; England and the Eternal Laws pulling another;—the rent fast widening till no man could heal it.

This was the celebrated Parliament which framed the Petition of Right, and set London all astir with "bells and bonfires" at the passing thereof; and did other feats not to be particularised here. Across the murkiest element in which any great Entity was

ever shewn to human creatures, it still rises, after much consideration to the modern man, in a dim but undeniable manner, as a most brave and noble Parliament. The like of which were worth its weight in diamonds even now;—but has grown very unattainable now, next door to incredible now.—We have to say that this Parliament chastised sycophant Priests, Mainwaring, Sibthorp, and other Arminian sycophants, a disgrace to God's Church; that it had an eye to other still more elevated Church-Sycophants, as the mainspring of all; but was cautious to give offence by naming them. That it carefully "abstained from naming the Duke of Buckingham." That it decided on giving ample subsidies, but not till there were reasonable discussion of grievances. That in manner it was most gentle, soft-spoken, cautious, reverential; and in substance most resolute and valiant. Truly with valiant patient energy, in a slow, steadfast English manner, it carried, across infinite confused opposition and discouragement, its Petition of Right, and what else it had to carry. Four hundred brave men—brave men and true, after their sort! One laments to find such a Parliament smothered under Dryasdust's shot-rubbish. The memory of it, could any real memory of it rise upon honourable gentlemen and us, might be admonitory, would be astonishing at least. We must clip one extract from Rushworth's huge Rag-fair of a Book; the mournfullest torpedo rubbish-heap, of jewels buried under sordid wreck and dust and dead ashes, one jewel to the waggon load;—and let the reader try to make a visual scene of it as he can. Here, we say, is an old Letter, which "old Mr. Chamberlain of the Court of Wards," a gentleman entirely unknown to us, received fresh and new, before breakfast, on a June morning of the year 1628; of which old Letter we, by a good chance,[1] have obtained a copy for the reader. It is by Mr. Thomas Alured, a good Yorkshire friend, Member for Malton in that county;—written in a hand which, if it were not naturally stout, would tremble with emotion. Worthy Mr. Alured, called also "Al'red" or "Aldred;" uncle or father, we suppose, to a "Colonel Alured," well known afterwards to Oliver and us: he writes; we abridge and present, as follows:

"Friday, 6th June, 1628.

"Sir,—Yesterday was a day of desolation among us in Parliament; and this day, we fear, will be the day of our dissolution.

"Upon Tuesday Sir John Eliot moved that as we intended to

[1] Rushworth's Historical Collections (London, 1682), i. 609-10.

furnish his Majesty with Money, we should also supply him with Counsel.' Representing the doleful state of affairs, "he desired there might be a *Declaration* made to the King, of the danger wherein the Kingdom stood by the decay and contempt of religion, by the insufficiency of his Ministers, by the" &c. &c. Sir Humphrey May, "Chancellor of the Duchy said, 'It was a strange language;' yet the House commanded Sir John Eliot to go on. Whereupon the Chancellor desired, 'If he went on, *he* the Chancellor might go out.' They all bade him 'begone:' yet he stayed, and heard Sir John out. The House generally inclined to such a *Declaration*," which was accordingly resolved to be set about.

"But next day, Wednesday, we had a Message from his Majesty by the Speaker, That as the Session was positively to end in a week, we should husband the time, and despatch our old businesses without entertaining new!" Intending nevertheless "to pursue our *Declaration*, we had, yesterday, Thursday morning, a new Message brought us, which I have here enclosed. Which requiring us *not to cast or lay any aspersion upon any Minister of his Majesty*, the House was much affected thereby." Did they not in former times proceed by fining and committing John of Gaunt, the King's own son; had they not, in very late times, meddled with and sentenced the Lord Chancellor Bacon and others? What are we arriving at!—

Sir Robert Philips of Somersetshire spake, and "mingled his words with weeping. Mr. Pym did the like. Sir Edward Cook" (old Coke upon Lyttleton), "overcome with passion, seeing the desolation likely to ensue, was forced to sit down when he began to speak, by the abundance of tears." O Mr. Chamberlain of the Court of Wards, was the like ever witnessed? "Yea, the Speaker in his speech could not refrain from weeping and shedding of tears. Besides a great many whose grief made them dumb. But others bore up in that storm, and encouraged the rest." We resolved ourselves into a Committee, to have freer scope for speech; and called Mr. Whitby to the chair.

The Speaker, always in close communication with his Majesty, craves leave from us, with much humility, to withdraw "for half an hour;" which, though we knew well whither he was going, was readily granted him. It is ordered, "No other man leave the House upon pain of going to the Tower." And now the speaking commences, "freer and frequenter" being in Committee, and old Sir Edward Coke tries it again.

"Sir Edward Cook told us, 'He now saw God had not

accepted of our humble and moderate carriages and fair proceedings; and he feared the reason was, We had not dealt sincerely with the King and Country, and made a *true* representation of the causes of all those miseries. Which he, for his part, repented that he had not done sooner. And therefore, not knowing whether he should ever again speak in this House, he would now do it freely; and so did here protest, That the author and cause of all those miseries was—THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.' Which was entertained and answered with a cheerful acclamation of the House." (Yea, yea! Well moved, well spoken! Yea, yea!) "As, when one good hound recovers the scent, the rest come in with full cry: so they (*we*) pursued it, and every one came home, and laid the blame where he thought the fault was,"—on the Duke of Buckingham to wit. "And as we were putting it to the question, Whether he should be *named* in our intended Remonstrance as the chief cause of all our miseries at home and abroad—the Speaker, having been, not half an hour, but three hours absent, and with the King, returned; bringing this Message, That the House should then rise (being about eleven o'clock), adjourn till the morrow morning, and no Committees to sit, or other business to go on, in the interim." King's Majesty, Speaker, Duke and Councillors, they have been meditating it all night!

"What we shall expect this morning therefore, God of Heaven knows. We shall meet betimes this morning; partly for the business' sake; and partly because, two days ago, we made an order, That whoever comes in after Prayers shall pay twelve-pence to the poor.

"Sir, excuse my haste:—and let us have your prayers; whereof both you and we have need. I rest—affectionately at your service, "THOMAS ALURED."

This scene Oliver saw, and formed part of; one of the memorablest he was ever in. Why did those old honourable gentlemen "weep?" How came tough old Coke upon Lyttleton, one of the toughest men ever made, to melt into tears like a girl, and sit down unable to speak? The modern honourable gentleman cannot tell. Let him consider it, and try if he can tell! And then, putting off his Shot-belt, and striving to put on some Bible-doctrine, some earnest God's Truth or other,—try if he can discover why he cannot tell!—

The Remonstrance against Buckingham was perfected; the hounds having got all upon the scent. Buckingham was ex-

pressly "named,"—a daring feat: and so loud were the hounds, and such a tune in their baying, his Majesty saw good to confirm, and ratify beyond shadow of cavil, the invaluable Petition of Right, and thereby produce "bonfires," and bob-majors upon all bells. Old London was sonorous; in a blaze with joy-fires. Soon after which, this Parliament, as London, and England, and it, all still continued somewhat too sonorous, was hastily, with visible royal anger, prorogued till October next—till January as it proved. Oliver, of course, went home to Huntingdon to his harvest-work; England continued simmering and sounding as it might.

The day of prorogation was the 26th of June.[1] One day in the latter end of August, John Felton, a short swart Suffolk gentleman of military air, in fact a retired lieutenant of grim serious disposition, went out to walk in the eastern parts of London. Walking on Tower Hill, full of black reflections on his own condition, and on the condition of England, and a Duke of Buckingham holding all England down into the jaws of ruin and disgrace,—John Felton saw, in evil hour, on some cutler's stall there, a broad sharp hunting knife, price one shilling. John Felton, with a wild flash in the dark heart of him, bought the said knife; rode down to Portsmouth with it, where the great Duke then was; struck the said knife, with one fell plunge, into the great Duke's heart. This was on Saturday the 23rd of August of this same year.[2]

Felton was tried; saw that his wild flashing inspiration had been not of God, but of Satan. It is known he repented; when the death sentence was passed on him, he stretched out his right hand; craved that this too, as some small expiation, might first be stricken off; which was denied him, as against law. He died at Tyburn; his body was swinging in chains at Portsmouth;—and much else had gone awry, when the Parliament reassembled, in January following, and Oliver came up to Town again.

1629.

The Parliament Session proved very brief; but very energetic, very extraordinary. "Tonnage and Poundage," what we now call Customhouse Duties, a constant subject of quarrel between Charles and his Parliaments hitherto, had again been levied *with-*

[1] Commons Journals, i. 920.

[2] Clarendon (i. 68); Hamond L'Estrange (p. 90); D'Ewes (MS. Autobiography) &c.; all of whom report the minute circumstances of the assassination, not one of them agreeing completely with another.

out Parliamentary consent; in the teeth of old *Tallagio non concedendo*, nay even of the late solemnly confirmed Petition of Right; and naturally gave rise to Parliamentary consideration. Merchants had been imprisoned for refusing to pay it; Members of Parliament themselves had been "*supœna'd*:" there was a very ravelled coil to deal with in regard to Tonnage and Poundage. Nay the Petition of Right itself had been altered in the Printing; a very ugly business too.

In regard to Religion also, matters looked equally ill. Sycophant Mainwaring, just censured in Parliament, had been promoted to a fatter living. Sycophant Montague, in the like circumstances, to a Bishopric: Laud was in the act of consecrating him at Croydon, when the news of Buckingham's death came thither. There needed to be a Committee of Religion. The House resolved itself into a Grand Committee of Religion; and did not want for matter. Bishop Neile of Winchester, Bishop Laud now of London, were a frightfully ceremonial pair of Bishops; the fountain they of innumerable tendencies to Papistry and the old clothes of Babylon! It was in this Committee of Religion, on the 11th day of February, 1628-9, that Mr. Cromwell, Member of Huntingdon, stood up and made his first Speech, a fragment of which has found its way into History, and is now known to all mankind. He said, "He had heard by relation from one Dr. Beard" (his old Schoolmaster at Huntingdon), "that Dr. Alablaster had preached flat Popery at Paul's Cross; and that the Bishop of Winchester" (Dr. Neile) "had commanded him as his Diocesan, He should preach nothing to the contrary. Mainwaring, so justly censured in this House for his sermons, was by the same Bishop's means preferred to a rich living. If these are the steps to Church-preferment," added he, "what are we to expect!" [1]

Dr. Beard, as the reader knows, is Oliver's old Schoolmaster at Huntingdon; a grave, speculative theological old gentleman, seemingly,—and on a level with the latest news from Town. Of poor Dr. Alablaster there may be found some indistinct, and instantly forgettable, particulars in *Wood's Athenæ*. Paul's Cross, of which I have seen old Prints, was a kind of Stone Tent, "with leaden roof," at the north-east corner of Paul's Cathedral, where Sermons were still, and had long been, preached in the open air; crowded devout congregations gathering there; with forms to sit on, if you came early. Queen Elizabeth used to "tune her pulpits," she said, when there was any great thing on hand; as Governing Persons now strive to tune their Morning Newspapers

[1] Parliamentary History (London, 1763), viii., 289.

Paul's Cross, a kind of *Times* Newspaper, but edited partly by Heaven itself, was then a most important entity! Alablaster, to the horror of mankind, was heard preaching "flat Popery" there, —"prostituting our columns" in that scandalous manner! And Neile had forbidden him to preach against it: "what are we to expect?"

The record of this world-famous utterance of Oliver still lies in manuscript, in the British Museum, in Mr. Crewe's Notebook, or another's: it was first printed in a wretched old Book called the *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, professing to be compiled by Thomas Fuller; and actually containing a Preface recognisable as his, but nothing else that we can so recognise: for "quaint old Fuller" is a man of talent; and this Book looks as if compiled by some spiritual Nightmare, rather than a rational Man. Probably some greedy Printer's compilation; to whom Thomas, in ill hour, had sold his name. In the Commons Journals, of that same day, we are farther to remark, there stands, in perennial preservation, this notice: "Upon question, *Ordered*, that Dr. Beard of Huntingdon be written to by Mr. Speaker, to come up and testify against the Bishop; the order for Dr. Beard to be delivered to Mr. Cromwell." The first mention of Mr. Cromwell's name in the Books of any Parliament.

A new *Remonstrance* behoves to be resolved upon; Bishops Neile and Laud are even to be *named* there. Whereupon, before they could get well "named," perhaps before Dr. Beard had well got up from Huntingdon to testify against them, the King hastily interfered. This Parliament, in a fortnight more, was dissolved; and that under circumstances of the most unparalleled sort. For Speaker Finch, as we have seen, was a Courtier, in constant communication with the King: one day while these high matters were astir, Speaker Finch refused to "put the question" when ordered by the House! He said he had orders to the contrary; persisted in that;—and at last took to weeping. What was the House to do? Adjourn for two days, and consider what to do! On the second day, which was Wednesday, Speaker Finch signified that by his Majesty's command they were again adjourned till Monday next. On Monday next, Speaker Finch, still recusant, would not put the former nor indeed any question, having the King's order to adjourn *again* instantly. He refused; was reprimanded, menaced; once more took to weeping; then started up to go his ways. But young Mr. Holles, Denzil Holles, the Earl of Clare's second son, he and certain other honourable members were prepared for that movement: they seized Speaker Finch,

set him down in his chair, and by main force held him there! A scene of such agitation as was never seen in Parliament before. "The House was much troubled." "Let him go," cried certain Privy Councillors, Majesty's Ministers as we should now call them, who in those days sat in front of the Speaker, "Let Mr. Speaker go!" cried they imploringly.—"No!" answered Holles; "God's wounds, he shall sit there, till it please the House to rise!" The House, in a decisive though almost distracted manner, with their Speaker thus held down for them, locked their doors; redacted Three emphatic Resolutions, their Protest against Arminianism, against Papistry, against illegal Tonnage and Poundage: and passed the same by acclamation; letting no man out, refusing to let even the King's Usher in; then swiftly vanishing so soon as the resolutions were passed, for they understood the Soldiery was coming.[1] For which surprising procedure, vindicated by Necessity the mother of Invention, and supreme of Lawgivers, certain honourable gentlemen, Denzil Holles, Sir John Eliot, William Strode, John Selden, and others less known to us, suffered fine, imprisonment, and much legal tribulation: nay Sir John Eliot, refusing to submit, was kept in the Tower till he died.

This scene fell out on Monday, 2nd of March, 1629. Directly on the back of which, we conclude, Mr. Cromwell quitted Town for Huntingdon again;—told Dr. Beard also that he was not wanted now; that he might at leisure go on with his *Theatre of God's Judgments* now.[2] His Majesty dissolved the Parliament by Proclamation; saying something about "vipers" that had been there.

It was the last Parliament in England for above eleven years. The King had taken his course. The King went on raising supplies without Parliamentary law, by all conceivable devices,—of which Ship-money may be considered the most original, and sale of Monopolies the most universal. The monopoly of "soap" itself was very grievous to men.[3] Your soap was dear, and it would not wash, but only blister. The ceremonial Bishops, Bishop or Archbishop Laud now chief of them,—they, on their side, went on diligently hunting out "Lecturers," erecting "altars in the east end of churches;" charging all clergymen to have, in good repair and order, "Four surplices at All-hallowtide."[4] Vexations spiritual and fiscal, beyond what we can well fancy now, afflicted the souls of men. The English Nation was patient; it endured in silence,

[1] Rushworth, i., 667-9.
[2] Third Edition "increased with many new examples" in 1631.
[3] See many old Pamphlets.
[4] Laud's Diary, in Wharton's Laud.

with prayer that God in justice and mercy would look upon it. The King of England with his chief-priests was going one way; the Nation of England by eternal laws was going another: the split became too wide for healing. Oliver and others seemed now to have done with Parliaments; a royal Proclamation forbade them so much as to speak of such a thing.

1630.

In the "new charter" granted to the Corporation of Huntingdon, and dated 8th July, 1630, Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, Thomas Beard, D.D., his old schoolmaster, and Robert Barnard, Esquire, of whom also we may hear again, are named Justices of the Peace for that Borough.[1] I suppose there was nothing new in this nomination; a mere confirming and continuing of what had already been. But the smallest authentic fact, any undoubted date or circumstance regarding Oliver and his affairs, is to be eagerly laid hold of.

1631.

In or soon after 1631, as we laboriously infer from the imbroglio records of poor Noble, Oliver decided on an enlarged sphere of action as a Farmer; sold his properties in Huntingdon, all or some of them; rented certain grazing-lands at St. Ives, five miles down the River, eastward of his native place, and removed thither. The Deed of Sale is dated 7th May, 1631;[2] the properties are specified as in the possession of himself or his Mother; the sum they yielded was 1800*l.* With this sum Oliver stocked his Grazing-Farm at St. Ives. The Mother, we infer, continued to reside at Huntingdon, but withdrawn now from active occupation, into the retirement befitting a widow up in years. There is even some gleam of evidence to that effect: her properties are sold; but Oliver's children born to him at St. Ives are still christened at Huntingdon, in the Church he was used to; which may mean also that their good Grandmother was still there.

Properly this was no change in Oliver's old activities; it was an enlargement of the sphere of them. His mother still at Huntingdon, within few miles of him, he could still superintend and protect her existence there, while managing his new operations at St. Ives. He continued here till the summer or spring of 1636.[3] A studious imagination may sufficiently construct the figure of his equable life in those years. Diligent grass-farming; mowing, milking, cattle-marketing: add "hypochondria," fits of the black-

[1] Noble i., 102.
[2] Ibid. i., 103-4. [3] Ibid. i., 106.

ness of darkness, with glances of the brightness of very Heaven, prayer, religious reading and meditation; household epochs, joys and cares:—we have a solid substantial inoffensive Farmer of St Ives, hoping to walk with integrity and humble devout diligence through this world; and, by his Maker's infinite mercy, to escape destruction, and find eternal salvation, in wider Divine Worlds. This latter, this is the grand clause in his Life, which dwarfs all other clauses. Much wider destinies than he anticipated were appointed him on Earth; but that, in comparison to the alternative of Heaven or Hell to all Eternity, was a mighty small matter.

The lands he rented are still there, recognisable to the Tourist; gross boggy lands, fringed with willow-trees, at the east end of the small Town of St. Ives, which is still noted as a cattle-market in those parts. The "Cromwell Barn," the pretended "House of Cromwell," the &c., &c., are, as is usual in these cases, when you come to try them by the documents, a mere jumble of incredibilities, and oblivious human platitudes, distressing to the mind.

But a Letter, one Letter signed Oliver Cromwell and dated St. Ives, does remain, still legible and indubitable to us. What more is to be said on St. Ives and the adjacent matters, will best arrange itself round that Document. One or two entries here, and we arrive at that, and bring these imperfect Introductory Chronicles to a close.

1632.

In January of this year Oliver's seventh child was born to him; a boy, James; who died the day after baptism. There remained six children, of whom one other died young; it is not known what date. Here subjoined is the List of them, and of those subsequently born; in a Note, elaborated, as before, from the imbroglios of Noble.[1]

[1] OLIVER CROMWELL'S CHILDREN.

(Married to Elizabeth Bourchier, 22d August, 1620.)

1. *Robert;* baptised 13th October, 1621. Named for his Grandfather. No farther account of him; he died before ripe years.

2. Oliver; baptised 6th February, 1622-3; went to Felsted School "Captain in Harrison's Regiment,"—no. At Peterborough in 1643 (Noble, i. 133-4). He died, or was killed during the war; date and place not yet discoverable. Noble says it was at Appleby; referring to Whitlocke. Whitlocke (p. 318 of 1st edition, 322 of 2d), on ransacking the old Pamphlets, turns out to be indisputably in error. The Protector on his deathbed alludes to this Oliver's death: "It went to my heart like a dagger, indeed it did."

3. Bridget; baptised 4th August, 1624. Married to Ireton, 15th January, 1646-7 (Noble, i. 134); widow 26 November, 1651. Married to Fleetwood (exact date, after long search, remains undiscovered; Noble, ii. 355, say

This same year, William Prynne first began to make a noise in England. A learned young gentleman "from Swainswick near Bath," graduate of Oxford, now "an Outer Barrister of Lincoln's Inn;" well read in English Law, and full of zeal for Gospel Doctrine and Morality. He, struck by certain flagrant scandals of the time, especially by that of Play-acting and Masking, saw good this year to set forth his *Histriomastix*, or Player's Scourge; a Book still extant, but never more to be read by mortal. For which Mr. William Prynne himself, before long, paid rather dear. The Book was licensed by old Archbishop Abbot, a man of Puritan tendencies, but now verging towards his end. Peter Heylin, "lying Peter" as men sometimes call him, was already with hawk's eye and the intensest interest reading this now unreadable Book, and, by Laud's direction, taking excerpts from the same.—

"before" June 1652, which is impossible). Died at Stoke Newington, near London, September 1681.

4. Richard; born 4th October, 1626. At Felsted School. "In Lincoln's Inn, 27th May, 1647:" an error? Married in 1648, Richard Mayor's daughter, of Hursley, Hants. First in Parliament, 1654. Protector, 1658. Dies, poor idle Triviality, at Cheshunt, 12th July, 1712.

5. Henry; baptised at All-Saints (the rest are at St. John's), Huntingdon 20th January, 1627-8. Felsted School. In the army at sixteen. Captain, under Harrison, I think, in 1647. Colonel, in 1649, and in Ireland with his Father. Lord Deputy there in 1657. In 1660, retired to Spinney Abbey, "near Soham," nearer Wicken, in Cambridgeshire. Foolish story of Charles II. and the "stable-fork" there (Noble, i. 212). Died 23d March, 1673-4; buried in Wicken Church. A brave man and true: had *he* been named Protector, there had, most likely, been quite another History of England to write, at present!

6. Elizabeth; baptised 2d July, 1629. Mrs. Claypole, 1645-6. Died at 3 in the morning, Hampton-court, 6th August, 1658,—4 weeks before her Father. A graceful, brave, and amiable woman. The lamentation about Dr. Hewit and "bloodshed" in (Clarendon and others) is fudge.

At St. Ives and Ely:

7. *James*; baptised 8th January, 1631-2; died next day.

8. Mary; baptised (at Huntingdon still) 9th February, 1636-7. Lady Fauconberg, 18th November, 1657. Dean Swift knew her; "handsome and like her Father." Died 14th March, 1712 (1712-3? is not decided in Noble). Richard died within a few months of her.

9. Frances; baptised (at Ely now), 6th December, 1638. "Charles II. was for marrying her:" not improbable. Married Mr. Rich, Earl of Warwick's grandson, 11th November, 1657: he died in three months, 16th February, 1657-8. No child by Rich. Married Sir John Russel,—the Checquers Russels. Died 27th January, 1720-1.

In all 5 sons and 4 daughters; of whom 3 sons and all the daughters came to maturity.

The Protector's Widow died at Norborough, her son-in-law Claypole's place (now ruined, patched into a farm-house: near Market Deeping; it is itself in Northamptonshire), 8th October, 1672.

It carries our thought to extensive world-transactions over sea, to reflect that in the end of this same year, "6 November, 1632," the great Gustavus died on the Field of Lützen; fighting against Wallenstein; victorious for the last time. While Oliver Cromwell walked peacefully intent on cattle-husbandry, that winter-day, on the grassy banks of the Ouse at St. Ives, Gustavus Adolphus, shot through the back, was sinking from his horse in the battle-storm far off, with these words: "*Ich habe genug, Bruder; rette Dich.* Brother, I have got enough; save thyself!"[1]

On the 19th of the same month, November 1632, died likewise Frederick Elector Palatine, titular King of Bohemia, husband of King Charles's sister, and father of certain Princes, Rupert and others, who came to be well known in our History. Elizabeth, the Widow, was left with a large family of them in Holland, very bare of money, of resource, or immediate hope; but conducted herself, as she had all along done, in a way that gained much respect. "*Alles für Ruhm und Ihr*, All for Glory and Her," were the words Duke Bernhard of Weimar carried on his Flag, through many battles in that Thirty-Years War. She was of Puritan tendency; understood to care little about the Four surplices at All-hallowtide, and much for the root of the matter.

Attorney-General Noy, in these months, was busy tearing up the unfortunate old manufacturers of soap; tormenting mankind very much about soap.[2] He tore them up irresistibly, reduced them to total ruin; good soap became unattainable.

1633.

In May 1633, the second year of Oliver's residence in this new Farm, the King's Majesty, with train enough, passed through Huntingdonshire, on his way to Scotland to be crowned. The loud rustle of him disturbing for a day the summer husbandries and operations of mankind. His ostensible business was to be crowned; but his intrinsic errand was, what his Father's formerly had been, to get his Pretended-Bishops set on foot there; his *Tulchans* converted into real Calves;—in which, as we shall see, he succeeded still worse than his Father had done. Dr. Laud, Bishop Laud, now near upon Archbishophood, attended his Majesty thither as formerly; still found "no religion" there, but trusted now to introduce one. The Chapel at Holyrood-house was fitted up with every equipment textile and metallic; and little Bishop Laud in person "performed the service," in a way to illum

[1] Schiller: Geschichte des 30jährigen Krieges.
[2] Rushworth, ii. 135, 252, &c.

inate the benighted natives, as was hoped,—shew them how an Artist could do it. He had also some dreadful travelling through certain of the savage districts of that country.—

Crossing Huntingdonshire, in his way Northward, his Majesty had visited the Establishment of Nicholas Ferrar at Little Gidding on the western border of that county.[1] A surprising Establishment, now in full flower; wherein above fourscore persons, including domestics, with Ferrar and his Brother and aged Mother at the head of them, had devoted themselves to a kind of Protestant Monachism, and were getting much talked of in those times. They followed celibacy, and merely religious duties; employed themselves in "binding of Prayerbooks," embroidering hassocks, in almsgiving also, and what charitable work was possible in that desert region; above all, they kept up, night and day, a continual repetition of the English Liturgy; being divided into relays and watches, one watch relieving another as on shipboard; and never allowing at any hour the sacred fire to go out. This also, as a feature of the times, the modern reader is to meditate. In Isaac Walton's *Lives* there is some drowsy notice of these people, not unknown to the modern reader. A far livelier notice; record of an actual visit to the place, by an Anonymous Person, seemingly a religious lawyer, perhaps returning from Circuit in that direction, at all events a most sharp distinct man, through whose clear eyes we also can still look;—is preserved by Hearne in very unexpected neighbourhood.[2] The Anonymous Person, after some survey and communing, suggested to Nicolas Ferrar, "Perhaps he had but *assumed* all this ritual mummery, in order to get a devout life led peacefully in these bad times?" Nicholas, a dark man, who had acquired something of the Jesuit in his Foreign travels, looked at him ambiguously, and said, "I perceive you are a person who know the world!" They did not ask the Anonymous Person to stay dinner, which he considered would have been agreeable.—

Note these other things, with which we are more immediately concerned. In this same year the Feoffees, with their Purchase of Advowsons, with their Lecturers and Running Lecturers, were fairly rooted out, and flung prostrate into total ruin; Laud having set Attorney-General Noy upon them, and brought them into the Starchamber. "God forgive *them*," writes Bishop Laud, "and grant me patience!"—on hearing that they spake harshly of him;

[1] Rushworth, ii. 178.

[2] Thomæ Caii Vindiciæ Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxoniensis (Oxf. 1730), ii. 702-794. There are two *Lives* of Ferrar; considerable writings about him: but, except this, nothing that much deserves to be read.

not gratefully, but ungratefully, for all this trouble he took! In the same year, by procurement of the same Bishop hounding-on the same invincible Attorney-General, William Prynne our unreadable friend, Peter Heylin having read him, was brought to the Starchamber; to the Pillory, and had his ears cropt off, for the first time;—who also, strange as it may look, manifested no gratitude, but the contrary, for all that trouble![1]

1634.

In the end of this the third year of Oliver's abode at St. Ives, came out the celebrated Writ of Shipmoney. It was the last feat of Attorney-General Noy: a morose, amorphous, cynical Law-Pedant, and invincible living heap of learned rubbish; once a Patriot in Parliament, till they made him Attorney-General, and enlightened his eyes: who had fished up from the dust-abysses this and other old shadows of "precedents," promising to be of great use in the present distressed state of the Finance Department. Parliament being in abeyance, how to raise money was now the grand problem. Noy himself was dead before the Writ came out; a very mixed renown following him. The Vintners, says Wood, illuminated at his death, made bonfires and "drank lusty carouses:" to them, as to every man, he had been a sore affliction. His heart, on dissection, adds old Anthony, was found all "shrivelled up like a leather penny-purse," which gave rise to comments among the Puritans.[2] His brain, said the pasquinades of the day, was found reduced to a mass of dust, his heart was a bundle of old sheepskin writs, and his belly consisted of a barrel of soap.[3] Some indistinct memory of him still survives, as of a grisly Law Pluto, and dark Law Monster, kind of Infernal King, Chief Enchanter in the Domdaniel of Attorneys: one of those frightful men, who, as his contemporaries passionately said and repeated, dare to "decree injustice *by a law.*"

The Shipmoney Writ has come out, then: and Cousin Hampden has decided not to pay it!—As the date of Oliver's St. Ives Letter is 1635-6, and we are now come in sight of that, we will here close our Chronology.

[1] Rushworth; Wharton's Laud.
[2] Wood's Athenæ (Bliss's edition, London, 1815), ii. 583.
[3] Rushworth.

CHAPTER V.

OF OLIVER'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES

LETTERS and authentic Utterances of Oliver lie scattered, in print and manuscript in a hundred repositories, in all varieties of condition and environment. Most of them, all the important of them, have already long since been printed and again printed; but we cannot in general say, ever read; too often it is apparent that the very editor of these poor utterances had, if reading mean understanding, never *read* them. They stand in their old spelling; mispunctuated, misprinted, unelucidated, unintelligible, defaced with the dark incrustations too well known to students of that Period. The Speeches above all, as hitherto set forth in *The Somers Tracts*, in *The Milton State Papers*, in *Burton's Diary*, and other such Books, excel human belief; certainly no such agglomerate of opaque confusions, printed and reprinted; of darkness on the back of darkness, thick and threefold; is known to me elsewhere in the history of things spoken or printed by human creatures. Of these Speeches, all except one, which was published by authority at the time, I have to believe myself, not very exultingly, to be the first actual reader for nearly two centuries past.

Nevertheless these Documents do exist, authentic though defaced; and invite every one who would know that Period, to study them till they become intelligible again. The words of Oliver Cromwell—the meaning *they* had, must be worth recovering in that point of view. To collect these Letters and authentic Utterances, as one's reading yielded them, was a comparatively grateful labour; to correct them, elucidate and make them legible again, was a good historical study. Surely "a wise memory" would wish to preserve among men the written and spoken words of such a man;—and as for the "wise oblivion," that is already, by Time and Accident, done to our hand. Enough is already lost and destroyed; we need not, in this particular case, omit farther.

Accordingly, whatever words authentically proceeding from Oliver himself I could anywhere find yet surviving, I have here gathered; and will now, with such minimum of annotation as may suit that object, offer them to the reader. That is the purport of this Book. I have ventured to believe that, to certain patient earnest readers, these old dim Letters of a noble English Man might, as they had done to myself, become dimly legible again; might dimly present, better than all other evidence, the

noble figure of the Man himself again. Certainly there is Historical instruction in these Letters:—Historical, and perhaps other and better. At least, it is with Heroes and god-inspired men that I, for my part, would far rather converse, in what dialect soever they speak! Great, ever fruitful; profitable for reproof, for encouragement, for building up in manful purposes and works, are the words of those that in their day were men. I will advise serious persons, interested in England past or present, to try if they can read a little in these Letters of Oliver Cromwell, a man once deeply interested in the same object. Heavy as it is, and dim and obsolete, there may be worse reading, for such persons in our time.

For the rest, if each Letter look dim, and have little light, after all study;—yet let the Historical reader reflect, such light as it has cannot be disputed at all. These words, expository of that day and hour, Oliver Cromwell did see fittest to be written down. The Letter hangs there in the dark abysses of the Past; if like a star almost extinct, yet like a real star; fixed; about which there is no cavilling possible. That autograph Letter, it was once all luminous as a burning beacon, every word of it a live coal, in its time; it was once a piece of the general fire and light of Human Life, that Letter! Neither is it yet entirely extinct; well read, there is still in it light enough to exhibit its own *self;* nay to diffuse a faint authentic twilight some distance round it. Heaped embers which in the daylight looked black, may still look *red* in the utter darkness. These Letters of Oliver will convince any man that the past did exist! By degrees the combined small twilights may produce a kind of general feeble twilight, rendering the Past credible, the Ghosts of the Past in some glimpses of them visible! Such is the effect of contemporary letters always; and I can very confidently recommend Oliver's as good of their kind. A man intent on forcing for himself some path through that gloomy chaos called History of the Seventeenth Century, and looking face to face upon the same, may perhaps try it by this method as hopefully as by another. Here is an irregular row of beacon fires, once all luminous as suns; and with a certain inextinguishable erubescence still, in the abysses of the dead deep Night. Let us look here. In shadowy outlines, in dimmer and dimmer crowding forms, the very figure of the old dead Time itself may perhaps be faintly discernible here!—

I called these Letters good—but withal only good of their kind. No eloquence, elegance, not always even clearness of expression, is to be looked for in them. They are written with far other

than literary aims; written, most of them, in the very flame and conflagration of a revolutionary struggle, and with an eye to the despatch of indispensable pressing business alone; but it will be found, I conceive, that for such end they are well written. Superfluity, as if by a natural law of the case, the writer has had to discard; whatsoever quality *can* be dispensed with is indifferent to him. With unwieldy movement, yet with a great solid step he presses through, towards his object; has marked out very decisively what the real steps towards it are; discriminating well the essential from the extraneous;—forming to himself, in short, a true, not an untrue picture of the business that is to be done. There is in these Letters as I have said above, a *silence* still more significant of Oliver to us than any speech they have. Dimly we discover features of an Intelligence, and Soul of a Man, greater than any speech. The Intelligence that can, with full satisfaction to itself, come out in eloquent speaking, in musical singing, is, after all, a small Intelligence. He that works and *does* some Poem, not he that merely *says* one, is worthy of the name of Poet. Cromwell, emblem of the dumb English, is interesting to me by the very inadequacy of his speech. Heroic insight, valour and belief, without words—how noble is it in comparison to eloquent words without heroic insight!—

I have corrected the spelling of these Letters; I have punctuated, and divided them into paragraphs, in the modern manner. The Originals, so far as I have seen such, have in general no paragraphs; if the Letter is short, it is usually found written on the first leaf of the sheet; often with the conclusion, or some postscript, subjoined crosswise on the margin—indicating that there was no blotting-paper in those days; that the hasty writer was loath to turn the leaf; Oliver's spelling and pointing are of the sort common to educated persons in his time; and readers that wish it may have specimens of him in abundance, and of all due dimness, in many printed Books; but to us, intent here to have the Letters read and understood, it seemed very proper at once and altogether to get rid of that encumbrance. Would the rest were all as easily got rid of! Here and there, to bring out the struggling sense, I have added or rectified a word—but taken care to point out the same; what words in the Text of the Letters are mine, the reader will find marked off by single commas; it was of course my supreme duty to avoid altering, in any respect, not only the sense, but the smallest feature in the physiognomy, of the Original. And so "a minimum of annotation" having been added, what minimum would serve the purpose—here are the

Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell; of which the reader, with my best wishes, but not with any very high immediate hope of mine in that particular, is to make what he can.

Surely it is far enough from probable that these Letters of Cromwell, written originally for quite other objects, and selected not by the Genius of History, but by blind Accident which has saved them hitherto and destroyed the rest—can illuminate for a modern man this Period of our Annals, which for all moderns, we may say, has become a gulf of bottomless darkness! Not so easily will the modern man domesticate himself in a scene of things every way so foreign to him. Nor could any measurable exposition of mine, on this present occasion, do much to illuminate the dead dark world of the Seventeenth Century, into which the reader is about to enter. He will gradually get to understand, as I have said, that the Seventeenth Century did exist; that it was not a waste rubbish continent of Rushworth-Nalson State Papers, of Philosophical Scepticisms, Dilettantisms, Dryasdust Torpedoisms;—but an actual flesh-and-blood Fact; with colour in its cheeks, with awful august heroic thoughts in its heart, and at last with steel sword in its hand! Theoretically this is a most small postulate, conceded at once by everybody; but practically it is a very large one, seldom or never conceded; the due practical conceding of it amounts to much, indeed to the sure promise of all. I will venture to give the reader two little pieces of advice, which, if his experience resemble mine, may prove furthersome to him in this inquiry; they include the essence of all that I have discovered respecting it.

The first is, By no means to credit the wide-spread report that these Seventeenth-Century Puritans were superstitious crackbrained persons; given up to enthusiasm, the most part of them; the minor ruling part being cunning men, who knew how to assume the dialect of the others, and thereby, as skilful Machiavels, to dupe them. This is a wide-spread report; but an untrue one. I advise my reader to try precisely the opposite hypothesis. To consider that his Fathers, who had thought about this World very seriously indeed, and with very considerable thinking faculty indeed, were not quite so far behindhand in their conclusions respecting it. That actually their "enthusiasms," if well seen into, were not foolish but wise. That Machiavelism, Cant, Official Jargon, whereby a man speaks openly what he does *not* mean, were, surprising as it may seem, much rarer then than they have ever since been. Really and truly it may in a manner be said, Cant, Parliamentary and other Jargon, were still to invent in this

world. O Heavens, one could weep at the contrast! Cant was not fashionable at all; that stupendous invention of "Speech for the purpose of concealing Thought" was not yet made. A man wagging the tongue of him, as if it were the clapper of a bell to be rung for economic purposes, and not so much as attempting to convey any inner thought, if thought he have, of the matter talked of,—would at that date have awakened all the horror in men's minds, which at all dates, and at this date too, is due to him. The accursed thing! No man as yet dared to do it; all men believing that God would judge them. In the History of the Civil War far and wide, I have not fallen in with one such phenomenon. Even Archbishop Laud and Peter Heylin meant what they say; through their words you do look direct into the scraggy conviction they have formed:—or if "lying Peter" do lie, he at least *knows* that he is lying! Lord Clarendon, a man of sufficient unveracity of heart, to whom indeed whatsoever has direct veracity of heart is more or less horrible, speaks always in official language; a clothed, nay sometimes even *quilted* dialect, yet always with some considerable body in the heart of it, never with none! The use of the human tongue was then other than it now is. I counsel the reader to leave all that of Cant, Dupery, Machiavelism, and so forth, decisively lying at the threshold. He will be wise to believe that these Puritans do mean what they say, and to try unimpeded if he can discover what that is. Gradually a very stupendous phenomenon may rise on his astonished eye. A practical world based on Belief in God;—such as many centuries had seen before, but as never any century since has been privileged to see. It was the last glimpse of it in our world, this of English Puritanism: very great, very glorious; tragical enough to all thinking hearts that look on it from these days of ours.

My second advice is, Not to imagine that it was Constitution, "Liberty of the people to tax themselves," Privilege of Parliament, Triennial or annual Parliaments, or any modification of these sublime Privileges now waxing somewhat faint in our admirations, that mainly animated our Cromwells, Pyms, and Hampdens to the heroic efforts we still admire in retrospect. Not these very measurable "Privileges," but a far other and deeper, which could not be measured; of which these, and all grand social improvements whatsoever, are the corollary. Our ancient Puritan Reformers were, as all Reformers that will ever much benefit this Earth are always, inspired by a Heavenly Purpose. To see God's own Law, then universally acknowledged for complete as it stood in the holy Written Book, made good in this world; to see this,

or the true unwearied aim and struggle towards this: it was a thing worth living for and dying for! Eternal Justice; that God's Will *be* done on Earth as it is in Heaven: corollaries enough will flow from that, if that be there; if that be not there, no corollary good for much will flow. It was the general spirit of England in the Seventeenth century. In other somewhat sadly disfigured form, we have seen the same immortal hope take practical shape in the French Revolution, and once more astonish the world. That England should all become a Church, if you like to name it so: a Church, presided over not by sham-priests in "Four surplices at Allhallowtide," but by true god-consecrated ones, whose hearts the Most High had touched and hallowed with his fire:—this was the prayer of many, it was the godlike hope and effort of some.

Our modern methods of Reform differ somewhat,—as indeed the issue testifies. I will advise my reader to forget the modern methods of Reform; not to remember that he has ever heard of a modern individual called by the name of Reformer, if he would understand what the old meaning of the word was. The Cromwells, Pyms, Hampdens, who were understood on the Royalist side to be firebrands of the Devil, have had still worse measure from the Dryasdust Philosophies, and sceptical Histories, of later times. They really did resemble firebrands of the Devil, if you looked at them through spectacles of a certain colour. For fire is always fire. But by no spectacles, only by mere blinders and *wooden-eyed* spectacles, can the flamegirt Heaven's-messenger pass for a poor mouldy Pedant and Constitution-monger, such as this would make him out to be!

On the whole, say not, good reader, as is often done, "It was then all one as now." Good reader, it was considerably different then from now. Men indolently say, "The Ages are all alike; ever the same sorry elements over again, in new vesture; the issue of it always a melancholy farce-tragedy, in one Age as in another!" Wherein lies very obviously a truth; but also in secret a very sad error withal. Sure enough, the highest Life touches always, by large sections of it, on the vulgar and universal: he that expects to see a Hero, or a Heroic Age, step forth into practice in yellow Drury-lane stage-boots, and speak in blank verse for itself, will look long in vain. Sure enough, in the Heroic Century as in the Unheroic, knaves and cowards, and cunning greedy persons were not wanting—were, if you will, extremely abundant. But the question always remains, Did they lie chained, subordinate in this world's business; coerced by steel-whips, or in whatever other effectual way, and sent whimpering into their due subterranean

abodes, to beat hemp and repent; a true never-ending attempt going on to handcuff, to silence and suppress them? Or did they walk openly abroad, the envy of a general valet-population, and bear sway; professing, without universal anathema, almost with general assent, that they were the Orthodox Party, that they, even they, were such men as you had right to look for?—

Reader, the Ages differ greatly, even infinitely, from one another. Considerable tracts of Ages there have been, by far the majority indeed, wherein the men, unfortunate mortals, were a set of mimetic creatures rather than men; without heart-insight as to this Universe, and its Heights and its Abysses; without conviction or belief of their own regarding it, at all;—who walked merely by hearsays, traditionary cants, black and white surplices, and inane confusions;—whose whole Existence accordingly was a grimace; nothing *original* in it, nothing genuine or sincere but this only, Their greediness of appetite and their faculty of digestion. Such unhappy Ages, too numerous here below, the Genius of Mankind indignantly seizes, as disgraceful to the Family, and with Rhadamanthine ruthlessness—annihilates; tumbles large masses of them swiftly into eternal Night. These are the Unheroic Ages; which cannot serve, on the general field of Existence, except as *dust*, as inorganic manure. The memory of such Ages fades away for ever out of the minds of all men. Why should any memory of *them* continue? The fashion of them has passed away; and as for genuine substance, they never had any. To no heart of a man any more can these Ages become lovely. What melodious loving heart will search into *their* records, will sing of them, or celebrate them? Even torpid Dryasdust is forced to give over at last, all creatures declining to hear him on that subject; whereupon ensues composure and silence, and Oblivion has her own.

Good reader, if you be wise, search not for the secret of Heroic Ages, which have done great things in this Earth, among their falsities, their greedy quackeries and *un*heroisms! It never lies and never will lie there. Knaves and quacks—alas, we know they abounded: but the Age was Heroic even because it had declared war to the death with these, and would have neither truce nor treaty with these; and went forth, flame-crowned, as with bared sword, and called the Most High to witness that it would not endure these!—But now for the Letters of Cromwell themselves.

Photo by] [F. Hollyer, Pembroke Sq., W.

OLIVER CROMWELL ON HIS FARM.

From the picture by Ford Maddox Brown.

CROMWELL'S

LETTERS AND SPEECHES

PART I.

TO THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR.

1636-1642.

LETTER I.

ST. IVES, a small Town of perhaps fifteen hundred souls, stands on the left or Northeastern bank of the River Ouse, in flat grassy country, and is still noted as a Cattle-market in those parts. Its chief historical fame is likely to rest on the following one remaining Letter of Cromwell's, written there on the 11th of January, 1635-6.

The little Town, of somewhat dingy aspect, and very quiescent except on market days, runs from Northwest to Southeast, parallel to the shore of the Ouse, a short furlong in length: it probably, in Cromwell's time, consisted mainly of a *row* of houses fronting the River; the now opposite row, which has its back to the river, and still is shorter than the other, still defective at the upper end, was probably built since. In that case, the locality we hear of as the "Green" of St. Ives would then be space which is now covered mainly with cattle-pens for market-business, and forms the middle of the *street*. A narrow steep old Bridge, probably the same which Cromwell travelled, leads you over, westward, towards Godmanchester, where you again cross the Ouse, and get into Huntingdon. Eastward out of St. Ives, your route is towards Earith, Ely and the heart of the Fens.

At the upper or Northwestern extremity of the place stands the Church; Cromwell's old fields being at the opposite extremity. The Church from its Churchyard looks down into the very River, which is fenced from it by a brick wall. The Ouse flows here, you cannot without study tell

in which direction, fringed with gross reedy herbage and bushes; and is of the blackness of Acheron, streaked with foul metallic glitterings and plays of colour. For a short space downwards here, the banks of it are fully visible; the western row of houses being somewhat the shorter, as already hinted: instead of houses here, you have a rough wooden balustrade, and the black Acheron of an Ouse River used as a washing-place or watering-place for cattle. The old Church, suitable for such a population, stands yet as it did in Cromwell's time, except perhaps the steeple and pews; the flagstones in the interior are worn deep with the pacing of many generations. The steeple is visible from several miles distance; a sharp high spire, piercing far up from amid the willow-trees. The country hereabouts has all a clammy look, clayey and boggy; the produce of it, whether rushes and trees, or grass and crops, gives you the notion of some thing lazy, dropsical, gross.—This is St. Ives, a most ancient Cattle-market by the shores of the sable Ouse, on the edge of the Fen-country; where, among other things that happened, Oliver Cromwell passed five years of his existence as a Farmer and Grazier. Who the primitive *Ives* himself was, remains problematic; Camden says he was "Ivo a Persian;"—surely far out of his road here. The better authorities designate him as Ives, or Yves, a worthy Frenchman, Bishop of Chartres in the time of our Henry Beauclerk.

Oliver, as we observed, has left hardly any memorial of himself at St. Ives. The ground he farmed is still partly capable of being specified, certain records or leases being still in existence. It lies at the lower or Southeast end of the Town; a stagnant flat tract of land, extending between the houses or rather kitchen-gardens of St. Ives in that quarter, and the banks of the River, which, very tortuous always, has made a new bend here. If well drained, this land looks as if it would produce abundant grass, but naturally it must be little other than a bog. Tall bushy ranges of willow-trees and the like, at present, divide it into fields; the River, not visible till you are close on it, bounding them all to the South. At the top of the fields next to the Town is an ancient massive Barn, still used as such; the people call it "Cromwell's Barn:"—and nobody can prove that it was not his! It was evidently some ancient man's or series of ancient men's.

Quitting St. Ives Fen-ward or Eastward, the last house of all, which stands on your right hand among gardens, seemingly the best house in the place, and called Slepe Hall, is confidently pointed out as "Oliver's House." It is indisputably Slepe-Hall House, and Oliver's Farm was rented from the estate of Slepe Hall. It is at present used for a Boarding-school: the worthy inhabitants believe it to be Oliver's; and even point out his "Chapel" or secret Puritan Sermon-room in the lower storey of the house: no Sermon-room, as you may well discern, but to appearance some sort of scullery or wash-house or bake-house. "It was here he used to preach," say they. Courtesy forbids you to answer, "Never!" But in fact there is no likelihood that this was Oliver's house at all: in its present state it does not seem to be a century old;[1] and originally, as is like, it must have served as residence to the Proprietors of Slepe-Hall estate, not to the Farmer of

[1] Noble, i. 102, 106.

part thereof. Tradition makes a sad blur of Oliver's memory in his native country! We know, and shall know, only this, for certain here, That Oliver farmed part or whole of these Slepe-Hall Lands, over which the human feet can still walk with assurance; past which the River Ouse still slumberously rolls, towards Earith Bulwark and the Fen-country. Here of a certainty Oliver did walk and look about him habitually, during those five years from 1631 to 1636; a man studious of many temporal and many eternal things. His cattle grazed here, his ploughs tilled here, the heavenly skies and infernal abysses over-arched and underarched him here.

In fact there is, as it were, nothing whatever that still decisively to every eye attests his existence at St. Ives, except the following old Letter, accidently preserved among the Harley Manuscripts in the British Museum. Noble, writing in 1787, says the old branding-irons, "O. C.," for marking sheep, were still used by some Farmer there; but these also, many years ago, are gone. In the Parish-records of St. Ives, Oliver appears twice among some other ten or twelve respectable rate-payers; appointing, in 1633 and 1634, for "St Ives cum Slepa" fit annual overseers for the "Highway and Green:"—one of the Oliver Signatures is now cut out. Fifty years ago, a vague old Town-clerk had heard from very vague old persons, that Mr. Cromwell had been seen attending divine service in the Church with "a piece of red flannel round his neck, being subject to inflammation."[1] Certain letters "written in a very kind style from Oliver Lord Protector to persons in St. Ives," do not now exist; probably never did. Swords "bearing the initials of O. C.," swords sent down in the beginning of 1642, when War was now imminent, and weapons were yet scarce,—do any such still exist? Noble says they were numerous in 1787; but nobody is bound to believe him. Walker[2] testifies that the Vicar of St. Ives, Rev. Henry Downet, was ejected with his curate in 1642; an act which Cromwell could have hindered, had he been willing to testify that they were fit clergymen. Alas, had he been able! He attended them in red flannel, but had not exceedingly rejoiced in them, it would seem.—There is, in short, nothing that renders Cromwell's existence completely visible to us, even through the smallest chink, but this Letter alone, which, copied from the Museum Manuscripts, worthy Mr. Harris[3] has printed for all people. We slightly rectify the spelling and reprint.

To my very loving friend Mr. Storie, at the Sign of the Dog in the Royal Exchange, London: Deliver these.

MR. STORIE, St. Ives, 11th January, 1635.

Amongst the catalogue of those good works which your fellow-citizens and our countrymen have done, this will not

[1] See Noble: his confused gleanings and speculations concerning St. Ives are to be found, i. 105-6, and again, i. 258-61.

[2] Sufferings of the clergy.

[3] Life of Cromwell: a blind farrago, published in 1761, "after the manner of Mr. Bayle,"—a very bad "manner," more especially when a Harris presides over it! Yet poor Harris's Book, his three Books (on Cromwell, Charles and James I.) have worth: cartloads of Excerpts carefully transcribed—and edited, in the way known to us, "by shoving up the shafts. The increasing interest of the subject brought even these to a second edition in 1814

be reckoned for the least, That they have provided for the feeding of souls. Building of hospitals provides for men's bodies; to build material temples is judged a work of piety; but they that procure spiritual food, they that build up spiritual temples, they are the men truly charitable, truly pious. Such a work as this was your erecting the Lecture in our Country; in the which you placed Dr. Wells, a man of goodness and industry, and ability to do good every way; not short of any I know in England: and I am persuaded that, sithence his coming, the Lord hath by him wrought much good among us.

It only remains now that He who first moved you to this, put you forward in the continuance thereof: it was the Lord; and therefore to Him lift we up our hearts that He would perfect it. And surely, Mr. Storie, it were a piteous thing to see a Lecture fall, in the hands of so many able and godly men, as I am persuaded the founders of this are; in these times, wherein we see they are suppressed, with too much haste and violence, by the enemies of God's Truth. Far be it that so much guilt should stick to your hands, who live in a City so renowned for the clear shining light of the Gospel. You know, Mr. Storie, to withdraw the pay is to let fall the Lecture; for who goeth to warfare at his own cost? I beseech you therefore in the bowels of Jesus Christ, put it forward, and let the good man have his pay. The souls of God's children will bless you for it: and so shall I; and ever rest,

Your loving Friend in the Lord,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Commend my hearty love to Mr. Busse, Mr. Beadly, and my other good friends. I would have written to Mr. Busse; but I was loath to trouble him with a long letter, and I feared I should not receive an answer from him: from you I expect one so soon as conveniently you may. *Vale.**

Such is Oliver's first extant Letter. The Royal Exchange has been twice burned since this piece of writing was left at the Sign of the Dog there. The Dog Tavern, Dog Landlord, frequenters of the Dog, and all their business and concernment there, and the hardest stone masonry they had, have vanished irrecoverable. Like a Dream of the Night; like that transient *Sign* or Effigies of the Talbot *Dog*, plastered on wood with oil pigments, which invited men to liquor and house-room in those days! The personages of Oliver's Letter may well be unknown to us.

Of Mr. Story, strangely enough, we have found one other notice; he is amongst the Trustees, pious and wealthy citizens of London for most part, to whom the sale of Bishops' Lands is, by act of Parliament, committed, with many instructions and conditions, on the 9th of October, 1646.[1] "James Story" is one of these; their chief is Alderman Fowke. From Oliver's expression, "our Country," it may be

* Harris (London, 1814), p. 12. This Letter, for which Harris, in 1761, thanks "the Trustees of the British Museum," is not now to be found in that Establishment "a search of three hours through all the Catalogues, assisted by one of the Clerks," reports itself to me as fruitless.

[1] Scobell's Acts and Ordinances (London, 1658), p. 99.

inferred or guessed that Story was of Huntingdonshire : a man who had gone up to London, and prospered in trade, and addicted himself to Puritanism ; much of him, it is like, will never be known ! Of Busse and Beadly (unless Busse be a misprint for Bunse, Alderman Bunce, another of the above "Trustees"), there remains no vestige.

Concerning the "Lecture," however, the reader will recall what was said above, of Lecturers, and of Laud's enmity to them ; of the Feoffees who supported Lecturers, and of Laud's final suppression and ruin of those Feoffees in 1633. Mr. Story's name is not mentioned in the List of the specific Feoffees ; but it need not be doubted he was a contributor to their fund, and probably a leading man among the subscribers. By the light of this Letter we may dimly gather that they still continued to subscribe, and to forward Lectureships where possible, though now in a less ostentatious manner.

It appears there was a Lecture at Huntingdon : but his Grace of Lambeth, patiently assiduous in hunting down such objects, had managed to get that suppressed in 1633,[1] or at least to get the King's consent for suppressing it. This in 1633. So that "Mr. Wells" could not, in 1636, as my imbecile friend supposes,[2] be "the Lecturer in Huntingdon," wherever else he might lecture. Besides Mr. Wells is not in danger of suppression by Laud, but by want of cash ! Where Mr. Wells lectured, no mortal knows, or will ever know. Why not at St. Ives on the market-days ? Or he might be a "Running Lecturer," not tied to one locality . that is as likely a guess as any.

Whether the call of this Wells Lecturership and Oliver's Letter got due return from Mr. Story we cannot now say ; but judge that the Lecturership,—as Laud's star was rapidly on the ascendant, and Mr. Story and the Feoffees had already lost 1800*l.* by the work, and had a fine in the Starchamber still hanging over their heads,—did in fact come to the ground, and trouble no Archbishop or Market Cattle-dealer with God's Gospel any more. Mr. Wells, like the others, vanishes from History, or nearly so. In the chaos of the King's Pamphlets one seems to discern dimly that he sailed for New England, and that he returned in better times. Dimly once, in 1641 or 1642, you catch a momentary glimpse of a "Mr. Wells" in such predicament, and hope it was this Wells,—preaching for a friend "in the afternoon," in a Church in London.[3]

Reverend Mark Noble says, the above Letter is very curious, and a convincing proof how far gone Oliver was, at that time, in religious enthusiasm.[4] Yes, my reverend imbecile friend, he is clearly one of those singular Christian enthusiasts, who believe that they have a soul to be saved, even as you do, my reverend imbecile friend, that you have a stomach to be satisfied,—and who likewise, astonishing to say, actually take some trouble about that. Far gone indeed, my reverend imbecile friend !

This then is what we know of Oliver at St. Ives. He wrote the above Letter there. He had sold his Properties in Huntingdon for 1,800*l.*; with the whole or with part of which sum he stocked certain

1 Wharton's Laud (London, 1695), p. 527.
2 Noble, i. 259.
3 Old Pamphlet : Title mislaid and forgotten.
4 Noble i. 259.

Grazing-Lands on the Estate of Slepe Hall, and farmed the same for a space of some five years. How he lived at St. Ives: how he saluted men on the streets; read Bibles; sold cattle; and walked, with heavy footfall and many thoughts, through the Market Green or old narrow lanes in St. Ives, by the shore of the black Ouse River,—shall be left to the reader's imagination. There is in this man talent for farming; there are thoughts enough, thoughts bounded by the Ouse River, thoughts that go beyond Eternity,—and a great black sea of things that he has never yet been able to *think*.

I count the children he had at the time; and find them six: Four boys and two girls; the eldest a boy of fourteen, the youngest a girl of six: Robert, Oliver, Bridget, Richard, Henry, Elizabeth. Robert and Oliver, I take it, are gone to Felsted School, near Bourchier their Grandfather's in Essex. Sir Thomas Bourchier the worshipful Knight, once of London, lives at Felsted; Sir William Masham, another of the same, lives at Otes, hard by, as we shall see.

Cromwell at the time of writing this Letter was, as he himself might partly think probable, about to quit St. Ives. His mother's brother Sir Thomas Steward, Knight, lay sick at Ely in those very days. Sir Thomas makes his will in this same month of January, leaving Oliver his principal heir; and on the 30th it was all over, and he lay in his last home: "Buried in the Cathedral of Ely, 30th January, 1635-6."

Worth nothing, and curious to think of, since it is indisputable: On the very day while Oliver Cromwell was writing this Letter at St. Ives, two obscure individuals, "Peter Alridge and Thomas Lane, Assessors of Shipmoney," over in Buckinghamshire, had assembled a Parish Meeting in the Church of Great Kimble, to assess and rate the Shipmoney of the said Parish: there, in the cold weather, at the foot of the Chiltern Hills, "11 January, 1635," the Parish did attend, "John Hampden, Esquire," at the head of them, and by a Return still extant,[1] refused to pay the same or any portion thereof,—witness the above "Assessors," witness also two "Parish Constables" whom we remit from such unexpected celebrity. John Hampden's share for this Parish is thirty-one shillings and sixpence; for another Parish it is twenty shillings; on which latter sum, not on the former, John Hampden was tried.

LETTER II.

OLIVER removed to Ely very soon after writing the foregoing Letter. There is a "receipt for 10*l*." signed by him, dated "Ely, 10 June, 1636;"[2] and other evidence that he was then resident there. He succeeded to his Uncle's Farming of the Tithes; the Leases of these, and new Leases of some other small lands or fields granted him, are still in existence. He continued here till the time of the Long Parliament; and his Family still after that, till some unascertained date, seemingly about 1647, when it became apparent that the Long Parliament was not like to rise for a great while yet, and it was judged ex-

1 Facsimile Engraving of it, in Lord Nugent's Memorials of Hampden (London, 1832), i. 231
2 Noble, i., 107

pedient that the whole household should remove to London. His Mother appears to have joined him in Ely; she quitted Huntingdon, returned to her native place, an aged grandmother,—was not, however, to end her days there.

As Sir Thomas Steward, Oliver's Uncle, farmed the Tithes of Ely, it is reasonable to believe that he, and Oliver after him, occupied the House set apart for the Tithe-Farmer there; as Mark Noble, out of dim Tradition, confidently testifies. This is "the house occupied by Mr. Page;"[1] under which name, much better than under that of Cromwell, the inhabitants of Ely now know it. The House, though somewhat in a frail state, is still standing; close to St. Mary's Church-yard; at the corner of the great Tithe-barn of Ely, or great Square of tithe-barns and offices,—which "is the biggest barn in England but one," say the Ely people. Of this House, for Oliver's sake, some Painter will yet perhaps take a correct likeness: it is needless to go to Stuntey, out on the Soham road, as Oliver's Painters usually do; Oliver never lived there, but only his Mother's cousins! Two years ago this House in Ely stood empty; closed finally up, deserted by all the Pages, as "the Commutation of Tithes" had rendered it superfluous: this year (1845), I find, it is an Alehouse, with still some chance of standing. It is by no means a sumptuous mansion; but may have conveniently held a man of three or four hundred a year, with his family, in those simple times. Some quaint air of gentility still looks through its ragged dilapidation. It is of two stories, more properly of one and a half; has many windows, irregular chimneys and gables. Likely enough Oliver lived here; likely his Grandfather may have lived here, his Mother have been born here. She was now again resident here. The tomb of her first husband and child, *Johannes Lynne* and poor little *Catharina Lynne*, is in the Cathedral hard by. "Such are the changes which fleeting Time procureth."—

This Second extant Letter of Cromwell's is dated Ely, October, 1638. It will be good to introduce, as briefly as possible, a few Historical Dates, to remind the reader what o'clock on the Great Horologe it is while this small Letter is a-writing. Last year in London there had been a very strange spectacle; and in three weeks after, another in Edinburgh, of still more significance in English History.

On the 30th of June, 1637, in Old Palaceyard, three men, gentlemen of education, of good quality, a Barrister, a Physician, and a Parish Clergyman of London were set on three Pillories; stood openly, as the scum of malefactors, for certain hours there; and then had their ears cut off,—bare knives, hot branding-irons,—and their cheeks stamped "S. L." Seditious Libeller; in the sight of a great crowd, "silent" mainly, and looking "pale."[2] The men were our old friend William Prynne,—poor Prynne, who had got into new trouble, and here lost his ears a *second* and final time, having had them "sewed on again" before: William Prynne, Barrister; Dr. John Bastwick; and the Rev. Henry Burton, Minister of Friday-street Church. Their sin was against Laud and his surplices at Allhallow-tide, not against any

[1] Noble, i., 106. [2] State Trials (Cobbett's London, 1809), iii., 746.

other man or thing. Prynne, speaking to the people, defied all Lambeth, with Rome at the back of it, to argue with him, William Prynne alone, that these practices were according to the Law of England; "and if I fail to prove it," said Prynne, "let them hang my body at the door of that prison there," the Gate-house Prison. "Whereat the people gave a great shout,"—somewhat of an ominous one, I think. Bastwick's wife, on the scaffold, received his ears in her lap, and kissed him.[1] Prynne's ears the executioner "rather sawed than cut." "Cut me, tear me," cried Prynne; "I fear thee not; I fear the fire of Hell, not thee!" The June sun had shone hot on their faces. Burton, who had discoursed eloquent religion all the while, said, when they carried him, near fainting, into a house in King-street, "It is too hot to last."

Too hot indeed. For at Edinburgh, on Sunday the 23rd of July following, Archbishop Laud having now, with great effort and much manipulation, got his Scotch Liturgy and Scotch Pretended-Bishops ready,[2] brought them fairly out to action,—and Jenny Geddes hurled her stool at their head. "Let us read the Collect of the Day," said the Pretended-Bishop from amid his tippets;—"De'il *colic* the wame of thee!" answered Jenny, hurling her stool at his head. "Thou foul thief, wilt thou say *mass* at my lug?"[3] I thought we had got done with the mass some time ago;—and here it is again! "A Pape, a Pape!" cried others: "Stane him!"[4]—In fact the service could not go on at all. This passed in St. Giles's Kirk, Edinburgh, on Sunday 23rd July, 1637. Scotland had endured much in the bishop-way for about thirty years bygone, and endeavoured to say nothing, bitterly feeling a great deal. But now, on small signal, the hour was come. All Edinburgh, all Scotland, and behind that all England and Ireland, rose into unappeasable commotion on the flight of this stool of Jenny's; and his Grace of Canterbury, and King Charles himself, and many others had lost their heads before there could be peace again. The Scotch People had sworn their Covenant, not without "tears;" and were in these very days of October, 1638, while Oliver is writing at Ely, busy with their whole might electing their General Assembly, to meet at Glasgow next month. I think the *Tulchan* Apparatus is likely

[1] Tower's British Biography.

[2] Rushworth, ii., 321, 343; iii. Appendix, 153-5; &c.

[3] — — "No sooner was the Book opened by the Dean of Edinburgh, but a number of the meaner sort, with clapping of their hands and outcries, made a great uproar; and one of them, called *Jane* or *Janot Gaddis* (yet living at the writing of this relation), flung a little folding-stool, whereon she sat, at the Dean's head, saying, 'Out thou false thief! dost thou say the mass at my lug?' Which was followed with so great a noise," &c. These words are in the Continuation of *Baker's Chronicle*, by Philips (Milton's Nephew); fifth edition of *Baker* (London, 1670), p. 478. They are *not* in the fourth edition of *Baker*, 1665, which is the first that contains the Continuation; they follow as here in all the others. Thought to be the first grave mention of Jenny Geddes in Printed History; a heroine still familiar to Tradition everywhere in Scotland.

In a foolish Pamphlet, printed in 1661, entitled *Edinburgh's Joy*, &c.—Joy for the Blessed Restoration and *Annus Mirabilis*,—there is mention made of "the immortal Jenet Geddis," whom the writer represents as rejoicing exceedingly in that miraculous event; she seems to be a well-known person keeping "a cabbage-stall at the Tron Kirk," at that date. Burns, in his Highland Tour, named his mare *Jenny Geddes*. Helen of Troy, for practical importance in Human History, is but a small Heroine to Jenny;—but she has been luckier in the recording!—For these bibliographical notices I am indebted to the friendliness of Mr. D. Laing of the Signet Library, Edinburgh.

[4] Rushworth. Kennet. Balfour.

to be somewhat sharply dealt with, the Cow having become awake to it! Great events are in the wind; out of Scotland vague news, of unappeasable commotion risen there.

In the end of that same year, too, there had risen all over England huge rumour concerning the Shipmoney Trial at London. On the 6th of November, 1637, this important Process of Mr. Hampden's began. Learned Mr. St. John, a dark tough man, of the toughness of leather, spake with irrefragable law-eloquence, law-logic, for three days running, on Mr. Hampden's side; and learned Mr. Holborn for three other days:—preserved yet by Rushworth in acres of typography, unreadable now to all mortals. For other learned gentlemen, tough as leather, spoke on the opposite side; and learned judges animadverted; at endless length, amid the expectancy of men. With brief pauses, the Trial lasted for three weeks and three days. Mr. Hampden became the most famous man in England,[1]—by accident partly. The sentence was not delivered till April 1638; and then it went against Mr. Hampden: judgment in Exchequer ran to this effect, "*Consideratum est per eosdem Barones quod prædictus Johannes Hampden de iisdem viginti solidis oneretur*, He must pay the Twenty shillings, *et inde satisfaciat*."[2] No hope in Law-Courts, then; Petition of Right and *Tallagio non concedendo* have become an old song. If there be not hope in Jenny Geddes's stool and "De'il colic the wame of thee," we are in a bad way!—

During which great public Transactions, there had been in Cromwell's own Fen-country a work of immense local celebrity going on; the actual Drainage of the Fens, so long talked about; the construction, namely, of the great *Bedford Level*, to carry the Ouse River direct into the sea; holding it forcibly aloft in strong embankments, for twenty straight miles or so; not leaving it to meander and stagnate, and in the wet season drown the country, as heretofore. This grand work began, Dryasdust in his bewildered manner knows not when; but it "went on rapidly," and had ended in 1637.[3] Or rather had *appeared*, and strongly *endeavoured* to end in 1637; but was not yet by any means settled and ended; the whole Fen-region clamouring that it could not and should not end so. In which wide clamour, against injustice done in high places, Oliver Cromwell as is well known, though otherwise a most private quiet man, saw good to interfere; to give the universal inarticulate clamour a voice, and gain a remedy for it. He approved himself, as Sir Philip Warwick will testify,[4] "a man that would set well at the mark," that took sure aim, and had a stroke of some weight in him. We cannot here afford room to disentangle that affair from the dark rubbish-abysses, old and new, in which it lies deep buried: suffice it to assure the reader that Oliver did by no means "oppose" the Draining of the Fens, but was and had been, as his Father before him, highly favourable to it; that he opposed the King in Council wishing to do a public injustice in regard to the Draining of the Fens; and by a "great meeting at Huntingdon," and other good measures, contrived to put a stop to the same. At a time when,

[1] Clarendon.
[2] Rushworth, iii. Appendix, 159-216; ib. ii., 480.
[3] Dugdale's Hist. of Embankments; Colson's, Wells's, &c. &c. History of the Fens.
[4] Warwick's Memoirs (London, 1701), p. 250.

as old Palaceyard might testify, that operation of going in the teeth of the royal will was somewhat more perilous than it would be now! This was in 1638, according to the good testimony of Warwick.[1] Cromwell acquired by it a great popularity in the Fen-country, acquired the name or nickname "Lord of the Fens;" and what was much more valuable, had done the duty of a good citizen, whatever he might acquire by it. The disastrous public Events which soon followed put a stop to all farther operations in the Fens for a good many years.

These clamours of local grievance near at hand, these rumours of universal grievance from the distance—they were part of the Day's noises, they were sounding in Cromwell's mind, along with many others now silent, while the following Letter went off towards "Sir William Masham's House called Otes in Essex," in the year 1638. Of Otes and the Mashams in Essex, there must likewise, in spite of our strait limits, be a word said. The Mashams were distant Cousins of Oliver's; this Sir William Masham, or Massam as he is often written, proved a conspicuous busy man in the Politics of his time; on the Puritan side;—rose into Oliver's Council of State at last. The Mashams became Lords Masham in the next generation, and so continued for a while; one Lady Masham was a daughter of Philosopher Cudworth, and is still remembered as the friend of John Locke, whom she tended in his old days, who lies buried in the Church of Otes, his monument still shewn there. Otes Church, near which stood Otes Mansion, is in the neighbourhood of High Lavers, Essex, not far from Harton Station on the North-Eastern Railway. The Mashams are all extinct, and their Mansion is swept away as if it had not been. "Some forty years ago," says my kind informant, "a wealthy Maltster of Bishop's Stortford became the proprietor by purchase; and pulled the Manorhouse down; leaving the outhouses as cottages to some poor people." The name Otes, the tomb of Locke, and this undestroyed and now indestructible fraction of Ragpaper alone preserve the memory of Mashamdon in this world. We modernise the spelling; let the reader, for it may be worth his while, endeavour to modernise the sentiment and subject matter.

There is only this farther to be premised, That St. John, the celebrated Shipmoney Barrister, has married for his second wife a Cousin of Oliver Cromwell's, a Daughter of Uncle Henry's, whom we knew at Upwood long ago;[2] which Cousin, and perhaps her learned husband reposing from his arduous law duties along with her, is now on a Summer or Autumn visit at Otes, and has lately seen Oliver there.

To my beloved Cousin Mrs. St. John, at Sir William Masham his House called Otes, in Essex: Present these.

DEAR COUSIN, Ely, 13th October, 1638.

I thankfully acknowledge your love in your kind remembrance of me upon this opportunity. Alas, you do too highly

[1] Warwick, *ubi supra*; poor Noble blunders, as he is apt to do.

[2] Ante, p. 20.

prize my lines, and my company. I may be ashamed to own your expressions, considering how unprofitable I am, and the mean improvement of my talent.

Yet to honour my God by declaring what He hath done for my soul, in this I am confident, and I will be so. Truly, then, this I find: That He giveth springs in a dry barren wilderness where no water is. I live, you know where—in Meshec, which they say signifies *Prolonging;* in Kedar, which signifies *Blackness:* yet the Lord forsaketh me not. Though He do prolong, yet He will I trust bring me to His Tabernacle, to His resting-place. My soul is with the Congregation of the Firstborn, my body rests in hope: and if here I may honour my God either by doing or by suffering, I shall be most glad.

Truly no poor creature hath more cause to put himself forth in the cause of his God than I. I have had plentiful wages beforehand; and I am sure I shall never earn the least mite. The Lord accept me in His Son, and give me to walk in the light—and give us to walk in the light, as He is the light! He it is that enlighteneth our blackness, our darkness. I dare not say, He hideth His face from me. He giveth me to see light in His light. One beam in a dark place hath exceeding much refreshment in it:—blessed be His Name for shining upon so dark a heart as mine! You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true: I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me. O the riches of His mercy! Praise Him for me;—pray for me, that He who hath begun a good work would perfect it in the day of Christ.

Salute all my friends in that Family whereof you are yet a member. I am much bound unto them for their love. I bless the Lord for them; and that my Son, by their procurement, is so well. Let him have your prayers, your counsel; let me have them.

Salute your Husband and Sister from me:—He is not a man of his word! He promised to write about Mr. Wrath of Epping; but as yet I receive no letters:—put him in mind to do what with conveniency may be done for the poor Cousin I did solicit him about.

Once more farewell. The Lord be with you: so prayeth

Your truly loving Cousin,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

There are two or perhaps three sons of Cromwell's at Felsted School by this time: a likely enough guess is that he might have been taking Dick over to Felsted on that occasion when he came round by Otes, and gave such comfort by his speech to the pious Mashams, and to the young Cousin, now on a summer visit at Otes. What glimpses of long-gone summers; of long-gone human beings in fringed trowser-breeches, in starched ruff, in hood and fardingale;—alive, they, within their antiquarian costumes, living men and women; instructive, very interesting to one another! Mrs. St. John came down to breakfast every morning in that summer visit of the year 1638, and Sir William said grave grace, and they spake polite devout things to one another;

* Thurloe's State Papers (London, 1742), i. 1.

and they are vanished, they and their things and speeches—all silent, like the echoes of the old nightingales that sang that season, like the blossoms of the old roses. O Death, O Time!—

For the soul's furniture of these brave people is grown not less unintelligible, antiquarian, than their Spanish boots and lappet caps. Reverend Mark Noble, my reverend imbecile friend, discovers in this Letter clear evidence that Oliver was once a very dissolute man; that Carrion Heath spake truth in that *Flagellum* Balderdash of his. O my reverend imbecile friend, hadst thou thyself never any moral life, but only a sensitive and digestive? Thy soul never longed towards the serene heights, all hidden from thee; and thirsted as the hart in dry places wherein no waters be? It was never a sorrow for thee that the eternal pole-star had gone out, veiled itself in dark clouds;—a sorrow only that this or the other noble Patron forgot thee when a living fell vacant? I have know Christians, Moslems, Methodists,—and, alas, also reverend irreverent Apes by the Dead Sea!

O modern reader, dark as this Letter may seem, I will advise thee to make an attempt towards understanding it. There is in it a "tradition of humanity" worth all the rest. Indisputable certificate that man once had a soul; that man once walked with God,—his little life a sacred island girdled with Eternities and Godhoods. Was it not a time for heroes? Heroes were then possible. I say, thou shalt understand that Letter; thou also, looking out into a too brutish world, wilt then exclaim with Oliver Cromwell,—with Hebrew David, as old Mr. Rouse of Truro, and the Presbyterian populations, still sing him in the Northern Kirks:

> Woe's me that I in Meshec am
> A sojourner so long,
> Or that I in the tents do dwell
> To Kedar that belong!

Yes, there is a tone in the soul of this Oliver that holds of the Perennial. With a noble sorrow, with a noble patience, he longs towards the mark of the prize of the high calling. He, I think, has chosen the better part. The world and its wild tumults,—if they will but let him alone! Yet he too will venture, will do and suffer for God's cause, if the call come. What man with better reason? He hath had plentiful wages beforehand; snatched out of darkness into marvellous light: he will never earn the least mite. Annihilation of self; *Selbsttödtung*, as Novalis calls it; casting yourself at the footstool of God's throne, "To live or to die for ever; as Thou wilt, not as I will." Brother, hadst thou never, in any form, such moments in thy history? Thou knowest them not, even by credible rumour? Well, thy earthly path was peaceabler, I suppose. But the Highest was never in thee, the Highest will never come out of thee. Thou shalt at best abide by the stuff; as cherished housedog, guard the stuff,—perhaps with enormous gold-collars and provender: but the battle, and the hero-death, and victory's fire-chariot carrying men to the Immortals, shall never be thine. I pity thee; brag not, or I shall have to despise thee.

TWO YEARS.

SUCH is Oliver's one Letter from Ely. To guide us a little through the void gulf towards his next Letter, we will here intercalate the following small fractions of Chronology.

1639.

May—July. The Scots at their Glasgow Assembly[1] had rent their *Tulchan* Apparatus in so rough a way, and otherwise so ill comported themselves, his Majesty saw good, in the beginning of this year, immense negotiation and messaging to and fro having proved so futile, to chastise them with an Army. By unheard-of exertions in the Extra-Parliamentary way, his Majesty got an Army ready; marched with it to Berwick,—is at Newcastle, 8th May, 1639.[2] But, alas, the Scots, with a much better Army, already lay encamped on Dunse Law; every nobleman with his tenants there, as a drilled regiment, round him; old Fieldmarshal Lesley for their generalissimo; at every Colonel's tent this pennon flying, *For Christ's Crown and Covenant:* there was no fighting to be thought of.[3] Neither could the Pacification there patched up[4] be of long continuance. The Scots disbanded their soldiers; but kept the best officers, mostly Gustavus-Adolphus men, still within sight.

1640.

The Scotch Pacification, hastily patched up at Dunse Hill, did not last; discrepancies arose as to the practical meaning of this and the other clause in it. Discrepancies which the farther they were handled, embroiled themselves the more. His Majesty having burnt Scotch paper Declarations "by the hands of the common hangman," and almost cut the Scotch Chancellor Loudon's head off, and being again resolute to chastise the rebel Scots with an Army, decides on summoning a Parliament for that end, there being no money attainable otherwise. To the great and glad astonishment of England; which, at one time, thought never to have seen another Parliament! Oliver Cromwell sat in this Parliament for Cambridge;[5] recommended by Hampden, say some; not needing any recommendation in those Fen-countries, think others. Oliver's Colleague was a Thomas Meautys, Esq. This Parliament met, 13th April, 1640: it was by no means prompt enough with supplies against the rebel Scots; the King dismissed it in a huff, 5th May; after a Session of three weeks: Historians call it the *Short Parliament.* His Majesty decides on raising money and an Army "by other methods;" to which end, Wentworth, now Earl Strafford and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, who had advised that course in the Council, did himself subscribe 20,000*l.* Archbishop Laud had long ago seen "a cloud rising" against the Four surplices at Allhallowtide; and now it is covering the whole sky in a most dismal and really thundery-looking manner.

His Majesty by "other methods," commission of array, benevolence,

[1] Nov. 1638; Baillie's Letters (Edinburgh, 1841), i. 118-176.
[2] Rushworth, iii. 930.
[3] Ib. iii. 926-49; Baillie, i. 214. 184-221.
[4] King's army "dismissed," 24 June (Rushworth, iii. 946.)
[5] Browne Willis, p. 229, 30; Rushworth. iii. 1105.

forced-loan, or how he could, got a kind of Army on foot,[1] and set it marching out of the several Counties in the South towards the Scotch Border: but it was a most hopeless Army. The soldiers called the affair a *Bishops' War;* they mutinied against their officers, shot some of their officers: in various Towns on their march, if the Clergyman were reputed Puritan, they went and gave him three cheers; if of Surplice-tendency, they sometimes threw his furniture out of window.[2] No fighting against poor Scotch Gospellers was to be hoped for from these men. —Meanwhile the Scots, not to be behindhand, had raised a good Army of their own; and decided on going *into* England with it, this time, "to present their grievances to the King's Majesty." On the 20th of August, 1640, they cross the Tweed at Coldstream; Montrose wading in the van of them all. They wore uniform of hodden grey,[3] with blue caps; and each man had a moderate haversack of oatmeal on his back.

August 28th. The Scots force their way across the Tyne, at Newburn, some miles above Newcastle; the King's Army making small fight, most of them no fight; hurrying from Newcastle, and all town and country quarters, towards York again, where his Majesty and Strafford were.[4] The *Bishops' War* was at an end. The Scots, striving to be gentle as doves in their behaviour, and publishing boundless brotherly Declarations to all the brethren that loved Christ's Gospel and God's Justice in England,—took possession of Newcastle next day; took possession gradually of all Northumberland and Durham,—and stayed there, in various towns and villages, about a year. The whole body of English Puritans looked upon them as their saviours; some months afterwards, Robert Baillie heard the London ballad-singers, on the streets, singing copiously with strong lungs, "Gramercy, good Master Scott" by way of burden.[5]

His Majesty and Strafford, in a fine frenzy at this turn of affairs, found no refuge, except to summon a "Council of Peers," to enter upon a "Treaty" with the Scots; and alas, at last, summon a New Parliament. Not to be helped in any way. Twelve chief Peers of the summoned "Council" petitioned for a Parliament; the City of London petitioned for a Parliament, and would not lend money otherwise. A Parliament was appointed for the 3rd of November next;—whereupon London cheerfully lent 200,000*l.*; and the Treaty with the Scots at Ripon, 1st October, 1640,[6] by-and-bye transferred to London, went peaceably on at a very leisurely pace. The Scotch Army lay quartered at Newcastle, and over Northumberland and Durham, on an allowance of 850*l.* a-day; an Army indispensable for Puritan objects; no haste in finishing its Treaty. The English Army lay across in Yorkshire; without allowance except from the casualties of the King's Exchequer; in a dissatisfied manner, and occasionally getting into "Army-Plots."

This Parliament, which met on the 3rd of November, 1640, has become very celebrated in History by the name of the *Long Parliament.* It accomplished and suffered very singular destinies; suffered a Pride's Purge, a Cromwell's Ejectment; suffered Re-instatements, Re-

[1] Ib. iii. 1241.
[2] Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle (Lond 1644), p. 20.
[3] Old Pamphlets. [4] Rushworth, iii 1236 &c. [5] Baillie's Letters. [6] Rushworth iii. 1284

ejectments ; and the *Rump* or Fag-end of it did not finally vanish till 16th March, 1659-60. Oliver Cromwell sat again in this Parliament for Cambridge Town ; Meautys, his old Colleague, is now changed for "John Lowry, Esquire," [1] probably a more Puritanic man. The Members for Cambridge University are the same in both Parliaments.

LETTER III.

To my loving friend, Mr. Willingham, at his House in Swithin's Lane : These.

SIR, 'London, February, 1640.' [2]

I desire you to send me the Reasons of the Scots to enforce their desire of Uniformity in Religion, expressed in their 8th Article ; I mean that which I had before of you. I would peruse it against we fall upon that Debate, which will be speedily. Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

There is a great quantity of intricate investigation requisite to date this small undated Note, and make it entirely transparent ! The Scotch Treaty, begun at Ripon, is going on,—never ended : the agitation about abolishing Bishops has just begun, in the House and out of it.

On Friday, 11th December, 1640, the Londoners present their celebrated "Petition," signed by 15,000 hands, craving to have Bishops and their Ceremonies radically reformed. Then on Saturday, 23rd January, 1640-1, comes the still more celebrated "Petition and Remonstrance from 700 Ministers of the Church of England," [3] to the like effect ; upon which Documents, especially upon the latter, ensue strenuous debatings ; [4] ensues a "Committee of Twenty-four ;" a Bill to abolish Superstition and Idolatry ; and, in a week or two, a Bill to take away the Bishops' Votes in Parliament : Bills recommended by the said Committee. A diligent Committee, which heard much evidence, and theological debating, from Dr. Burgess and others. Their Bishops-Bill, not without hot arguing, passed through the Commons ; was rejected by the Lords ;—took effect, however, in a much heavier shape, within year and day. Young Sir Ralph Varney, son of Edmund the Standard-bearer, has preserved very careful Notes of the theological revelations and profound arguments, heard in this Committee from Dr. Burgess and others ; intensely interesting at that time to all ingenuous young gentlemen ; a mere torpor now to all persons.

In fact, the whole world, as we perceive, in this Spring of 1641, is getting on fire with episcopal, anti-episcopal emotion, and the Scotch Commissioners, with their Desire of Uniformity, are naturally the centre of the latter. Bishop Hall, Smectymnuus, and one Mr. Milton "near St. Bride's Church," are all getting their Pamphlets ready.—

1 Willis ; Rushworth, iv. 3. See Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge* (London, 1845) iii. 303, 4.

2 The words within single commas, here as always in the Text of Cromwell's Letters, are mine, not his ; the date in this instance is conjectural or inferential.

* Harris, p. 517.

3 Commons Journals, ii. 72.

4 Commons Journals, ii. 81 ; 8 and 9 of February. See Baillie's Letters, i. 302 ; and Rushworth, iv. 93 and 174.

The assiduous contemporary individual who collected the huge stock of loose Printing now known as *King's Pamphlets* in the British Museum, usually writes the date on the title-page of each; but has, with a curious infelicity, omitted it in the case of Milton's Pamphlets, which accordingly remain undateable except approximately.

The exact copy of the Scotch Demands towards a Treaty I have not yet met with, though doubtless it is in print amid the unsorted Rubbish-Mountains of the British Museum. Notices of it are to be seen in Baillie, also in Rushworth.[1] The first Seven Articles relate to secularities; payment of damages; punishment of incendiaries, and so forth; the Seventh is the "recalling" of the King's Proclamations against the Scots: "the Eighth, anent a solid peace betwixt the Nations," involves this matter of Uniformity in Religion, and therefore is of weightier moment. Baillie says, "For the Eighth great Demand some days were spent in preparation." The Lords would have made no difficulty about dismantling Berwick and Carlisle, or such like, but finding that the other points of this eighth article were to involve the *permanent* relations of England they delayed. "We expect it this very day," says Baillie (28th February, 1640-1). Oliver Cromwell also expects it this very day or "speedily,"—and therefore writes to Mr. Willingham for a sight of the Documents again.

Whoever wishes to trace the emergence, re-emergence, slow ambiguous progress, and dim issue of this "Eighth Article," may consult the opaque but authentic Commons Journals, and strive to elucidate the same by poor old brown Pamphlets, in the places cited below.[2] It was not finally voted in the affirmative till the middle of May; and then still it was far from being ended. It *ended*, properly, in the Summoning of a "Westminster Assembly of Divines," To ascertain for us *how* "the two Nations" may best attain to "Uniformity of Religion."

This "Mr. Willingham, my loving friend," of whom I have found no other vestige anywhere in Nature, is presumably a London Puritan concerned in the London Petition and other such matters, to whom the Member for Cambridge, a man of known zeal, good connexion, and growing weight, is worth convincing.

Oliver St. John the Shipmoney Lawyer, now Member for Totness, has lately been made Solicitor-General; on the 2d of February, 1640-1, D'Ewes says of him, "newly created;"[3] a date worth attending to. Strafford's Trial is coming on; to begin on the 22nd of March: Strafford and Laud are safe in the Tower long since; and Finch and Windebank, and other Delinquents in high places, have fled rapidly beyond seas.

IN THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

THAT little Note, despatched by a servant to Swithin's Lane in the Spring of 1641, and still saved by capricious destiny while so much

[1] Baillie, i. 297 *et antea et postea*; Rushworth, iv. 166.

[2] Commons Journals, ii. 84, 85; *Diurnal Occurrences in Parliament* (Printed for William Cooke, London, 1641,—often erroneous as to the day), 10 February, 7 March, 15 May.

[3] Sir Simond D'Ewes's Notes of the Long Parliament (*Harleian MSS.*, nos. 162-6), fol 189 a; p. 156 of Transcript *penes me*.

else has been destroyed,—is all of Autographic that Oliver Cromwell has left us concerning his proceedings in the first three-and-twenty months of the Long Parliament. Months distinguished, beyond most others in History, by anxieties and endeavours, by hope and fear and swift vicissitude, to all England as well as him: distinguished on his part by much Parliamentary activity withal; of which, unknown hitherto in History, but still capable of being known, let us wait some other opportunity of speaking. Two vague appearances of his in that scene, which are already known to most readers, we will set in their right date and place, making them faintly visible at last: and therewith leave this part of the subject.

In D'Ewes's Manuscript above cited[1] are these words, relating to *Monday, 9th November*, 1640, the sixth day of the Long Parliament: "Mr. Cromwell delivered the Petition of John Lilburn,"—young Lilburn, who had once been Prynne's amanuensis, among other things, and whose "whipping with 200 stripes from Westminster to the Fleet Prison," had already rendered him conspicuous. This is the record of D'Ewes. To which let us now annex the following well-known passage of Sir Philip Warwick; and if the reader fancy the Speeches on the former Saturday,[2] and how the "whole of this Monday was spent in hearing grievances" of the like sort, some dim image of a strange old scene may perhaps rise upon him.

"The first time I ever took notice of Mr. Cromwell," says Warwick, "was in the very beginning of the Parliament held "in November 1640; when I," Member for Radnor, "vainly, thought myself a courtly young gentleman,—for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes! I came into the House one morning," Monday morning, "well clad; and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not,—very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country-tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hatband. His stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side: his countenance swoln and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour. For the subject matter would not bear much of *reason;* it being on behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's who had dispersed Libels;"—yes, *Libels*, and had come to Palaceyard for it, as we saw: "I sincerely profess, it lessened much my reverence unto that Great Council, for this gentleman was very much hearkened unto,"[3]—which was strange, seeing he had no gold lace to his coat, nor frills to his band, and otherwise, to me in my poor featherhead, seemed a somewhat unhandy gentleman.

The reader may take what of these Warwick traits he can along with him, and also omit what he cannot take; for though Warwick's veracity is undoubted, his memory after many years in such an element as his had been, may be questioned. The "band," we may remind our readers, is a linen tippet, properly the shirt-collar of those days, which

[1] D'Ewes, fol. 4.
[2] Commons Journals, 7 November, 1640; Rushworth, iv. 24, &c.
[3] Warwick, p 247

when the hair was worn long, needed to fold itself with a good expanse of washable linen over the upper works of the coat, and defend these and their velvets from harm. The "specks of blood," if not fabulous, we, not without general sympathy, attribute to bad razors: as for the "hat-band," one remarks that men did not speak with their hats *on;* and therefore will, with Sir Philip's leave, *omit* that. The "untuneable voice," or what a poor young gentleman in such circumstances would consider as such, is very significant to us.

Here is the other vague appearance; from Clarendon's Life.[1] "He," Mr. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, "was often heard to mention one private Committee, in which he was put accidentally into the chair; upon an Enclosure which had been made of great wastes, belonging to the Queen's Manors, without the consent of the tenants, the benefit whereof had been given by the Queen to a servant of near trust, who forthwith sold the lands enclosed to the Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal; who together with his son Mandevil were now most concerned to maintain the Enclosure; against which, as well the inhabitants of other manors, who claimed Common in those wastes, as the Queen's tenants of the same, made loud complaints, as a great oppression, carried upon them with a very high hand, and supported by power.

"The Committee sat in the Queen's Court; and Oliver Cromwell being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the Petitioners, who were numerous together with their Witnesses; the Lord Mandevil being likewise present as a party, and by the direction of the Committee sitting covered. Cromwell, who had never before been heard to speak in the House of Commons,"—at least not by *me*, though he had often spoken, and was very well known there,—"ordered the Witnesses and Petitioners in the method of the proceeding; and seconded, and enlarged upon what they said, with great passion; and the Witnesses and persons concerned, who were a very rude kind of people, interrupted the Counsel and Witnesses on the other side, with great clamour, when they said any thing that did not please them; so that Mr. Hyde (whose office it was to oblige persons of all sorts to keep order) was compelled to use some sharp reproofs, and some threats, to reduce them to such a temper, that the business might be quietly heard. Cromwell, in great fury, reproached the Chairman for being partial, and that he discountenanced the Witnesses by threatening them: the other appealed to the Committee; which justified him, and declared, that he behaved himself as he ought to do; which more inflamed him," Cromwell, "who was already too much angry. When upon any mention of matter-of-fact, or of the proceeding before and at the Enclosure, the Lord Mandevil desired to be heard, and with great modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. Cromwell did answer, and reply upon him with so much indecency and rudeness, and in language so contrary and offensive, that every man would have thought, that as their natures and their manners were as opposite as it is possible, so their interest could never have been the same. In the end, his whole

[1] i. 78 (Oxford, 1761).

carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the Chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him; and to tell him, That if he" Mr. Cromwell, "proceeded in the same manner, he" Mr. Hyde, "would presently adjourn the Committee, and the next morning complain to the House of him. Which he never forgave; and took all occasions afterwards to pursue him with the utmost malice and revenge, to *his* death,"—not Mr. Hyde's, happily, but Mr. Cromwell's, who at length did cease to cherish "malice and revenge" against Mr. Hyde!

Tracking this matter, by faint indications, through various obscure courses, I conclude that it related to "the Soke of Somersham"[1] near St. Ives; and that the scene in the Queen's Court probably occurred in the beginning of July, 1641.[2] Cromwell knew this Soke of Somersham near St. Ives very well; knew these poor rustics, and what treatment they had got; and wished, not in the imperturbablest manner it would seem, to see justice done them. Here too, subtracting the due subtrahend from Mr. Hyde's Narrative, we have a pleasant visuality of an old summer afternoon "in the Queen's Court" two hundred years ago.

Cromwell's next Letters present him to us, not debating, or about to debate, concerning Parliamentary Propositions and Scotch "Eighth Articles," but with his sword drawn to enforce them; the whole Kingdom divided now into two armed conflicting masses; the argument to be by pike and bullet henceforth.

PART II.

TO THE END OF THE FIRST CIVIL WAR.

1642-1646.

PRELIMINARY.

THERE is therefore a great dark void, from February 1641, to January 1643, through which the reader is to help himself from Letter III. over to Letter IV., as he best may. How has pacific England, the most solid pacific country in the world, got all into this armed attitude; and decided itself to argue henceforth by pike and bullet till it get some solution? Dryasdust, if there remained any shame in him, ought to look at those waggonloads of Printed Volumes, and blush! We, in great haste, offer the necessitous reader the following hints and considerations.

It was mentioned above that Oliver St. John, the noted Puritan Lawyer, was already, in the end of January 1641, made Solicitor-General. The reader may mark that as a small fraction of an event showing itself above ground, completed; and indicating to him a grand subterranean attempt on the part of King Charles and the Puritan Leaders, which unfortunately never could become a fact or event. Charles, in January last or earlier (for there are no dates dis-

[1] Commons Journals, ii. 172.
[2] Ibid. 87; 150; 172; 192; 215; 218; 219.—the dates extend from 17th February to 21st May, 1641.

coverable but this of St. John's), perceiving how the current of the Nation ran, and what a humour men were getting into, had decided on trying to adopt the Puritan leaders, Pym, Hampden, Holles, and others, as what we should now call his "Ministers:" these Puritan men, under the Earl of Bedford as chief, might have hoped to become what we should now call a "Majesty's Ministry," and to execute peaceably, with their King presiding over them, what reforms had grown inevitable. A most desirable result, if a possible one; for of all men these had the least notion of revolting, or rebelling against their King!

This negotiation had been entered into, and entertained as a possibility by both parties: so much is indubitable; so much and nothing more, except that it ended without result.[1] It would in our days be the easiest negotiation; but it was then an impossible one. For it meant that the King should content himself with the Name of King, and see measures the reverse of what *he* wished, and meant, take effect by his sanction. Which, in sad truth, had become a necessity for Charles I. in the England of 1641. His tendency and effort has long been the reverse of England's; he cannot govern England, whatever he may govern! And yet to have admitted this necessity,—alas, was it not to have settled the whole Quarrel, *without* the eight-and-forty years of fighting, and confused bickering and oscillation, which proved to be needful first? The negotiation dropped; leaving for visible result only this appointment of St. John's. His Majesty on that side saw no course possible for him.

Accordingly he tried it in the opposite direction, which also, on failure by this other, was very natural for him. He entered into secret tamperings with the Officers of the English Army; which, lying now in Yorkshire, ill-paid, defeated, and in neighbourhood of a Scotch Army victoriously furnished with 850*l.* a-day, was very apt for discontent. There arose a "First Army-Plot" for delivering Strafford from the Tower; then a second Army-Plot for some equally wild achievement, tending to deliver Majesty from thraldom, and send this factious Parliament about its business. In which desperate schemes, though his Majesty strove not to commit himself beyond what was necessary, it became and still remains indubitable that he did participate;—as indeed, the former course of listening to his Parliament having been abandoned, this other of coercing or awing it by armed force was the only remaining one.

These Army-Plots, detected one after another, and investigated and commented upon, with boundless interest, in Parliament and out of it, kept the Summer and Autumn of 1641 in continual alarm and agitation; taught all Opposition persons, and a factious Parliament in general, what ground they were standing on;—and in the factious Parliament, especially, could not but awaken the liveliest desire of having the Military Force put in such hands as would be safe for them. "The Lord-Lieutenants of Counties," this factious Parliament conceived an unappeaseable desire of knowing who these were to be:—this is what they mean by "Power of the Militia;" on which point, as his Majesty would not yield a jot, his Parliament and he,—the point

[1] Whitlocke, Clarendon; see Forster's Statesmen, ii. 150-7.

becoming daily more important, new offences daily accumulating, and the split ever widening,—ultimately rent themselves asunder, and drew swords to decide it.

Such was the well-known consummation; which in Cromwell's next Letter we find to have arrived. Here are a few Dates which may assist the reader to grope his way thither. From "Mr. Willingham in Swithin's Lane" in February 1641, to the Royal Standard at Nottingham in August 1642, and "Mr. Barnard at Huntingdon" in January 1643, which is our next stage, there is a long vague road; and the lights upon it are mostly a universal dance of will-o'-wisps, and distracted fire-flies in a state of excitement,—not good guidance for the traveller!

1641.

Monday, 3d May. Strafford's Trial being ended, but no sentence yet given, Mr. Robert Baillie, Minister of Kilwinning, who was here among the Scotch Commissioners at present, saw in Palaceyard, Westminster, "some thousands of Citizens and Apprentices" (Miscellaneous Persons and City Shopmen, as we should now call them), who rolled about there "all day," bellowing to every Lord as he went in or came out, "with a loud and hideous voice:" "Justice on Strafford! Justice on Traitors!"[1] —which seemed ominous to the Reverend Mr. Baillie.

In which same hours, amid such echoes from without, the honourable House of Commons within doors, all in great tremor about Army-Plots, Treasons, Death-Perils, was busy redacting a "Protestation," a kind of solemn Vow, or miniature *Scotch Covenant*, the first of a good many such in those earnest agitated times,—to the effect: "We take the Supreme to witness that we will stand by one another to the death in prosecution of our just objects here; in defence of Law, Loyalty, and Gospel here." To this effect, but couched in very mild language, and with a "Preamble," in which our Terror of Army-Plots, the moving principle of the affair, is discreetly almost shaded out of sight; it being our object that the House shall be "unanimous" in this Protestation. As accordingly the House was; the House, and to a great extent, the Nation. Hundreds of Honourable Members, Mr. Cromwell one of them, sign the Protestation this day: the others on the following days: their names all registered in due succession in the Books.[2] Nay, it is ordered that the whole Nation be invited to sign it, that each Honourable Member send it down to his constituents, and invite them to sign it. Which, as we say, the constituents, all the reforming part of them, everywhere in England, did; with a feeling of solemnity very strange to the modern mind. Striking terror into all Traitors; quashing down Army-Plots for the present, and the hopes of poor Strafford for ever. A Protestation held really sacred appealed to, henceforth, as a thing from which there was no departing. Cavalcades of Freeholders, coming up from the Country to Petition the honourable House,—for instance, the Four-thousand Petitioners from Buckinghamshire, about ten months hence, rode with this Pro-

[1] Baillie, i. 351.
[2] Commons Journals, ii. 132, 3, &c.; Rushworth, iv. 241, 4.

testation "stuck in their hats."[1] A very great and awe-inspiring matter in those days; till it was displaced by greater of the like kind,—Solemn League and Covenant, and others.[2]

Monday next, 10*th May*, his Majesty accordingly signed sentence on Strafford; who was executed on the Wednesday following:—no help for it. A terrible example; the one supremely able man the King had.

On the same Monday, 10th May, his Majesty signed likewise another Bill, That this Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. A Bill signed in order that the City might lend him money on good Security of Parliament; money being most pressingly wanted, for our couple of hungry Armies Scotch and English, and other necessary occasions. A Bill which seemed of no great consequence except financial; but which to a People reverent of Law, and never in the wildest clash of battle-swords giving up its religious respect for the constable's baton, proved of infinite consequence. His Majesty's hands are tied; he cannot dismiss this Parliament, as he has done the others;—no, not without its own consent.

August 10*th*. Army-Plotters having fled beyond seas; the Bill for Triennial Parliaments being passed; The Episcopacy-Bill being got to sleep, and by the use of royal *varnish* a kind of composure or hope of composure being introduced; above all things, money being now borrowed to pay the Armies and disband them,—his Majesty on the 10th of the month[3] set out for Scotland. To hold a Parliament, and compose matters there, as his Majesty gave out. To see what old or new elements of malign Royalism could still be awakened to life there, as the Parliament surmised, who greatly opposed his going.—Mr. Cromwell got home to Ely again, for six weeks, this autumn; there being a recess from 9th September when the business was got gathered up, till 20th of October when his Majesty was expected back. An Interim Committee, and Pym from his "Lodging at Chelsea,"[4] managed what of indispensable might turn up.

November 1*st*. News came to London, to the reassembled Parliament,[5] that an Irish Rebellion, already grown to be an Irish Massacre, had broken out. An Irish Catholic imitation of the late Scotch Presbyterian achievements in the way of "religious liberty;"—one of the best models, and one of the worst imitations ever seen in this world. Erasmus's Ape, observing Erasmus shave himself, never doubted but it too could shave. One knows what a hand the creature made of itself, before the edgetool could be wrenched from it again! As this poor Irish Rebellion unfortunately began in lies and bluster, and proceeded in lies and bluster, hoping to make itself good that way, the ringleaders had started by pretending or even forging some warrant from the King; which brought much undeserved suspicion on his Majesty and greatly complicated his affairs here for a long while.

November 22*d*. The Irish Rebellion blazing up more and more into an Irish Massacre, to the terror and horror of all Anti-papist men; and in England, or even in Scotland, except by the liberal use of

[1] 12 January, 1641-2; Rushworth, iv. 486.
[2] Appendix, No. 3.
[3] Wharton's Laud, p. 62.
[4] His Report, Commons Journals, ii. 289
[5] Laud, 62; Commons Journals, *in die*.

varnish, nothing yet being satisfactorily mended, nay all things hanging now, as it seemed, in double and treble jeopardy,—the Commons had decided on a "Grand Petition and Remonstrance," to set forth what their griefs and necessities really were, and really would require to have done for them. The Debate upon it, very celebrated in those times, came on this day, Monday, 22d November.[1] The longest Debate ever yet known in Parliament; and the stormiest,—nay, had it not been for Mr. Hampden's soft management, "we had liked to have sheathed our swords in each other's bowels," says Warwick; which I find otherwise to be true. The Remonstrance passed by a small majority. It can be read still in Rushworth,[2] drawn up in precise business order; the whole 206 Articles of it,—every line of which once thrilled electrically into all men's hearts, as torpid as it has now grown. The chimes of Margaret's were striking two in the morning "when we came out."—It was on this occasion that Oliver, "coming down stairs," is reported to have said, He would have sold all and gone to New England, had the Remonstrance not passed;[3]—a vague report, gathered over dining-tables long after, to which the reader need not pay more heed than it merits. His Majesty returned from Scotland on the Thursday following; and had from the City a thrice-glorious Civic Entertainment.[4]

December 10*th*. The Episcopal business, attempted last Spring in vain, has revived in December, kindled into life by the Remonstrance; and is raging more fiercely than ever; crowds of Citizens petitioning, Corporation "going in sixty coaches" to petition;[5] the Apprentices, or City Shopmen, and miscellaneous persons, petitioning:—Bishops "much insulted" in Palaceyard, as they go in or out. Whereupon hasty Welsh Williams, Archbishop of York, once Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Keeper, he with Eleven too hasty Bishops, Smectymnuus Hall being one of them, give in a Protest, on this 10th of December,[6] That they cannot get to their place in Parliament; that all shall be null and void till they do get there. A rash step; for which, on the 30th of the same month, they are, by the Commons, voted guilty of Treason; and "in a cold evening," with small ceremony, are bundled, the whole dozen of them, into the Tower. For there is again rioting, again are cries "loud and hideous;"—Colonel Lunsford, a truculent one-eyed man, having "drawn his sword" upon the Apprentices in Westminster Hall, and truculently slashed some of them; who of course responded in a loud and hideous manner, by tongue, by fist, and single-stick: nay, on the morrow, 28th December,[7] they came marching many thousands strong, with sword and pistol, out of the City, "Slash us now! while we wait on the Honourable House for an answer to our Petition!"—and insulted his Majesty's Guard at Whitehall. What a Christmas of that old London, of that old Year! On the 6th of February following, Episcopacy will be voted down, with blaze of "bonfires" and "ringing" of all the bells,—very audible to poor old Dr. Laud[8] over in the Tower yonder.

1 Commons Journals, *in die*; D'Ewes's MSS. f. 179 b.
2 iv. 438-51; see also 436-7.
3 Clarendon.
4 Rushworth, iv. 464.
5 Vicars, p. 56.
6 Rushworth, iv. 467.
7 Rushworth, iv. 464.
8 Wharton's Laud, p. 62; see also p. 65.

1642.

January 4th. His Majesty seeing these extremities arrive, and such a conflagration begin to blaze, thought now the time had come for snatching the main livecoals away, and so quenching the same. Such coals of strife he counts to the number of Five in the Commons House, and One in the Lords: Pym, Hampden, Haselrig, with Holles and Strode (who held down the Speaker fourteen years ago), these are the Five Commons; Lord Kimbolton, better known to us as Mandevil, Oliver's friend, of the "Soke of Somersham," and Queen's-Court Committee, he is the Lord. His Majesty flatters himself he has gathered evidence concerning these individual firebrands, That they "invited the Scots to invade us" in 1640: he sends, on Monday 3rd January,[1] to demand that they be given up to him as Traitors. Deliberate, slow, and as it were evasive reply. Whereupon, on the morrow, he rides down to St. Stephen's himself, with an armed very miscellaneous force, of Five-hundred or of Three-hundred truculent braggadocio persons at his back; enters the House of Commons, the truculent persons looking in after him from the lobby,—with intent to seize the said Five Members, five principal hot coals; and trample *them* out, for one thing. It was the fatallest step this poor King ever took. The Five Members, timefully warned, were gone into the City; the whole Parliament removed itself into the City, "to be safe from armed violence." From London City, and from all England, rose one loud voice of lamentation, condemnation: Clean against law! Paint an inch thick, there is, was, or can be, no shadow of law in *this*. Will you grant us the Militia now; we seem to need it now!—His Majesty's subsequent stages may be dated with more brevity.

January 10th. The King with his Court quits Whitehall; the Five Members and Parliament purposing to return to-morrow, with the whole City in arms round them.[2] He left Whitehall; never saw it again till he came to lay down his head there.

March 9th. The King has sent away his Queen from Dover, "to be in a place of safety,"—and also to pawn the Crown-jewels in Holland, and get him arms. He returns Northward again, avoiding London. Many Messages between the Houses of Parliament and him: "Will your Majesty grant us Power of the Militia; accept this list of Lord-Lieutenants?" On the 9th of March, still advancing Northward without affirmative response, he has got to Newmarket; where another Message overtakes him, earnestly urges itself upon him: Could not your Majesty please to grant us Power of the Militia for a limited time? "No, by God!" answers his Majesty, "not for an hour!"[3]— On the 19th of March he is at York; where his Hull Magazine, gathered for service against the Scots, is lying near; where a great Earl of Newcastle, and other Northern potentates, will help him; where at least London and its Puritanism, now grown so fierce, is far off.

There we will leave him; attempting Hull Magazine, in vain; exchanging messages with his Parliament; messages, missives, printed

[1] Commons Journals, ii. 367. [2] Vicars, p. 64. [3] Rushworth, iv. 533.

and written Papers without limit :—Law-pleadings of both parties before the great tribunal of the English Nation, each party striving to prove itself right, and within the verge of Law : preserved still in acres of typography, once thrillingly alive in every fibre of them ; now a mere torpor, readable by few creatures, not rememberable by any. It is too clear his Majesty will have to get himself an army, by Commission of Array, by subscriptions of loyal plate, pawning of crown-jewels, or how he can. The Parliament by all methods is endeavouring to do the like. London subscribed "Horses and Plate," every kind of plate, even to women's thimbles, to an unheard-of amount ;[1] and when it came to actual enlisting, in London alone there were "Four thousand enlisted in a day."[2] Four thousand, some call it Five thousand in a day : the reader may meditate that one fact. Royal messages, Parliamentary messages ; acres of typography thrillingly alive in every fibre of them,—these go on slowly abating, and military preparations go on steadily increasing till the 23d of October next. The King's "Commission of Array for Leicestershire" came out on the 12th of June, commissions for other counties following as convenient ; the Parliament's "Ordinance for the Militia," rising cautiously pulse after pulse towards clear emergence, had attained completion the week before.[3] The question puts itself to every English soul, Which of these will you obey ?—and in all quarters of English ground, with swords getting out of their scabbards, and yet the constable's baton still struggling to rule supreme, there is a most confused solution of it going on.

Of Oliver in these months we find the following things noted ; which the imaginative reader is to spread out into significance for himself the best he can.

February 7th. "Mr. Cromwell," among others, "offers to lend Three hundred Pounds for the service of the Commonwealth,"[4]—towards reducing the Irish Rebellion, and relieving the afflicted Protestants there, or here. Rushworth, copying a List of such subscribers, of date 9th April 1642, has Cromwell's name written down for "500*l.*,"[5]—seemingly the same transaction ; Mr. Cromwell having now mended his offer ; or else Mr. Rushworth, who uses the arithmetical cipher in this place, having misprinted. Hampden's subscription there is 1,000*l.* In Mr. Cromwell it is clear there is no backwardness, far from that ; his activity in these months notably increases. In the *D'Ewes* MSS.[6] he appears and reappears ; suggesting this and the other practical step, on behalf of Ireland oftenest ; in all ways zealously urging the work.

July 15th. "Mr. Cromwell moved that we might make an order to allow the Townsmen of Cambridge to raise two Companies of Volunteers and to appoint Captains over them."[7] On which same day, 15th

1 Vicars, pp. 93, 109 ; see Commons Journals, 10th June, 1642.
2 Wood's Athenæ, iii. 193.
3 Husbands the Printer's *First* Collection (London, 1643), pp. 346, 331
4 Commons Journals, ii. 408.
5 Rushworth, iv. 564.
6 February – July 1642.
7 D'Ewes's MSS. f. 658 662.

July, the Commons Clerk writes these words: "Whereas Mr. Cromwell hath sent down arms into the County of Cambridge, for the defence of that County, it is this day ordered,"[1]—that he shall have the "100*l.*" expended on that service, repaid him by and by. Is Mr. Cromwell aware that there lies a colour of high treason in all this; risk not of one's purse only, but of one's head? Mr. Cromwell is aware of it, and pauses not. The next entry is still stranger.

August 15*th.* "Mr. Cromwell in Cambridgeshire has seized the Magazine in the Castle at Cambridge; and hath hindered the carrying of the Plate from that University; which, as some report, was to the value of 20,000*l.* or thereabouts." So does Sir Philip Stapleton, member for Aldborough, member also of our new "Committee for Defence of the Kingdom," report this day. For which let Mr. Cromwell have indemnity[2]—Mr. Cromwell has gone down into Cambridgeshire in person, since they began to train there, and assumed the chief management—to some effect, it would appear.

The like was going on in all shires of England; wherever the Parliament had a zealous member, it sent him down to his shire in these critical months, to take what management he could or durst. The most confused months England ever saw. In every shire, in every parish; in courthouses, alehouses, churches, markets, wheresoever men were gathered together, England, with sorrowful confusion in every fibre, is tearing itself into hostile halves, to carry on the voting by pike and bullet henceforth.

Brevity is very urgent on us, nevertheless we must give this other extract. Bramston the Shipmoney Judge, in trouble with the Parliament and sequestered from his place, is now likely to get into trouble with the King, who in the last days of July has ordered him to come to York on business of importance. Judge Bramston sends his two sons, John and Frank, fresh young men, to negotiate some excuse. They ride to York in three days; stay a day at York with his Majesty; then return "on the same horses," in three days,—to Skreens in Essex; which was good riding. John, one of them, has left a most watery incoherent *Autobiography*, now printed, but not edited, nor worth editing, except by *fire* to ninety-nine hundredths of it; very distracting; in which, however, there is this notable sentence; date about the middle of August, not discoverable to a day. Having been at York, and riding back on the same horses in three days:

"In our return on Sunday, near Huntingdon, between that and Cambridge, certain musketeers start out of the corn, and command us to stand; telling us we must be searched, and to that end must go before Mr. Cromwell, and give account from whence we came and whither we are going. I asked, Where Mr. Cromwell was? A soldier told us, He was four miles off. I said, It was unreasonable to carry us out of our way; if Mr. Cromwell had been there, I should have willingly given him all the satisfaction he could desire;—and putting

[1] Commons Journals, ii. 674.

[2] Commons Journals, ii. 720-6. See likewise *Querela Cantabrigiensis* (and wipe away its blubberings and inexactitudes a little) Life of Dr. Barwick, &c., Cambridge Portfolio (London, 1840), ii. 386-8.

THE LAST CHARGE, EDGEHILL.

From the picture by Stanley Berkeley. By permission of Messrs. Hildesheimer & Co.

my hand into my pocket, I gave one of them Twelve-pence, who said we might pass. By this I saw plainly it would not be possible for my Father to get to the King with his coach ;"[1]—neither did he go at all, but stayed at home till he died.

September 14th. Here is a new phasis of the business. In a List of the Army under the command of the "Earl of Essex,"[2] we find that Robert Earl of Essex is "Lord General for King *and* Parliament," (to deliver the poor beloved King from traitors, who have misled him, and clouded his fine understanding, and rendered him as it were a beloved Parent fallen *insane*) ; that Robert Earl of Essex, we say, is Lord General for King and Parliament ; that William the new Earl of Bedford is General of the Horse, and has, or is every hour getting to have, "seventy-five troops of 60 men each ;" in every troop a Captain, a Lieutenant, a Cornet and Quartermaster, whose names are all given. In *Troop Sixty-seven*, the Captain is "Oliver Cromwell,"—honourable member for Cambridge ; many honourable members having now taken arms ; Mr. Hampden, for example, having become Colonel Hampden, —busy drilling his men in Chalgrove Field at this very time. But moreover, in *Troop Eight* of Earl Bedford's Horse, we find another "Oliver Cromwell, Cornet ; and with real thankfulness for this poor flint-spark in the great darkness, recognise him for our honourable member's Son. His eldest Son Oliver,[3] now a stout young man of twenty. "Thou too, Boy Oliver, thou art fit to swing a sword. If there ever was a battle worth fighting, and to be called God's battle, it is this ; thou too wilt come!" How a staid, most pacific, solid Farmer of three-and-forty decides on girding himself with warlike iron, and fighting, he and his, against principalities and powers, let readers who have formed any notion of this man conceive for themselves.

On *Sunday, 23rd October*, was Edgehill Battle, called also Keinton Fight, near Keinton on the south edge of Warwickshire. In which Battle Captain Cromwell *was* present, and did his duty, let angry Denzil say what he will.[4] The Fight was indecisive ; victory claimed by both sides. Captain Cromwell told Cousin Hampden, They never would get on with a set of poor tapsters and town apprentice-people fighting against men of honour. To cope with men of honour they must have men of religion. "Mr. Hampden answered me, It was a good notion, if it could be executed." Oliver himself set about executing a bit of it, his share of it, by and by.

"We all thought one battle would decide it," says Richard Baxter ;[5] —and we were all much mistaken! This winter there arise among certain Counties "Associations" for mutual defence, against Royalism and plunderous Rupertism ; a measure cherished by the Parliament, condemned as treasonable by the King. Of which "Associations," countable to the number of five or six, we name only one, that of Norfolk,

[1] Autobiography of Sir John Bramston, Knight (Camden Society, 1845), p. 86.
[2] King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no 73.
[3] Antea p. 55.
[4] Vicars, p. 198 ; Denzil Holles's *Memoirs* (in Maseres's Tracts, vol. i.)
[5] Life (London, 1696), Part i. p. 43.

Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Herts; with Lord Gray of Wark for Commander; where, and under whom, Oliver was now serving. This "Eastern Association" is alone worth naming. All the other Associations, no man of emphasis being in the midst of them, fell in few months to pieces; only this of Cromwell's subsisted, enlarged itself, grew famous;—and indeed kept its own borders clear of invasion during the whole course of the War. Oliver, in the beginning of 1643, is serving there, under the Lord Gray of Wark. Besides his military duties, Oliver, as natural, was nominated of the Committee for Cambridgeshire in this Association; he is also of the Committee for Huntingdonshire, which as yet belongs to another "Association." Member for the Committee of Huntingdonshire; to which also has been nominated a "Robert Barnard, Esquire,"[1]—who, however, does not sit, as I have reason to surmise!

LETTER IV.

THE reader recollects Mr. Robert Barnard, how, in 1630, he got a Commission of the Peace for Huntingdon, along with "Dr. Beard and Mr. Oliver Cromwell," to be fellow Justices there. Probably they never sat much together, as Oliver went to St. Ives soon after, and the two men were of opposite politics, which in those times meant opposite religions. But here in twelve years space is a change of many things!

To my assured friend, Robert Barnard, Esquire: Present these.

MR. BARNARD, 'Huntingdon,' 23rd January, 1642.

It's most true my Lieutenant, with some other soldiers of my troop were at your House. I dealt 'so' freely 'as' to inquire after you; the reason was, I had heard you reported active against the proceedings of Parliament, and *for* those that disturb the peace of this Country and the Kingdom,—*with* those of this Country who have had meetings not a few, to intents and purposes too too full of suspect.[2]

It's true, Sir, I know you have been wary in your carriages: be not too confident thereof. Subtility may deceive you, integrity never will. With my heart I shall desire that your judgment may alter, and your practice. I come only to hinder men from increasing the rent,—from doing hurt; but not to hurt any man: nor shall I you; I hope you will give me no cause. If you do, I must be pardoned what my relation to the Public calls for.

If your good parts be disposed that way, know me for your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Be assured fair words from me shall neither deceive you of your houses nor of your liberty.*

My Copy, two Copies, of this Letter I owe to kind friends, who have carefully transcribed it from the Original at Lord Gosford's. The pre-

[1] Husbands, i. 892; see for the other particulars, ii. 183, 327, 804, 809; Commons Journals, &c.

[2] *Country* is equivalent to *county* or *region*; *too-too* in those days, means little more than *too*; *suspect* is *suspectfully*, almost as proper as our modern *suspicion*.

* Original in the Possession of Lord Gosford at Worlingham in Suffolk.

sent Lady Gosford is "grand-daughter of Sir Robert Barnard," to whose lineal ancestor the Letter is addressed. The date of time is given; there never was any date or address of place,—which probably means that it was written in Huntingdon and addressed to Huntingdon, where Robert Barnard, who became Recorder of the place, is known to have resided. Oliver, in the month of January 1642-3, is present in the Fen-country, and all over the Eastern Association, with his troop or troops; looking after disaffected persons; ready to disperse royalist assemblages, to seize royalist plate, to keep down disturbance, and care in every way that the Parliament Cause suffer no damage. A Lieutenant and party have gone to take some survey of Robert Barnard, Esquire; Robert Barnard, standing on the right of injured innocence, innocent till he be proved guilty, protests: Oliver responds as here, in a very characteristic way.

It was precisely in these weeks, that Oliver from Captain became Colonel: Colonel of a regiment of horse, raised on his own principles so far as might be, in that "Eastern Association;" and is henceforth known in the Newspapers as Colonel Cromwell. Whether on this 23rd of January, he was still Captain, or had ceased to be so, no extant accessible record apprises us. On the 2nd March, 1642-3, I have found him named as "Col. Cromwell,"[1] and hitherto not earlier. He is getting "men of religion" to serve in this cause,—or at least would fain get such if he might.

CAMBRIDGE; LOWESTOFF.

In the end of February, 1642-3, "Colonel" Cromwell is at Cambridge; "great forces from Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk" having joined him, and more still coming in.[2] There has been much alarm and running to and fro, over all those counties. Lord Capel hanging over them with an evident intent to plunder Cambridge, generally to plunder and ravage in this region; as Prince Rupert has cruelly done in Gloucestershire, and is now cruelly doing in Wilts and Hants. Colonel Cromwell, the soul of the whole business, must have had some bestirring of himself; some swift riding and resolving, now here now there. Some "12,000 men," however, or say even "23,000 men" (for rumour runs very high!) from the Associated Counties, are now at last got together about Cambridge; and Lord Capel has seen good to vanish again.[3] "He was the first man that rose to complain of Grievances, in this Parliament," he, while still plain Mr. Capel, member for Herts: but they have made a Lord of him, and the wind sits now in another quarter!—

Lord Capel has vanished; and the 12,000 zealous Volunteers of the Association are dismissed to their countries, with monition to be ready when called for again. Moreover to avoid like perils in future, it is now resolved to make a Garrison of Cambridge; to add new works to the Castle, and fortify the Town itself. This is now going on in the early spring days of 1643; and Colonel Cromwell and all hands are busy!—Here is a small Document incidentally preserved to us, which becomes significant if well read.

[1] Cromwelliana, p. 2. [2] Cromwelliana, p. 2; Vicars, p. 273.
[3] Vicars; Newspapers, 6-15 March (in Cromwelliana, p. 2).

Fen Drayton is a small village on the Eastern edge of Cambridgeshire, between St. Ives and Cambridge,—well known to Oliver. In the small Church of Fen Drayton, after divine service on Sunday the 12th of March, 1642-3, the following Warrant, "delivered to the Churchwardings" (by one Mr. Norris, a Constable, who spells very ill), and by them to the Curate, is read to a rustic congregation,—who sit, somewhat agape, I apprehend, and uncertain what to do about it.

COM. CANT. ('CAMBRIDGESHIRE TO WIT').

To all and every the Inhabitants of Fen Drayton in the Hundred of Papworth.

WHEREAS we have been enforced, by apparent grounds of approaching danger, to begin to fortify the Town of Cambridge, for preventing the Enemy's inroad, and the better to maintain the peace of this County:

Having in part seen your good affections to the Cause, and now standing in need of your further assistance to the perfecting of the said Fortifications, which will cost at least Two-thousand pounds, We are encouraged as well as necessitated to desire a Freewill Offering of a Liberal Contribution from you, for the better enabling of us to attain our desired ends,—viz. the Preservation of our County;—knowing that every honest and well-affected man, considering the vast expenses we have already been at, and our willingness to do according to our ability, will be ready to contribute his best assistance to a work of so high concernment and so good an end.

We do therefore desire that what shall be by you freely given and collected may with all convenient speed be sent to the Commissioners at Cambridge, to be employed to the use aforesaid. And so you shall further engage us to be

Yours ready to serve,

OLIVER CROMWELL.
THOMAS MARTYN.*
('and Six others.')

Cambridge, this 8th of March, 1642.

The Thomas Martyn, Sir Thomas, and the Six others whom we suppress, are all of the Cambridge Committees of those times;[1] zealous Puritan men, not known to us otherwise. Norris did not raise much at Fen Drayton; only 1*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*, "subscribed by Fifteen persons," according to his Endorsement;—the general public at Fen Drayton, and probably in other such places, hesitates a little to draw its purse as yet! One day or other, however, the work of fortifying Cambridge was got done.[2] A regular Force lies henceforth in Cambridge: Captains Fleetwood, Desborow, Whalley, new soldiers who will become veterans and known to us, are on service here. Of course the Academic stillness is much fluttered by the war-drum, and many a

* Cooper's Annals of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1845), iii., 340.
1 Husbands' Second Collection (London, 1646), p. 329; Commons Journals, iii. 153; &c.
2 Reported complete, 15 July 1643 (Cooper's Annals, iii. 350).

confused brabble springs up between Gown and Garrison; college tippets, and on occasion still more venerable objects, getting torn by the business! The truth is, though Cambridge is not so Malignant as Oxford, the Surplices at Allhallowtide have still much sway there; and various Heads of Houses are by no means what one could wish; of whom accordingly Oliver has had, and still occasionally has, to send,—by instalments as the cases ripen,—a select batch up to Parliament: Reverend Dr. This and then also Reverend Dr. That; who are lodged in the Tower, in Ely House, in Lambeth or elsewhere, in a tragic manner, and pass very troublous years.[1]

Cambridge continues henceforth the Bulwark and Metropolis of the Association; where the Committees sit, where the centre of all business is. "Colonel Cook," I think, is Captain of the Garrison; but the soul of the garrison, and of the Association generally, is probably another Colonel. Now here, now swiftly there;—as the following traits still witness.

On *Monday, 13th March*, 1642-3, Thomas Conisby, Esquire, High Sheriff of Herts, appears visibly before the House of Commons, to give account of a certain "Pretended Commission of Array," which he had been attempting to execute one Market-day some time since at St. Albans in that county.[2] Such King's Writ, or Pretended Commission of Array, the said High Sheriff had, with a great *Posse Comitatus* round him, been executing one Market-day at St. Albans (date irrecoverably lost),—when Cromwell's dragoons dashed suddenly in upon him; laid him fast,—not without difficulty: he was first seized by "six troopers," but rescued by his royalist multitude; then "twenty troopers" again seized him; "barricadoed the inn-yard;"[3] conveyed him off to London to give what account of the matter he could. Here he is giving account of it—a very lame and withal an "insolent" one, as seems to the Honourable House; which accordingly sends him to the Tower, where he had to lie for several years. Commissions of Array are not handy to execute in the Eastern Association at present!

Here is another adventure of the same kind, with a similar result. The "Meeting at Laystoff," or Lowestoff in Suffolk, is mentioned in all the old Books; but John Cory, Merchant Burgess of Norwich, shall first bring us face to face with it. Assiduous Sir Symonds got a copy of Mr. Cory's Letter,[4] one of the thousand Letters which Honourable Members listened to in those mornings; and here now is a copy of it for the reader,—news all fresh and fresh, after waiting two hundred and two years. Colonel Cromwell is in Norwich; old Norwich becomes visible and audible, the vanished moments buzzing again with old life,—if the reader will read well. Potts, we should premise, and Palgrave, were lately appointed Deputy Lieutenants of Norwich City;[5] Cory I reckon to be almost a kind of Quasi-Mayor, the real Mayor having lately been seized for Royalism; Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe we

1 Querela Cantabrigiensis, &c. &c. in Cooper *ubi supra*.
2 Commons Journals, ii. 1000, 1.
3 Vicars, p. 246; May's History of the Long Parliament (Guizot's French Translation), ii 196.
4 D'Ewes's MSS. f. 1139; Transcript, p. 378.
5 Commons Journals, 10th December, 1642.

shall perhaps transiently meet again. The other royalist gentlemen are also known to antiquaries of that region, and what their "seats" and connections were: but our reader here can without damage consider merely that they were Sons of Adam, not without due seats and equipments; and read the best he can:

"*To Sir John Potts, Knight Baronet, of Mannington, Norfolk: These.*
"*Laus Deo.*

"Norwich, 17° Martii, 1642.[1]

"Right honourable and worthy Sir,—I hope you came in due time to the end of your journey in health and safety; which I shall rejoice to hear. Sir, I might spare my labour in now writing; for I suppose you are better informed from other hands; only to testify my respects:

"Those sent out on Monday morning, 13th, returned that night, with old Mr. Castle of Raveningham, and some arms of his, and of Mr. Loudon's of Alby, and of Captain Hamond's, with his leading staff-ensign and drum. Mr. Castle is secured at Sheriff Greenwood's. That night letters from Yarmouth informed the Colonel,[2] That they had, that day, made stay of Sir John Wentworth, and of one Captain Allen from Lowestoff, who had come thither to change dollars; both of whom are yet secured;—and further, That the Town of Lowestoff had received-in divers strangers and was fortifying itself.

"The Colonel advised no man might enter in or out the gates 'of Norwich,' that night. And the next morning, between five and six, with his five troops, with Captain Fountain's, Captain Rich's, and eighty of our Norwich Volunteers, he marched towards Lowestoff; where he was to meet with the Yarmouth Volunteers, who brought four or five pieces of ordnance. The Town 'of Lowestoff' had blocked themselves up; all except where they had placed their ordnance, which were three pieces; before which a chain was drawn to keep off the horse.

"The Colonel summoned the Town, and demanded, If they would deliver up their strangers, the Town and their Army?—promising them then favour, if so; if not, none. They yielded to deliver up their strangers, but not to the rest. Whereupon our Norwich dragoons crept under the chain before mentioned; and came within pistol-shot of their ordnance; proffering to fire upon their cannoneer,—who fled: so they gained the two pieces of ordnance, and broke the chain; and they and the horse entered the Town without more resistance. Where presently eighteen strangers yielded themselves; among whom were of Suffolk men: Sir T. Barker, Sir John Pettus;—of Norfolk: Mr. Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe, 'whom we are to meet again;' Mr. Richard Catelyn's son—some say his Father too was there in the morning; Mr. F. Cory, my unfortunate cousin, who I wish would have been better persuaded.

"Mr. Brooke, the sometime minister of Yarmouth, and some others escaped, over the river. There was good store of pistols and other arms: I hear above fifty cases of pistols. The Colonel stayed there Tuesday and Wednesday night. I think Sir John Palgrave and Mr.

[1] Means 1643 of our Style. There are yet seven days of the Old Year to run.
[2] "viz. Cromwell," adds D'Ewes.

Smith went yesterday to Berks. It is rumoured Sir Robert Kemp hath yielded to Sir John Palgrave; how true it is I know not, for I spoke not Sir John yesterday as he came through Town. I did your message to Captain Shewood. Not to trouble you further, I crave leave; and am ever

"Your Worship's at command,

"JOHN CORY.

"*Postscriptum*, 20*th* March, 1643.—Right worthy Sir, The above-said on Friday was unhappily left behind; for which I am sorry; as also that I utterly forgot to send your plate. On Friday night the Colonel brought in hither with him the prisoners taken at Lowestoff, and Mr. Trott of Beccles. On Saturday night, with one troop, they sent all the prisoners to Cambridge. Sir John Wentworth is come off with the payment of 1000*l.* On Saturday, Dr. Corbett of Norwich, and Mr. Henry Cooke [1] the Parliament-man, and our old 'Alderman' Daniell were taken in Suffolk. Last night, several troops went out; some to Lynn-ward, it's thought; others to Thetfordward, it's supposed,—because they had a prisoner with them. Sir, I am in great haste, and remember nothing else at present.

"JOHN CORY."

Cory still adds: "Sir Richard Berney sent to me, last night, and shewed and gave me the Colonel's Note to testify he had paid him the 50*l.*"—a forced contribution levied by the Association Committee upon poor Berney, who had shewn himself "backward:" let him be quiet henceforth, and study to conform.

This was the last attempt at Royalism in the Association where Cromwell served. The other "Associations," no man duly forward to risk himself being present in them, had already fallen, or were fast falling, to ruin; their Counties had to undergo the chance of War as it came. Huntingdon County soon joined itself with this Eastern Association.[2] Cromwell's next operations, as we shall perceive, were to deliver Lincolnshire, and give it the power of joining, which in September next took effect.[3] Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Herts, Hunts: these are thenceforth the "Seven Associated Counties," called often the "Association" simply, which make a great figure in the old Books,—and kept the War wholly out of their own borders, having had a man of due forwardness among them.

LETTERS V.-VII.

THE main brunt of the War, during this year 1643, is in the extreme Southwest, between Sir Ralph Hopton and the Earl of Stamford; and in the North, chiefly in Yorkshire, between the Earl of Newcastle and Lord Fairfax. The Southwest, Cornwall or Devonshire transactions do not much concern us in this place; but with the Yorkshire we shall by

[1] Corbett is or was "Chancellor of Norwich Diocese;" Henry Cooke is Son of Coke upon Lyttleton,—has left his place in Parliament, and got into dangerous courses.

[2] 26th May, Husbands, ii. 183.

[3] Ib. p. 327.

and by have some concern. A considerable flame of War burns conspicuous in those two regions: the rest of England, all in a hot but very dim state, may be rather said to *smoke*, everywhere ready for burning, and incidentally catch fire here and there.

Essex, the Lord General, lies at Windsor, all spring, with the finest Parliamentary Army we have yet had; but unluckily can undertake almost nothing, till he see. For his Majesty in Oxford is also quiescent mostly; engaged in a negotiation with his Parliament; in a Treaty,—of which Colonel Hampden and other wise men, though my Lord of Essex cannot, already predict the issue. And the Country is all writhing in dim conflict, suffering manifold distress. And from his Majesty's headquarters ever and anon there darts out, now hither, now thither, across the dim smoke element, a swift fierce Prince Rupert, plundering and blazing; and then suddenly darts in again;—too like a streak of sudden *fire*, for he plunders, and even *burns*, a good deal! Which state of things Colonel Hampden and others witness with much impatience; but cannot get the Lord General to undertake anything till he see.

An obscure entangled scene of things; all manner of War-movements and swift-shooting electric influences crossing one another, with complex action and reaction;—as happens in a scene of War; much more of Civil War, where a whole People and its affairs have become *electric*. Here are Three poor Letters, reunited at last from their long exile, resuscitated after long interment: not in a very luminous condition! Vestiges of Oliver in the Eastern Association; which, however faint, are welcome to us.

LETTER V.

THE Essex people, at least the Town of Colchester and Langley their Captain have, in some measure, sent their contingent to Cambridge; but money is short. Cromwell, home rapidly again from Norfolk, must take charge of it; has an order from the Lord General;—nay it seems a Great Design is in view; and Cromwell too, like Richard Baxter and the rest of us, imagines one grand effort might perhaps end these bleeding miseries.

'*To the Mayor, &c. of Colchester, By Captain Dodsworth: These.*'

GENTLEMEN, 'Cambridge,' 23d March, 1642.

Upon the coming down of your Townsmen to Cambridge, Captain Langley not knowing how to dispose of them, desired me to nominate a fit Captain: which I did,—an honest, religious, valiant gentleman, Captain Dodsworth, the Bearer hereof.

He hath diligently attended the service, and much improved his men in their exercise; but hath been unhappy beyond others in not receiving any pay for himself, and what he had for his soldiers is out long ago. He hath, by his prudence, what with fair and winning carriage, what with money borrowed, kept them together. He is able to do so no longer: they will presently disband if a course be not taken.

It's pity it should be so! For I believe they are brought into as good order as most Companies in the Army. Besides, at this instant, there is great need to use them; I having received a special command

from my Lord General, To advance with what force we can, to put an end, if it may be, to this Work,—God so assisting, from whom all help cometh.

I beseech you, therefore, consider this Gentleman, and the soldiers; and if it be possible, make up his Company a Hundred-and-twenty; and send them away with what expedition is possible. It may, through God's blessing, prove very happy. One month's pay may prove all your trouble. I speak to wise men:—God direct you. I rest,

Yours to serve you,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The present Great Design, though it came to nothing, is not without interest for us. Some three days before the date of this Letter, as certain Entries in the Commons Journals still testify,[1] there had risen hot alarm in Parliament; my Lord General writing from Windsor "at three in the morning:" Prince Rupert out in one of his forays; in terrible force before the town of Aylesbury: ought not one to go and fight him?—Without question! eagerly answer Colonel Hampden and others: Fight him, beat him; beat more than him! Why not rise heartily from Windsor with this fine Army, calling the Eastern Association and all friends to aid us; and storm in upon Oxford itself? It may perhaps quicken the negotiations there!—

This Design came to nothing, and soon sank into total obscurity again. But it seems Colonel Hampden did entertain such a Design, and even take some steps in it. And this Letter of Oliver's, coupled with the Entries in the Commons Journals, is perhaps the most authentic proof we yet have of that fact: an interesting fact which has rested hitherto on the vague testimony of Clarendon,[2] who seems to think the Design might have succeeded. But it came to nothing: Colonel Hampden could not rouse the Lord General to do more than "write at three in the morning," and send "special commands," for the present.

LETTER VI.

AND now here is a new horde of "Plunderers" threatening the Association with new infall from the North. The old Newspapers call them "Camdeners;" followers of a certain Noel, Viscount Camden, from Rutlandshire; who has seized Stamford, is driving cattle at a great rate, and fast threatening to become important in those quarters.—"Sir John Burgoyne" is the Burgoyne of Potton in Bedfordshire, chief Committee-man in that County: Bedford is not in our Association; but will perhaps lend us help in this common peril.

'*To my honoured Friend, Sir John Burgoyne, Bart.: These.*'

SIR, 'Huntingdon,' 10th April, 1643.

These Plunderers draw near. I think it will do well if you can afford us any assistance of Dragooners, to help in this

* Morant's History of Colchester (London, 1748), book i. p. 55; 'from the Original,' he says, but not where that was or is.

1 Commons Journals, iii. 10, 12.

2 History of the Rebellion (Oxford, 1819), ii. 319; see also May's Long Parliament (Maseres's edition, London, 1812), p. 192.

great Exigence. We have here about Six or Seven Troops of Horse; such, I hope, as will fight. It's happy to resist such beginnings betimes.

If you can contribute anything to our aid, let us speedily participate thereof. In the mean time, and ever, command

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Concerning these Camdeners at Stamford and elsewhere, so soon as Colonel Cromwell has got himself equipt, we shall here tidings again. Meanwhile, say the old Newspapers,[1] "there is a regiment of stout Norfolk blades gone to Wisbeach, Croyland, and so into Holland" of Lincolnshire, "to preserve those parts,"—if they may. Colonel Cromwell will follow; and give good account of that matter by and by.

Lincolnshire in fact ought to be all subdued to the Parliament; added to the Association. We could then co-operate with Fairfax across the Humber, and do good service! So reason the old Committees, as one dimly ascertains.—The Parliament appointed a Lieutenant of Lincolnshire, Lord Willoughby of Parham, a year ago;[2] but he is much infested with Camdeners, with enemies in all quarters, and has yet got no secure footing there. Cromwell's work, and that of the Association, for the next twelvemonth, as we shall perceive, was that of clearing Lincolnshire from enemies, and accomplishing this problem.

LETTER VII.

MEANWHILE enter Robert Barnard, Esquire, again. Barnard, getting ever deeper into trouble, has run up to Town; has been persuading my Lord of Manchester and others, That he is not a disaffected man; that a contribution should not be inflicted on him by the County Committee.

To my very loving Friend, Robert Barnard, Esquire: Present these.

SIR, 'Huntingdon,' 17th April, 1643.

I have received two Letters, one from my Lord of Manchester, the other from yourself; much to the same effect: I hope therefore one answer will serve them both.

Which is in short this: That we *know* you are disaffected to the Parliament;—and truly if the Lords, or any Friends, may take you off from a reasonable Contribution, for my part I should be glad to be commanded to any other employment. Sir, you may, if you will, "come freely into the country about your occasions." For my part, I have protected you in your absence; and shall do so to you.

This is all,—but that I am ready to serve you, and rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

* Communicated (from an old Copy) by H. C. Cooper, Esq., Cambridge.

1 In Cooper's Annals, iii. 343.

2 Commons Journals (ii. 497), 25 March, 1642. New encouragement and sanction given him (Rushworth, v. 108), of date 9 Jan. 1642-3.

* Gentleman's Magazine (London, 1791), lxi. 44: no notice whence, no criticism or commentary there: Letter undoubtedly genuine

Let Barnard return, therefore; take a lower level, where the ways are more sheltered in stormy weather;—and so save himself, and "become Recorder after the Restoration." Subtlety may deceive him; integrity never will!—

LETTERS VIII.—X.

CROMWELL, we find, makes haste to deal with these "Camdeners." His next achievement was the raising of the Siege of Croyland (exact date not discoverable); concerning which there are large details in loud-spoken Vicars:[1] How the reverendly godly Mr. Ram and godly Sergeant Horne, both of Spalding, were "set upon the walls to be shot at," when the Spalding people rose to deliver Croyland; how "Colonel Sir Miles Hobart" and other Colonels rose also to deliver it,—and at last how "the valiant, active Colonel Cromwell" rose, and did actually deliver it.[2]

Cromwell has been at Lynn, he has been at Nottingham, at Peterborough, where the soldiers were not kind to the Cathedral and its Surplice furniture;[3] he has been here and then swiftly there; encountering many things. For Lincolnshire is not easy to deliver; dangers, intricate difficulties abound in those quarters, and are increasing. Lincolnshire, infested with infalls of Camdeners, has its own Malignancies too;—and, much more, is sadly overrun with the Marquis of Newcastle's Northern "Popish Army" at present. An Army "full of Papists," as is currently reported; officered by renegade Scots, "Sir John Henderson," and the like unclean creatures. For the Marquis, in spite of the Fairfaxes, has overflowed Yorkshire; flowed across the Humber; has fortified himself in Newark-on-Trent, and is a sore affliction to the well-affected thereabouts. By the Queen's interest he is now, from Earl, made Marquis, as we see. For, indeed, what is worst of all, the Queen in late months has landed in these Northern parts, with Dutch ammunition purchased by English Crown Jewels; is stirring up all manner of "Northern Papists" to double animation; tempting Hothams and other waverers to meditate treachery, for which they will pay dear. She is the centre of all these new perils. She marches Southward, much agitating the skirts of the Eastern Association; joins the King "on Keinton field," or Edgehill field, where he fought last autumn. She was impeached of treason by the Commons. She continued in England till the following summer;[4] then quitted it for long years.

Let the following three Letters,—one of which is further distinguished as the first of Cromwell's ever published in the Newspapers,—testify what progress he is making in the difficult problem of delivering Lancashire in this posture of affairs.

1 "Thou that with ale, or viler liquors,
Didst inspire Withers, Prynne, and *Vicars*."
Hudibras, canto I. 645

2 Vicars, p. 322-5; Newspapers (25 April—2 May), in Cromwelliana, p. 4.
3 Royalist Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 4.), Querela Cantab. &c., &c.
4 From February 1642-3 till July 1644 (Clarendon, ii. 195; Rushworth, v. 684)

LETTER VIII.

THERE was in those weeks, as we learn from the old Newspapers, a combined plan, of which Cromwell was an element, for capturing Newark; there were several such; but this and all the rest proved abortive, one element or another of the combination always failing. That Cromwell was not the failing element we could already guess, and may now definitely read.

"Lord Grey," be it remembered, is Lord Grey of Groby, once Military Chief of the Association,—though now, I think, employed mainly elsewhere, nearer home: a Leicestershire man; as are "Hastings" and "Hartop:" well known all of them in the troubles of that County. Hastings, strong for the King, holds "Ashby-de-la-Zouch, which is his Father's House, well fortified;"[1] and shows and has shown himself a pushing man. "His Excellency" is my Lord General Essex. "Sir John Gell" is Member and Commander for Derbyshire, has Derby Town for Garrison. The Derbyshire forces, the Nottinghamshire forces, the Association forces: if all the "forces" could but be united. But they never rightly can.

'To the Honourable the Committee at Lincoln: These.'

'Lincolnshire,' 3rd May, 1643.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I must needs be hardly thought on; because I am still the messenger of unhappy tidings and delays concerning you—though I know my heart is to assist you with all expedition!

My Lord Grey hath now again failed me of the rendezvous at Stamford,—notwithstanding that both he and I received Letters from his Excellency, commanding us both to meet, and, together with Sir John Gell and the Nottingham forces, to join with you. My Lord Grey sent Sir Edward Hartop to me, To let me know he could not meet me at Stamford according to our agreement; fearing the exposing of Leicester to the forces of Mr. Hastings and some other Troops drawing that way.

Believe it, it were better, in my poor opinion, Leicester were not, than that there should not be found an immediate taking of the field by our forces to accomplish the common ends. Wherein I shall deal as freely with him, when I meet him, as you can desire. I perceive Ashby-de-la-Zouch sticks much with him. I have offered him now another place of meeting;[2] to come to which I suppose he will not deny me; and that to be to-morrow. If you shall therefore think fit to send one over unto us to be with us at night—you do not know how far we may prevail with him: To draw speedily to a head, with Sir John Gell and the other forces, where we may all meet at a general rendezvous, to the end you know of. And then you shall receive full satisfaction concerning my integrity;[3]—and if no man shall help you, yet will not I be wanting to do my duty, God assisting me.

If we could unite those forces 'of theirs;' and with them speedily

[1] Clarendon, ii., 202.
[2] Name, not so fit to be *written* for fear of accidents, is very much unknown now!
[3] Means, "that the blame was not in me."

make Grantham the general rendezvous, both of yours and ours, I think it would do well. I shall bend my endeavours that way. Your concurrence by some able instrument to solicit this, might probably exceedingly hasten it; especially having so good a foundation to work upon as my Lord General's commands. Our Norfolk forces, which will not prove so many as you may imagine by six or seven hundred men, will lie conveniently at Spalding; and, I am confident, be ready to meet at Grantham at the general rendezvous.

I have no more to trouble you; but begging of God to take away the impediments that hinder our conjunction, and to prosper our designs, take leave. Your faithful servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Some rendezvous at Grantham does take place, some uniting of forces, more or fewer; and strenuous endeavour thereupon. As the next Letter will testify.

LETTER IX.

THIS Letter is the first of Cromwell's ever published in the Newspapers. "That valiant soldier Colonel Cromwell" has written on this occasion to an official Person of name not now discoverable:

'*To—— ——: These.*'

SIR, 'Grantham, 13 May, 1643.'

God hath given us, this evening, a glorious victory over our enemies. They were, as we are informed, one-and-twenty colours of horse-troops, and three or four of dragoons.

It was late in the evening when we drew out; they came and faced us within two miles of the town. So soon as we had the alarm, we drew out our forces, consisting of about twelve troops,—whereof some of them so poor and broken, that you shall seldom see worse: with this handful it pleased God to cast the scale. For after we had stood a little, above musket-shot the one body from the other; and the dragooners had fired on both sides, for the space of half-an-hour or more; they not advancing towards us, we agreed to charge them. And, advancing the body after many shots on both sides, we came on with our troops a pretty round trot; they standing firm to receive us: and our men charging fiercely upon them, by God's providence they were immediately routed, and ran all away, and we had the execution of them two or three miles.

I believe some of our soldiers did kill two or three men apiece in the pursuit; but what the number of dead is we are not certain. We took forty-five Prisoners, besides divers of their horse and arms, and rescued many Prisoners whom they had lately taken of ours; and we took four or five of their colours. 'I rest,'

* * *

'OLIVER CROMWELL.'†

On inquiry at Grantham, there is no vestige of tradition as to the scene of this skirmish; which must have been some two miles out on

* Tanner MSS. (Oxford), lxii., 94: the address lost, the date of place never given; the former clearly restorable from Commons Journals, ii., 75.

† Perfect Diurnal of the Passages in Parliament, 22-29 May, 1643: completed from Vicars, p 332, whose copy, however, is not, except as to sense and facts, to be relied on.

the Newark road. Thomas May, a veracious intelligent man, but vague as to dates, mentions two notable skirmishes of Cromwell's, near to Grantham, in the course of this business; one especially in which "he defeated a strong party of the Newarkers, where the odds of number on their side was so great that it seemed almost a miraculous victory:" that probably is the one now in question. Colonel Cromwell we further find, was very "vigilant of all Sallies that were made, and took many men and colours at several times;" and did what was on Colonel Cromwell:—but could not take Newark at present. One element or another of the combination always fails. Newark, again and again besieged, did not surrender till the end of the War. At present, it is terribly wet weather, for one thing; thirteen days of continual rain.

The King, we observe, is in Oxford: Treaty, of very slow gestation, came to birth in March last, and was carried on there by Whitlocke and others till the beginning of April; but ended in absolute nothing.[1] The King still continues in Oxford,—his head-quarters for three years to come. The Lord General Essex is lying scattered about Thame, and Brickhill in Buckinghamshire, in a very dormant, discontented condition.[2] Colonel Hampden is with him. There is talk of making Colonel Hampden Lord General. The immediate hopes of the world, however, are turned on "that valiant soldier and patriot of his country," Sir William Waller, who has marched to discomfit the Malignants of the West.

On the 9th of this May, Cheapside Cross, Charing Cross, and other Monuments of Papist Idolatry were torn down by authority, "troops of soldiers sounding their trumpets, and all the people shouting;" the Book of Sports also was burnt upon the ruins of the same.[3] In which days, too, all the people are working at the Fortification of London.[4]

LETTER X.

THE "great service," spoken of in this Letter, we must still understand to be the deliverance of Lincolnshire in general; or if it were another, it did not take effect. No possibility yet of getting over into Yorkshire to co-operate with the Fairfaxes,—though they much need help, and there have been speculations of that and of other kinds.[5] For the War-tide breaks in very irregular billows upon our shores; at one time we are pretty clear of Newark and its Northern Papists; and anon "the Queen has got into Newark," and we are like to be submerged by them. As a general rule, intricate, perilous difficulties abound; and cash is scarce. The Fairfaxes, meanwhile, last week, have gained a victory at Wakefield;[6] which is a merciful encouragement.

'To the Mayor, &c. of Colchester: These.'

GENTLEMEN, 'Lincolnshire,' 28th May, 1643.

I thought it my duty once more to write unto you For more strength to be speedily sent unto us, for this great Service.

[1] Whitlocke, 1st edition, pp. 63-5; Husbands; ii. 48-119. [2] Rushworth, v. 290.
[3] Vicars, p. 327. [4] Ib. p. 331.
[5] Old Newspapers (30 May—12 June, 1643), in Cromwelliana, p. 6.
[6] 21 May, 1643: Letter by Lord Fairfax (in Rushworth, v. 268); Short Memorials, by the younger Fairfax (in Somers Tracts, v. 380).

I suppose you hear of the great Defeat given by my Lord Fairfax to the Newcastle Forces at Wakefield. It was a great mercy of God to us. And had it not been bestowed upon us at this very present, my Lord Fairfax had not known how to have subsisted. We assure you, should the Force we have miscarry,—expect nothing but a speedy march of the Enemy up unto you.

Why you should not strengthen us to make us subsist,—judge you the danger of the neglect; and how inconvenient this improvidence, or unthrift, may be to you! I shall never write but according to my judgment: I tell you again, It concerns you exceedingly to be persuaded by me. My Lord Newcastle is near Six-thousand foot, and above Sixty troops of horse; my Lord Fairfax is about Three-thousand foot, and Nine troops of horse; and we have about Twenty-four troops of horse and dragooners. The Enemy draws more to the Lord Fairfax: our motion and yours must be exceeding speedy, or else it will do you no good at all.

If you send, let your men come to Boston. I beseech you hasten the supply to us:—forget not money! I press not hard; though I do so need, that, I assure you, the foot and dragooners are ready to mutiny. Lay not too much upon the back of a poor gentleman, who desires, without much noise, to lay down his life, and bleed the last drop to serve the Cause and you. I ask not your money for myself: if that were my end and hope,—viz. the pay of my place,—I would not open my mouth at this time. I desire to deny myself; but others will not be satisfied. I beseech you hasten supplies. Forget not your prayers.

Gentlemen, I am
Yours,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"Lay not too much upon a poor gentleman,"—who is really doing what he can; shooting swiftly, now hither, now thither, wheresoever the tug of difficulty lies; struggling very sore, as beseems the Son of Light and Son of Adam, not to be vanquished by the mud-element!

Intricate struggles; sunk almost all in darkness now,—of which—take this as a token, gathered still luminous from the authenic but mostly inane opacities of the *Commons Journals:*[1] "21 June, 1643, Mr. Pym reports from the Committee of the Safety of the Kingdom," our chief authority at present, to this effect, That Captain Hotham, son of the famed Hull Hotham, had, as appeared by Letters from Lord Grey and Colonel Cromwell, now at Nottingham, been behaving very ill; had plundered divers persons without regard to the side they were of; had, on one occasion, "turned two pieces of ordnance *against* Colonel Cromwell;" nay, once, when Lord Grey's quartermaster was in some huff with Lord Grey "about oats," had privily offered to the said quartermaster that they two should draw out their men, and have a fight for it with Lord Grey;—not to speak of frequent correspondences with Newark, with Newcastle, and the Queen now come back from Holland: wherefore he is arrested there in Nottingham, and locked up for trial.

* Morant's History of Colchester, book i. p. 56.
[1] iii. 138.

This was on the Wednesday, this report of Pym's: and, alas, while Pym reads it, John Hampden, mortally wounded four days ago in a skirmish at Chalgrove Field, lies dying at Thame;—died on the Saturday following!

LETTERS XI., XII.

"On Thursday, July the 27th,"—on, or shortly before that day, "news reach London" that Colonel Cromwell has taken Stamford,—retaken it, I think; at all events, taken it. Whereupon the Cavaliers from Newark and Belvoir Castle came hovering about him: he drove them into Burleigh House, and laid Siege to the same; "at three in the morning," battered it with all his shot, and stormed it at last! which is "a good help we have had this week."

On the other hand at Gainsborough, we are suffering Siege; indisputably the Newarkers threaten to get the upperhand in that quarter of the County. Here is Cromwell's letter; about Lord Willoughby of Parham, and the relief of Gainsborough "with powder and match."

LETTER XI.

To the Committee of the Association sitting at Cambridge.

Gentlemen, Huntingdon, 31st July, 1643.

It hath pleased the Lord to give your servant and soldiers a notable victory now at Gainsborough. I marched after the taking of Burleigh House upon Wednesday to Grantham, where I met about 300 horse and dragooners of Nottingham. With these, by agreement, we met the Lincolneers at North Scarle, which is about ten miles from Gainsborough, upon Thursday in the evening; where we tarried until two of the clock in the morning; and then with our whole body advanced towards Gainsborough.

About a mile and a half from the Town, we met a forlorn-hope of the enemy of near 100 horse. Our dragooners laboured to beat them back; but not alighting off their horses, the enemy charged them, and made them retire unto their main body. We advanced, and came to the bottom of a steep hill; we could not well get up but by some tracks; which our men essaying to do, the body of the enemy endeavoured to hinder; wherein we prevailed, and got the top of the hill. This was done by the Lincolneers, who had the vanguard.

When we all recovered the top of the hill, we saw a great body of the enemy's horse facing us, at about a musket-shot or less distance; and a good Reserve of a full regiment of horse behind it. We endeavoured to put our men into as good order as we could. The enemy in the meantime advanced towards us, to take us at disadvantage: but in such order as we were, we charged their great body, I having the right wing; we came up horse to horse; where we disputed it with our swords and pistols a pretty time; all keeping close order, so that one could not break the other. At last, they a little shrinking, our men perceiving it, pressed in upon them, and immediately routed this whole body; some flying on one side and others on the other of the enemy's Reserve; and our men, pursuing them, had chase and execution about five or six miles.

I perceiving this body which was the Reserve standing still unbroken. kept back my Major, Whalley, from the chase ; and with my own troop and the other of my regiment, in all being three troops, we got into a body. In this Reserve stood General Cavendish ; who one while faced me, another while faced four of the Lincoln troops which was all of ours that stood upon the place, the rest being engaged in the chase. At last General Cavendish charged the Lincolneers, and routed them. Immediately I fell on his rear with my three troops ; which did so astonish him, that he did give over the chase, and would fain have delivered himself from me. But I pressing on forced 'them' down a hill, having good execution of them ; and below the hill, drove the General with some of his soldiers into a quagmire; where my Captain-lieutenant slew him with a thrust under his short ribs. The rest of the body was wholly routed, not one man staying upon the place.

After the defeat which was so total, we relieved the Town with such powder and provision as we brought with us. We had notice that there were six troops of horse and 300 foot on the other side of the Town, about a mile off us : we desired some foot of my Lord Willoughby's, about 400 ; and, with our horse and these foot, marched towards them : when we came towards the place where their horse stood, we went back with my troops to follow two or three troops of the enemy's who retired into a small village at the bottom of the hill. When we recovered the hill, we saw in the bottom, about a quarter of a mile from us, a regiment of foot ; after that another ; after that the Marquis of Newcastle's own regiment ; consisting in all of about 50 foot colours, and a great body of horse ;—which indeed was Newcastle's Army. Which, coming so unexpectedly, put us to new consultations. My Lord Willoughby and I, being in the Town, agreed to call off our foot. I went to bring them off : but before I returned, divers of the foot were engaged ; the enemy advancing with his whole body. Our foot retreated in disorder ; and with some loss got the Town ; where now they are. Our horse also came off with some trouble ; being wearied with the long fight, and their horses tired ; yet faced the enemy's fresh horse, and by several removes got off without the loss of one man ; the enemy following the rear with a great body.

The honour of this retreat is due to God, as also all the rest. Major Whalley did in this carry himself with all gallantry becoming a gentleman and a Christian. Thus you have this true relation, as short as I could. What you are to do upon it, is next to be considered. The Lord direct you what to do.

Gentlemen, I am,
Your faithful servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

About two miles south of Gainsborough, on the North-Scarle road, stands the Hamlet and Church of Lea ; near which is a "Hill," or expanse of upland, of no great height, but sandy, covered with furze, and full of rabbit-holes, the ascent of which would be difficult for horsemen

* Rushworth, v. 278.

in the teeth of an enemy. This is understood to be the "Hill" of the Fight referred to here. Good part of it is enclosed, and the ground much altered, since that time; but one of the fields is still called "*Redcoats* Field," and another at some distance nearer Gainsborough "*Graves* Field;" beyond which latter, "on the other or western face of the Hill, a little over the boundary of Lea Parish with Gainsborough Parish, on the left hand (as you go North) between the Road and the River," is a morass or meadow still known by the name of "Cavendish's Bog," which points out the locality.[1]

Of the "Hills" and "Villages" rather confusedly alluded to in the second part of the Letter, which probably lay across Trent Bridge on the Newark side of the river, I could obtain no elucidation—and must leave them to the guess of local antiquaries interested in such things.[2]

"General Cavendish," whom some confound with the Earl of Newcastle's brother, was his *Cousin*, "the earl of Devonshire's second son;" an accomplished young man of three-and-twenty; for whom there was great lamenting;—indeed a general emotion about his death, of which we, in these radical times, very irreverent of human quality itself, and much more justly of the *dresses* of human quality, cannot even with effort form any adequate idea. This was the first action that made Cromwell to be universally talked of: He dared to kill this honourable person found in arms against him! "Colonel Cromwell gave assistance to the Lord Willoughby, and performed very gallant service against the Earl of Newcastle's forces. This was the beginning of his great fortunes, and now he began to appear in the world."[3]

Waller has an Elegy, not his best, upon "Charles Ca'ndish."[4] It must have been written some time afterwards: poor Waller, in these weeks, very narrowly escapes death himself, on account of the "Waller Plot;"—makes an abject submission; pays 10,000*l.* fine; and goes upon his travels into foreign parts!—

LETTER XII.

GAINSBOROUGH was directly taken, after this relief of it; Lord Willoughby could not resist the Newarkers with Newcastle at their head. Gainsborough is lost, Lincoln is lost; unless help come speedily, all is like to be lost. The following Letter, with its Enclosure from the Lord Lieutenant Willoughby of Parham, speaks for itself. Read the Enclosure first.

"*To my noble Friend, Colonel Cromwell, at Huntingdon: These.*

Boston, 5th August, 1643.

"NOBLE SIR,—Since the business of Gainsborough, the hearts of our men have been so deaded that we have lost most of them by running away. So that we were forced to leave Lincoln upon a sudden:—and if I had not done it then, I should have been left alone in it. So that now I am at Boston; where we are very poor in strength;—so that without some speedy supply, I fear we shall not hold this long neither.

[1] MS. *penes me.* [2] Appendix, No. 4.
[3] Whitlocke (1st edition, London, 1682, as always, unless the contrary be specified), p. 68.
[4] Fenton's Waller, p. 209.

"My Lord General, I perceive, hath writ to you, To draw all the forces together. I should be glad to see it: for if that will not be, there can be no good to be expected. If you will endeavour to stop my Lord of Newcastle, you must presently draw them to him and fight him! For without we be masters of the field, we shall be pulled out by the ears, one after another.

"The Foot, if they will come on, may march very securely to Boston; which, to me, will be very considerable to your Association. For if the Enemy get that Town, which is now very weak for defence for want of men, I believe they will not be long out of Norfolk and Suffolk.

"I can say no more: but desire you to hasten;—and rest,

"Your servant,

"FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY."[1]

'*For my noble Friends, the Committee of the Association sitting at Cambridge: These.*'

GENTLEMEN, Huntingdon, 6th August, 1643.

You see by this Enclosed how sadly your affairs stand. It's no longer Disputing, but Out instantly all you can! Raise all your Bands;[2] send them to Huntingdon;—get up what Volunteers you can; hasten your Horses.

Send these Letters to Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, without delay. I beseech you spare not, but be expeditious and industrious! Almost all our Foot have quitted Stamford: there is nothing to interrupt an Enemy, but our Horse, that is considerable. You must act lively;—do it without distraction. Neglect no means!—I am

Your faithful servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Sir William Waller, whom some called William the Conqueror, has been beaten all to pieces on Lansdown Heath, about three weeks ago. The Fairfaxes too are beaten from the field; glad to get into Hull,—which Hotham the Traitor was about delivering to her Majesty, when vigilant persons laid him fast.[3] And, in the end of May, Earl Stamford was defeated in the Southwest; and now Bristol has been suddenly surrendered to Prince Rupert,—for which let Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes (says Mr. Pyrnne, still very zealous) be tried by Court-Martial, and if possible, shot.

LETTER XIII.

IN the very hours while Cromwell was storming the sand-hill near Gainsborough "by some tracks," honourable gentlemen at St. Stephen's were voting him Governor of the Isle of Ely. Ely in the heart of the Fens, a place of great military capabilities, is much troubled with "corrupt ministers," with "corrupt train-bands," and understood to be

1 Baker MSS. (Cambridge), xxxiv. 429; is in Tanner MSS. too, together with the following.

2 Trainbands.

* Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, iii. 355; Tanner MSS. lxii. 229.

3 Of Hotham: 29 June, 1643 (Rushworth, v. 275, 6);—of the Fairfaxes, at Adderton Moor: 30 June (ib. 279);—of Waller: 13 July (ib. 285; Clarendon, ii. 376-9). Stratton Fight in Cornwall, defeat of Stamford by Hopton, was 16 May; Bristol is 22 July (Rushworth, v. 271, 284).

in a perilous state; wherefore they nominate Cromwell to take charge of it.[1] We understand his own Family to be still resident in Ely.

The Parliament affairs, this Summer, have taken a bad course; and except it be in the Eastern Association, look everywhere declining. They have lost Bristol, their footing in the Southwest and in the North is mostly gone; Essex's Army has melted away, without any action of mark all Summer, except the *loss* of Hampden in a skirmish: in the beginning of August, the King breaks out from Oxford, very clearly superior in force; goes to settle Bristol; and might thence, it was supposed, have marched direct to London, if he had liked. He decides on taking Gloucester with him before he quit those parts. The Parliament, in much extremity, calls upon the Scots for help; who under conditions will consent.

In these circumstances, it was rather thought a piece of heroism in our old friend Lord Kimbolton, or Mandevil, now become Earl of Manchester, to accept the command of the Eastern Association: he is nominated "Sergeant-Major of the Associated Counties," 10th August, 1643; is to raise new force, infantry and cavalry; has four Colonels of Horse under him; Colonel Cromwell, who soon became his second in command, is one of them; Colonel Norton, whom we shall meet afterwards, is another.[2] "The Associated Counties are busy listing," intimates the old Newspaper; "and so soon as their harvest is over, which for the present much retarded them, the Earl of Manchester will have a very brave and considerable Army, to be a terror to the Northern Papists," Newarkers and Newcastles, "if they advance Southward."[3] When specially it was that Cromwell listed his celebrated body of *Ironsides* is of course not to be dated, though some do carelessly date it, as from the very "beginning of the War;" and in Bates[4] and others are to be found various romantic details on the subject, which deserve no credit. Doubtless Cromwell, all along, in the many changes his body of men underwent, had his eye upon this object of getting good soldiers and dismissing bad; and managed the matter by common practical vigilance, not by theatrical claptraps as Dr. Bates represents. Some months ago, it was said in the Newspapers, of Colonel Cromwell's soldiers, "not a man swears but he pays his twelve-pence;" no plundering, no drinking, disorder, or impiety allowed.[5] We may fancy, in this new levy, as Manchester's Lieutenant and Governor of Ely, when the whole force was again winnowed and sifted, he might complete the process, and see his Thousand Troopers ranked before him, worthy at last of the name of *Ironsides*. They were men that had the fear of God; and gradually lost all other fear. "Truly they were never beaten at all," says he.—Meanwhile:

1643.

August 21st. The shops of London are all shut for certain days:[6]

[1] Commons Journals, iii. 186 (of 28 July, 1643); ib. 153, 167, 180, &c., to 637 (9 October, 644).
[2] Commons Journals, iii., 199, 200; Husbands, ii. 286, 276-8.
[3] 29 August, 1643, Cromwelliana, p. 7.
[4] Elenchus Motuum.
[5] May 1643, Cromwelliana, p. 5
[6] Rushworth, v. 291.

Gloucester is a hot siege; nothing but the obdurate valour of a few men there prevents the King, with Prince Rupert, called also Prince Robert and Prince *Robber*, from riding roughshod over us.[1] The City, with much emotion, ranks its Trained Bands under Essex; making up an Army for him, despatches him to relieve Gloucester. He marches on the 36th; steadily along, in spite of rainy weather and Prince Rupert; westward, westward: on the night of the tenth day, September 5th, the Gloucester people see his signal-fire flame up, amid the dark rain, "on the top of Presbury Hill;"—and understand that they shall live and not die. The King "fired his huts," and marched off without delay. He never again had any real chance of prevailing in this War. Essex, having relieved the West, returns steadily home again, the King's forces hanging angrily on his rear; at Newbury in Berkshire, he had to turn round and give them battle,—*First* Newbury Battle, 20th September, 1643,—wherein he came off rather superior.[2] Poor Lord Falkland, in his "clean shirt," was killed here. This steady march, to Gloucester and back again, by Essex, was the chief feat he did during the War; a considerable feat, and very characteristic of him, the slow-going, inarticulate, indignant, somewhat elephantine man.

First, however, take this word from the Associated Counties, of the "listing" there. Matters go not well: "Nobody to *put on*," nobody to *push;* cash too is and remains defective:—here, however, is a glimpse of the *Ironsides*, first specific glimpse, which is something.

To my honoured Friend, Oliver St. John, Esq., at Lincoln's Inn: These present.

SIR, 'Boston,' 11th September, '1643.'

Of all men I should not trouble you with money matters,—did not the heavy necessities my Troops are in, press upon me beyond measure. I am neglected exceedingly!

I am now ready for my march towards the Enemy; who hath entrenched himself over against Hull, my Lord Newcastle having besieged the Town. Many of my Lord of Manchester's Troops are come to me: very bad and mutinous, not to be confided in; *they* paid to a week almost; *mine* noways provided-for to support them, except by the poor Sequestrations of the County of Huntingdon!—My Troops increase. I have a lovely company; you would respect them, did you know them. No "Anabaptists;" they are honest sober Christians:—they expect to be used as men!

If I took pleasure to write to the House in bitterness, I have occasion. 'Of' the 3,000*l.* allotted me, I cannot get the Norfolk part nor the Hertfordshire: it was given 'away' before I had it.—I have minded your service to forgetfulness of my own Soldiers' necessities. I desire not to seek myself: 'but' I have little money of my own to help my Soldiers. My estate is little. I tell you, the Business of Ireland and England hath had of me, in money, between Eleven and Twelve Hun-

[1] See Webb's Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis, a Collection, &c. (Gloucester, 1825), or Corbet's contemporary *Siege of Gloucester* (Somers Tracts, v. 296), which forms the main substance of Mr. Webb's Book.

[2] Clarendon, ii. 460; Whitlocke, p. 70.

dred pounds;—therefore my Private can do little to help the Public. You have had my money: I hope in God I desire to venture my skin. So do mine. Lay weight upon their patience; but break it not! Think of that which may be a real help. I believe 5,000*l.*[1] is due.

If you lay aside the thought of me and my Letter, I expect no help. Pray for

Your true friend and servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

There is no care taken how to maintain that Force of Horse and Foot raised and a-raising for my Lord of Manchester. He hath not one able to put-on 'that business.' The Force will fall if some help not. Weak counsels and weak actings undo all!—[*two words crossed out*]:—all will be lost, if God help not! Remember who tells you.*

September 22d. The House of Commons and the Assembly of Divines take the Covenant, the old Scotch Covenant, slightly modified now into a "Solemn League and Covenant;" in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.[2] They lifted up their hands *seriatim*, and then "stept into the chancel to sign." Oliver Cromwell signs; and next after him young Sir Henry Vane. There sign in all about 220 honourable Members that day. The whole Parliamentary Party, down to the lowest constable or drummer in their pay, gradually signed. It was the condition of assistance from the Scotch; who are now calling out "all fencible men from sixteen to sixty," for a third expedition into England. A very solemn Covenant, and Vow of all the People; of the awfulness of which, we, in these days of Customhouse oaths and loose regardless talk, cannot form the smallest notion.—Duke Hamilton seeing his painful Scotch diplomacy end all in this way, flies to the King at Oxford—is there "put under arrest," sent to Pendennis Castle near the Land's End.[3]

WINCEBY FIGHT.

Lincolnshire, which has now become one of the Associated Seven,[4] and is still much overrun by Newarkers and Northern Papists, shall at last be delivered.

The triumphant Marquis Newcastle, as we saw, besieges the Lord Fairfax in Hull; who has been obliged to ship his brave Son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, with all the horse, as useless here, across the Humber, to do service under the Earl of Manchester. Cromwell and this younger Fairfax have united about Boston: here, after much marching and skirmishing, is an account of Winceby Fight, their chief exploit in these parts, which cleared the country of the Newarkers and renegade Sir John Hendersons;—as recorded by loud-spoken Vicars. In spite of brevity we must copy the Narrative. Cromwell himself was nearer death in this action than ever in any other; the victory too made its due figure, and "appeared in the world."

[1] Erased, as not the correct sum.

* Additional Ayscough MSS. 5015, art. 25: printed, with some errors, in Annual Register xxxv. 358.

[2] Rushworth, v. 475; the Covenant itself, i. p. 478.

[3] Burnet; Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.

[4] 20 September, 1643, Husbands, ii, 327.

Winceby, a small upland Hamlet, in the Wolds, not among the Fens, of Lincolnshire, is some five miles west of Horncastle. The confused memory of this Fight is still fresh there; the Lane along which the chase went bears ever since the name of "*Slash* Lane," and poor Tradition maunders about it as she can. Hear Vicars, a poor human soul zealously prophesying as if through the organs of an ass,—in a not mendacious, yet loud-spoken, exaggerative, more or less asinine manner:[1]

* * * "All that night," Tuesday, 10th October, 1643, "we were drawing our horse to the appointed rendezvous; and the next morning, being Wednesday, my Lord" Manchester "gave order that the whole force, both horse and foot, should be drawn up to Bolingbroke Hill, where he would expect the enemy, being the only convenient ground to fight with him. But Colonel Cromwell was no way satisfied that we should fight; our horse being extremely wearied with hard duty two or three days together.

"The enemy also drew, that" Wednesday "morning, their whole body of horse and dragooners into the field, being 74 colours of horse, and 21 colours of dragoons, in all 95 colours. We had not many more than half so many colours of horse and dragooners; but I believe we had as many men,—besides our foot, which indeed could not be drawn up until it was very late. The enemy's word was 'Cavendish;'"—he that was killed in the Bog; "and ours was 'Religion.' I believe that as we had no notice of the enemy's coming toward us, so they had as little of our preparation to fight with them. It was about twelve of the clock ere our horse and dragooners were drawn up. After that we marched about a mile nearer the enemy; and then we began to descry him, by little and little, coming toward us. Until this time we did not know we should fight; but so soon as our men had knowledge of the enemy's coming, they were very full of joy and resolution, thinking it a great mercy that they should now fight with him. Our men went on in several bodies, singing Psalms. Quartermaster-General Vermuyden with five troops had the forlorn-hope, and Colonel Cromwell the van, assisted with other of my Lord's troops, and seconded by Sir T. Fairfax. Both armies met about Ixbie, if I mistake not the Town's name,"—you do mistake, Mr. Vicars; it is Winceby, a mere hamlet and not a town.

"Both they and we had drawn up our dragooners; who gave the first charge; and then the horse fell in. Colonel Cromwell fell with brave resolution upon the enemy, immediately after their dragooners had given him the first volley; yet they were so nimble, as that within half pistol-shot, they gave him another: his horse was killed under him at the first charge, and fell down upon him; and as he rose up, he was knocked down again by the Gentleman who charged him, who 'twas conceived was Sir Ingram Hopton: but afterwards he" the Colonel "recovered a poor horse in a soldier's hands, and bravely mounted himself again. Truly this first charge was so home-given, and per-

[1] Third form of *Vicars*: God's Ark overtopping the World's Waves, or the Third Part of the Parliamentary Chronicle: by John Vicars (London, Printed by M. Simons and J. Meecock, 1646), p. 45. There are three editions or successive forms of this Book of Vicar's (see Bliss's Wood, *in voce*): it is always, unless the contrary be expressed, the *second* (of 1644) that we refer to here.

formed with so much admirable courage and resolution by our troops, that the enemy stood not another; but were driven back upon their own body, which was to have seconded them; and at last put these into a plain disorder; and thus in less than half an hour's fight, they were all quite routed, and"—driven along Slash Lane at a terrible rate, unnecessary to specify. Sir Ingram Hopton, who had been so near killing Cromwell, was himself killed. "Above a hundred of their men were found drowned in ditches," in quagmires that would not bear riding; the "dragooners now left on foot" were taken prisoners; the chase lasted to Horncastle or beyond it,—and Henderson the renegade Scot was never heard of in those parts more. My Lord of Manchester's foot did not get up till the battle was over.

This will suffice for Winceby Fight, or Horncastle Fight, of 11th October, 1643;[1] and leave the reader to imagine that Lincolnshire too was now cleared of the "Papist Army," as we violently nickname it—all but a few Towns on the Western border, which will be successfully besieged when the Spring comes.

LETTERS XIV., XV.

In the month of January 1643-4, Oliver, as Governor of Ely, is present for some time in that City; lodges, we suppose, with his own family there; doing military and other work of government:—makes a transient appearance in the Cathedral one day; memorable to the Reverend Mr. Hitch and us.

The case was this. Parliament, which, ever since the first meeting of it, had shown a marked disaffection to Surplices at Allhallowtide and "monuments of Superstition and Idolatry," and passed Order after Order to put them down,—has in August last come to a decisive Act on the subject, and specifically explained that go they must and shall.[2] Act of Parliament which, like the previous Orders of Parliament, could only have gradual partial execution, according to the humour of the locality; and gave rise to scenes. By the Parliament's directions, the Priest, Churchwardens, and proper officers were to do it, with all decency: failing the proper officers, *im*proper officers, military men passing through the place, these and such like, backed by a Puritan populace, and a Puritan Soldiery, had to do it;—not always in the softest manner. As many a *Querela*, Peter Heylin's (lying Peter's) *History*, and *Persecutio Undecima*, still testifies with angry tears. You cannot pull the shirt off a man, the skin off a man, in a way that will please him!—Our Assembly of Divines, sitting earnestly deliberative ever since June last,[3] will direct us what Form of Worship we are to adopt,—some form, it is to be hoped, not grown dramaturgic to us, but still awfully symbolic for us. Meanwhile let all Churches, especially all Cathedrals, be stript of whatever the general soul so much as suspects

[1] Account of it from the other side (Rushworth, v. 282).

[2] 28 August, 1643 (Scobell, i., 53; Commons Journals, iii., 220): 2 November, 1642 (Commons Journals, and Husbands, ii., 119): 31 August, 1641; 23 January, 1641 (Commons Journals, *in diebus.*)

[3] Bill read a third time, 6 January, 1642-3 (Commons Journals, ii., 916); Act itself with the Names, 13 June, 1643 (Scobell, i. 42-4).

to be stage-property and prayer by machinery,—a thing we very justly hold in terror and horror, and dare not live beside !—

Ely Cathedral, it appears, had still been overlooked,—Ely, much troubled with scandalous ministers, as well as with disaffected train-bands,—and Mr. Hitch, under the very eyes of Oliver, persists in his Choir-service there. Here accordingly is an official Note, copies of which still sleep in some repositories.

LETTER XIV.

'To the Rev. Mr. Hitch, at Ely: These.'

MR. HITCH, 'Ely,' 10th January, 1643.

Lest the Soldiers should in any tumultuary or disorderly way attempt the reformation of the Cathedral Church, I require you to forbear altogether your Choir-service, so unedifying and offensive :—and this as you shall answer it, if any disorder should arise thereupon.

I advise you to catechise, and read and expound the Scripture to the people ; not doubting but the Parliament, with the advice of the Assembly of Divines, will direct you farther. I desire your sermons 'too,' where usually they have been,—but more frequent.

Your loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Mr. Hitch paid no attention ; persisted in his Choir-service :—whereupon enter the Governor of Ely with soldiers, "with a rabble at his heels," say the old *Querelas*. With a rabble at his heels, with his hat on, he walks up to the Choir ; says audibly : "I am a man under Authority ; and am commanded to dismiss this Assembly,"—then draws back a little, that the Assembly may dismiss with decency. Mr. Hitch has paused, for a moment ; but seeing Oliver draw back, he starts again : "As it was in the beginning"—!—"Leave off your fooling, and come down, Sir !"[1] said Oliver, in a voice still audible to this Editor ; which Mr. Hitch did now instantaneously give ear to. And so, "with his whole congregation," vanishes from the field of History.

Friday, January 19th. The Scots enter England by Berwick, 21,000 strong ; on Wednesday they left Dunbar "up to the knees in snow ;" such a heart of forwardness was in them.[2] Old Lesley, now Earl of Leven, was their General, as before ; a Committee of Parliamenteers went with him. They soon drove in Newcastle's "Papist Army" within narrower quarters ; in May, got Manchester with Cromwell and Fairfax brought across the Humber to join them, and besieged Newcastle himself in York. Which, before long, will bring us to Marston Moor, and *Letter Sixteenth.*

In the same month of January, 22nd day of it, directly after Hitch's business, Colonel Cromwell, now more properly Lieutenant-General

* Gentleman's Magazine (London, 1788), lviii., 225 : copied "from an old Copy, by a Country Rector," who has had some difficulty in reading the name of Hitch, and knows nothing farther about him or it.

1 Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy (London, 1714), Part ii., p. 23.

2 Rushworth, v. 603-6.

Cromwell, Lieutenant to the Earl of Manchester in the Association, transiently appeared in his place in Parliament; complaining much of my Lord Willoughby, as of a backward General, with strangely dissolute people about him, a great sorrow to Lincolnshire;[1] and craving that my Lord Manchester might be appointed there instead: which, as we see, was done; with good result.

LETTER XV.

ABOUT the end of next month, February 1644, the Lieutenant-General, we find, has been in Gloucester, successfully convoying Ammunition thither; and has taken various strong-houses by the road,—among others, Hilsden-House in Buckinghamshire, with important gentlemen, and many prisoners; which latter, "Walloons, French, and other outlandish men," appear in Cambridge streets in a very thirsty condition; and are, in spite of danger, refreshed according to ability, by the loyal Scholars, and especially by "Mrs. Cumber's maid," with a temporary glass of beer.[2] In this expedition there had gone with Cromwell a certain Major-General Crawford, whom he has left behind in the Hilsden neighbourhood; to whom there is a Letter, here first producible to modern readers, and connected therewith a tale otherwise known.

Letter Fifteenth, which exists as a Copy, on old dim paper, in the Kimbolton Archives, addressed on the back of the sheet, with all reverence, *To the Earl of Manchester*, and forms a very opaque puzzle in that condition,—turns out, after due study, to have been a Copy, *by* that Crawford, of a Letter addressed to himself: Copy hastily written off, along with other hasty confused sheets still extant beside it, for the Earl of Manchester's use, on a certain Parliamentary occasion, which will by and by concern us too for a moment.

A "Lieutenant-Colonel," Packer I dimly apprehend is the name of him, has on this Hilsden-and-Gloucester expedition given offence to Major-General Crawford; who again, in a somewhat prompt way, has had Packer laid under arrest, under suspension at Cambridge; in which state Packer still painfully continues. And may, seemingly, continue: for here has my Lord of Manchester just come down with a Parliamentary Commission "to reform the University," a thing of immense noise and moment, and "is employed in regard of many occasions;" is, in fact, precisely in these hours,[3] issuing his Summonses to the Heads of Houses; and cannot spare an instant for Packer and his pleadings. Crawford is still in Buckinghamshire; nevertheless the shortest way for Packer will be to go to Crawford, and take this admonitory Letter from his superior in command:

'*To Major-General Crawford: These.*'

SIR, Cambridge, 10th March, '1643.'

The complaints you preferred to my Lord against your Lieutenant-Colonel, both by Mr. Lee and your own Letters, have occasioned his stay here;—my Lord being 'so' employed, in regard of

[1] D'Ewes MSS., vol. iv. fol. 280-6.
[2] Querela (in Cooper's Annals, iii. 370); Cromwelliana p. 8 (5 March, 1643.
[3] 11 March (Cooper, iii. 371; details in Neal, ii. 79-89).

many occasions which are upon him, that he hath not been at leisure to hear him make his defence: which in pure justice, ought to be granted him or any man before a judgment be passed upon him.

During his abode here and absence from you, he hath acquainted me what a grief it is to him to be absent from his charge, especially now the regiment is called forth to action: and therefore, asking of me my opinion, I advised him speedily to repair unto *you*. Surely you are not well advised thus to turn off one so faithful to the Cause, and so able to serve you as this man is. Give me leave to tell you, I cannot be of your judgment; 'cannot understand,' if a man notorious for wickedness, for oaths, for drinking, hath as great a share in your affection as one who fears an oath, who fears to sin,—that this doth commend your election of men to serve as fit instruments in this work!—

Ay, but the man "is an Anabaptist." Are you sure of that? Admit he be, shall that render him incapable to serve the Public? "He is indiscreet." It may be so, in some things: we have all human infirmities. I tell you, if you had none but such "indiscreet men" about you, and would be pleased to use them kindly, you would find as good a fence to you as any you have yet chosen.

Sir, the State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it,—that satisfies. I advised you formerly to bear with men of different minds from yourself: if you had done it when I advised you to it, I think you would not have had so many stumblingblocks in your way. It may be you judge otherwise; but I tell you my mind.—I desire you would receive this man into your favour and good opinion. I believe, if he follow my counsel, he will deserve no other but respect from you. Take heed of being sharp, or too easily sharpened by others, against those to whom you can object little but that they square not with you in every opinion concerning matters of religion. If there be any other offence to be charged upon him,—that must in a judicial way receive determination. I know you will not think it fit my Lord should discharge an Officer of the Field but in a regulate way. I question whether you or I have any precedent for that.

I have not further to trouble you:—but rest,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL*

Adjoined to this Letter, as it now lies—in its old repository at Kimbolton, copied and addressed in the enigmatic way above-mentioned—there is, written in a Clerk's hand, but corrected in the hand which copied the Letter, a confused loud-spoken recriminatory Narrative, of some length, about the Second Battle of Newbury; touching also, in a loud confused way, on the case of Packer and others:—evidently the raw-material of the Earl's *Speech in defence of himself*,[1] in the time of the *Self-denying Ordinance;* of which the reader will hear by and by. Assiduous Crawford had provided the Earl with these helps to prove

* Communicated, with much politeness, by the Duke of Manchester, from Family Papers at Kimbolton.

[1] Rushworth, v. 733-6.

Cromwell an insubordinate person, and what was equally terrible, a favourer of Anabaptists. Of the *Letter*, Crawford, against whom also there lay accusations, retains the Original: but furnishes this Copy;—of which, unexpectedly, we too have now obtained a reading.

This sharp Letter may be fancied to procure the Lieutenant-Colonel's reinstatement; who, we have some intimation, does march with his regiment again, in hopes to take the Western Towns of Lincolnshire. Indeed Lieutenant-Colonel Packer, if this were verily Packer as he seems to be, became a distinguished Colonel afterwards, and gave Oliver himself some trouble with his Anabaptistries.[1] In the Letter itself, still more in the confused Papers adjoined to it, of Major-General Crawford's writing, there is evidence enough of smouldering fire-elements in my Lord's Eastern-Association Army! The Lieutenant-General Cromwell, one perceives, is justly suspected of a lenity for Sectaries, Independents, Anabaptists themselves, provided they be "men that fear God," as he phrases it. Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburn (Freeborn John), Lieutenant-Colonel Fleetwood risen from Captaincy now: these and others, in the Crawford Documents, come painfully to view in this Lincolnshire campaign and afterwards; with discontents, with "Petitions," and one knows not what; all tending to Sectarian courses, all countenanced by the Lieutenant-General.[2] Most distasteful to Scotch Crawford, to my Lord of Manchester, not to say criminal and unforgiveable to the respectable Presbyterian mind.

Reverend Mr. Baillie is now up in Town again with the Scotch Commissioners—for there is again a Scotch Commission here, now that their Army has joined us: Reverend Mr. Baillie, taking good note of things, has this pertinent passage some six months hence: "The Earl of Manchester, a sweet meek man, did formerly permit Lieutenant-General Cromwell to guide all the Army at his pleasure: the man Cromwell is a very wise and active head"—yes, Mr. Robert!—"universally well-beloved as religious and stout; but a known Independent or favourer of Sects,"—the issues of which might have been frightful! "But now our countryman Crawford has got a great hand with Manchester, stands high with all that are against Sects;" which is a blessed change indeed,[3]—and may partly explain this Letter and some other things to us!

Of Major-General Crawford, who was once a loud-sounding, well-known man, but whose chance for being remembered much longer will mainly ground itself on a Letter he copied with very different views, let us say here what little needs to be said. He is Scotch; of the Crawfords of Jordan-Hill in Renfrewshire; has seen service in the German Wars, and is deeply conscious of it;—paints himself to us as a headlong audacious fighter, of loose loud tongue, much of a pedant and braggart, somewhat given to sycophancy too. Whose history may sum itself up, practically, in this one fact, That he helped Cromwell and the Earl of Manchester to quarrel; and his character in this other, That he knew Lieutenant-General Cromwell to be a coward. This he, Crawford

[1] Ludlow (London, 1721), ii. 599.
[2] MS. by Crawford at Kimbolton.
[3] Baillie, ii. 229 (16 September, 1644).

knew; had seen it; was wont to assert it, and could prove it. Nay once, in subsequent angry months, talking to the Honourable Denzil Holles in Westminster Hall, he asserted it within earshot of Cromwell himself; "who was passing into the House, and I am very sure did hear it, as intended;"—who, however, heard it as if it had been no affair of his at all; and quietly walked on, as if *his* affairs lay elsewhere than there![1] From which I too, the knowing Denzil, drew my inferences,—ignominious to the human character!—Poor Crawford, after figuring much among the Scotch Committee-men and Presbyterian Grandees for a time, joined or rejoined the Scotch Army under Lesley; and fell at the Siege of Hereford in 1645, fighting gallantly I doubt not, and was quiet thenceforth.[2]

In these same weeks[3] there is going on a very famous Treaty once more, "Treaty of Uxbridge;" with immense apparatus of King's Commissioners, and Parliament and Scotch Commissioners; of which, however, as it came to nothing, there need nothing here be said. Mr. Christopher Love, a young eloquent divine, of hot Welsh blood, of Presbyterian tendency, preaching by appointment in the place, said, He saw no prospect of an agreement, he for one; "Heaven might as well think of agreeing with Hell;"[4] words which were remembered against Mr. Christopher. The King will have nothing to do with Presbyterianism, will not stir a step without his Surplices at Allhallowtide; there remains only War; a supreme managing "Committee of Both Kingdoms;" combined forces, and war. On the other hand, his Majesty, to counterbalance the Scots, had agreed to a "Cessation in Ireland," sent for his "Irish Army" to assist him here,—and, indeed, already got them as good as ruined, or reduced to a mere marauding apparatus.[5] A new "Papist" or partly "Papist Army," which gave great scandal in this country. By much the remarkablest man in it was Colonel George Monk; already taken at Nantwich, and lodged in the Tower.

But now the western towns of Lincolnshire are all taken; Manchester with Cromwell and Fairfax are across the Humber, joined with the Scots besieging York, where Major-General Crawford again distinguishes himself;[6]—and we are now at Marston Moor.

LETTER XVI.

MARSTON MOOR.

In the last days of June 1644, Prince Rupert, with an army of some 20,000 fierce men, came pouring over the hills from Lancashire, where he had left harsh traces of himself, to relieve the Marquis of Newcastle, who was now with a force of 6,000 besieged in York, by the united forces of the Scots under Leven, the Yorkshiremen under Lord Fairfax, and

[1] Holles's Memoirs: in Maseres's Select Tracts (London, 1815), i. 199.

[2] Wood's Athenæ (*Life*, p. 8); Baillie, ii. 235 *et sæpius* (correct ib. ii. p. 218 *n.*, and Godwin, i. 380); Holles; Scotch Peerages, &c. &c.

[3] 29 January—5 March, Rushworth, v. 844-946; Whitlocke, p. 122-3.

[4] Wood, iii. 281; Commons Journals, &c.

[5] Rushworth, v. 547 (Cessation, 15 September, 1643); v. 299-303 (Siege of Nantwich, 21 November).

[6] Fires a mine without orders; storms-in, hoping to take the city himself: and is disastrously repulsed (Rushworth, v. 631; Baillie, ii. 200.)

the Associated Counties under Manchester and Cromwell. On hearing of his approach, the Parliament Generals raised the Siege; drew out on the Moor of Long Marston, some four miles off, to oppose his coming. He avoided them by crossing the river Ouse; relieved York, Monday, 1st July; and might have returned successful; but insisted on Newcastle's joining him, and going out to fight the Roundheads. The Battle of Marston Moor, fought on the morrow evening, Tuesday, 2d July, 1644, from 7 to 10 o'clock, was the result,—entirely disastrous for him.

Of this Battle, the bloodiest of the whole War, I must leave the reader to gather details in the sources indicated below;[1] or to imagine it in general as the most enormous hurlyburly, of fire and smoke, and steel-flashings and death-tumult, ever seen in those regions: the end of which, about ten at night, was "Four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies" to be buried, and total ruin to the King's affairs in those Northern parts.

The Armies were not completely drawn up till after five in the evening; there was a ditch between them; they stood facing one another, motionless except the exchange of a few cannon-shots, for an hour-and-half. Newcastle thought there would be no fighting till the morrow, and had retired to his carriage for the night. There is some shadow of surmise that the stray cannon-shot which, as the following Letter indicates, proved fatal to Oliver's Nephew, did also, rousing Oliver's humour to the charging point, bring on the general Battle. "The Prince of Plunderers," invincible hitherto, here first tasted the steel of Oliver's Ironsides, and did not in the least like it. "The Scots delivered their fire with such constancy and swiftness, it was as if the whole air had become an element of fire,"—in the summer gloaming there.

'*To my loving Brother, Colonel Valentine Walton: These.*'

DEAR SIR, 'Leaguer before York,' 5th July, 1644.

It's our duty to sympathise in all mercies; and to praise the Lord together in chastisements or trials, that so we may sorrow together.

Truly England and the Church of God hath had a great favour from the Lord, in this great Victory given unto us, such as the like never was since this War began. It had all the evidences of an absolute Victory obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the Godly Party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. The Left Wing, which I commanded, being our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords. We charged their regiments of foot with our horse, and routed all we charged. The particulars I cannot relate now; but I believe, of twenty thousand the Prince hath not four thousand left. Give glory, all the glory, to God.—

[1] King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 164 (various accounts by eyewitnesses); no. 168, one by Simeon Ash, the Earl of Manchester's Chaplain; no. 167, &c.: Rushworth, v. 632: Carte's Ormond Papers (London, 1739), i. 56: Fairfax's Memorials (Somers Tracts, v. 389). Modern accounts are numerous, but of no value.

MARSTON MOOR.

From the picture by STANLEY BERKELEY, by permission of Messrs Hildesheimer & Co.

Sir, God hath taken away your eldest Son by a cannon-shot. It brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died.

Sir, you know my own trials this way:[1] but the Lord supported me with this, That the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for and live for. There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. He was a gallant young man, exceedingly gracious. God give you His comfort. Before his death he was so full of comfort that to Frank Russel and myself he could not express it, "It was so great above his pain." This he said to us. Indeed it was admirable. A little after, he said, One thing lay upon his spirit. I asked him, What that was? He told me it was, That God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of His enemies. At his fall, his horse being killed with the bullet, and as I am informed three horses more, I am told he bid them, Open to the right and left, that he might see the rogues run. Truly he was exceedingly beloved in the Army, of all that knew him. But few knew him; for he was a precious young man, fit for God. You have cause to bless the Lord. He is a glorious Saint in Heaven; wherein you ought exceedingly to rejoice. Let this drink up your sorrow; seeing these are not feigned words to comfort you, but the thing is so real and undoubted a truth. You may do all things by the strength of Christ. Seek that, and you shall easily bear your trial. Let this public mercy to the Church of God make you to forget your private sorrow. The Lord be your strength: so prays

Your truly faithful and loving Brother,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

My love to your Daughter, and my Cousin Perceval, Sister Desbrow and all friends with you.*

Colonel Valentine Walton, already a conspicuous man, and more so afterwards, is of Great-Staughton, Huntingdonshire, a neighbour of the Earl of Manchester's; Member for his County, and a Colonel since the beginning of the War. There had long been an intimacy between the Cromwell Family and his. His Wife, the Mother of this slain youth, is Margaret Cromwell, Oliver's younger Sister, next to him in the family series. "Frank Russel" is of Chippenham, Cambridgeshire, eldest Son of the Baronet there; already a Colonel; soon afterwards Governor of Ely in Oliver's stead.[2] It was the daughter of this Frank that Henry Cromwell, some ten years hence, wedded.

Colonel Walton, if he have at present some military charge in the Association, seems to attend mainly on Parliament; and this Letter, I think, finds him in town. The poor wounded youth would have to lie on the field at Marston while the Battle was fought; the whole Army had to bivouack there, next to no food, hardly even water to be had. That of "Seeing the rogues run," occurs more than once at subsequent

1 I conclude, the poor Boy Oliver has already fallen in these Wars,—none of *us* knows where, though his Father well knew!

* Seward's anecdotes (London, 1798), i. 362: reproduced in Ellis's "Original Letters" (First Series), iii. 299. "Original once in the possession of Mr. Langton of Welbeck Street," says Ellis;—"in the Bodleian Library," says Seward.

2 See Noble, ii. 407, 8,—with vigilance against his blunders.

dates in these Wars :[1] who first said it, or whether anybody ever said it, must remain uncertain.

York was now captured in a few days : Prince Rupert had fled across into Lancashire, and so "south to Shropshire, to recruit again;" Marquis Newcastle with "about eighty gentlemen," disgusted at the turn of affairs, had withdrawn beyond seas. The Scots moved northward to attend the Siege of Newcastle,—ended it by storm in October next. On the 24th of which same month, 24th October, 1644, the Parliament promulgated its Rhadamanthine Ordinance, To "hang any Irish Papist taken in arms in this country;"[2] a very severe Ordinance, but not uncalled for by the nature of the "marauding apparatus" in question there.

LETTERS XVII., XVIII.

THE next Two Letters represent the Army and Lieutenant-General got home to the Association again; and can be read with little commentary. "The Committee for the Isle of Ely," we are to remark, consists of Honourable Members connected with that region, and has its sittings in London. Of "Major Ireton" we shall hear farther. "Husband" also is slightly met with elsewhere; and "Captain Castle" grew, I think, to be Colonel Castle, and perished at the Storm of Tredah, some years afterwards.

LETTER XVII.

For my noble Friends, the Committee for the Isle of Ely: Present these.

GENTLEMEN, Lincoln, 1st September, 1644.

I understand that you have lately released some persons committed by Major Ireton and Captain Husband, and one committed by Captain Castle,—all 'committed' upon clear and necessary grounds as they are represented unto me. 'Grounds' rendering them as very enemies as any we have, and as much requiring to have them continued secured.

I have given order to Captain Husband to see them re-committed to the hands of my Marshall, Richard White. And I much desire you, for the future, Not to entrench upon me so much as to release 'either' them, or any committed in the like case by myself, or my Deputy and Commanders in the Garrison,—until myself or some Superior Authority[3] be satisfied in the cause, and do give order in allowance of their enlargement. For I profess I will be no Governor, nor engage any other under me to undertake such a charge, upon such weak terms!—

I am so sensible of the need we have to improve the present opportunity of our being masters in the field and having no Enemy near the Isle, and to spare whatever charge we can towards the making of those Fortifications, which may render it more defensible hereafter if we shall have *more* need,—I shall desire you, for that end, to ease the Isle and Treasury from the superfluous charge of 'having' Two several Committees for the several Parts of the Isle; and that one Committee, settled at March, may serve for the whole Isle.

Wherefore I wish that one of your number may, in your courses, in-

[1] Ludlow. [2] Rushworth, v. 783. [3] Not inferior!

end[1] and appear at that Committee, to manage and uphold it the better for all parts of the Isle.

Resting upon your care herein, I remain

Your friend to serve you,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER XVIII.

SLEAFORD is in Lincolnshire, a march farther south. Lieutenant-General Cromwell with the Eastern-Association Horse, if the "Foot" were once settled,—might not he dash down to help the Lieutenant-General Essex and his "Army in the West?" Of whom, and of whose sad predicament amid the hills of Cornwall there, we shall see the issue anon. Brother Walton, a Parliament man, has written, we perceive, to Cromwell, suggesting such a thing; urging haste if possible. In Cromwell is no delay: but the Eastern-Association Army, horse or foot, is heavy to move,—beset, too, with the old internal discrepancies, Crawfordisms, scandals at Sectaries and what not.

For Colonel Valentine Walton: These, in London.

SIR, Sleaford, 6th or 5th September, '1644.'

We do with grief of heart resent the sad condition of our Army in the West, and of affairs there. That business has our hearts with it; and truly had we wings, we would fly thither! So soon as ever my Lord and the Foot set me loose, there shall be in me no want to hasten what I can to that service.

For indeed all other considerations are to be laid aside, and to give place to *it*, as being of far more importance. I hope the Kingdom shall see that, in the midst of our necessities, we shall serve them without disputes. We hope to forget our wants, which are exceeding great, and ill cared for: and desire to refer the many slanders heaped upon us by false tongues to God,—who will, in due time, make it appear to the world that we study the glory of God, and the honour and liberty of the Parliament. For which we unanimously fight; without seeking our own interests.

Indeed we never find our men so cheerful as when there is work to do. I trust you will always hear so of them. The Lord is our strength, and in Him is all our hope. Pray for us. Present my love to my friends: I beg their prayers. The Lord still bless you.

We have some amongst us much[2] slow in action:—if we could all attend our own ends less, and our ease too, our business in this Army would go on wheels for expedition! 'But' because some of us are enemies to rapine, and other wickednesses, we are said to be "factious," to "seek to maintain our opinions in religion by force,"—which we detest and abhor. I profess I could never satisfy myself of the justness of

1 "intend" means "take pains;" March is a *Town* in the Ely region.

* Old Copy, now (January 1846) on sale at Mr. Graves's, Pall-Mall; printed in the *Athenæum* of 13 December, 1845. Old copy, such as the Clerks of Honourable Members were wont to take of Letters read in the House, or officially elsewhere;—worth copying for certain parties, in a time without Newspapers like ours.

2 "much" is old for *very*.

this War, but from the Authority of the Parliament to maintain itself in its rights: and in this Cause, I hope to approve myself an honest man and single-hearted.

Pardon me that I am thus troublesome. I write but seldom: it gives me a little ease to pour my mind, in the midst of calumnies, into the bosom of a Friend.

Sir, no man more truly loves you than
Your brother and servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

THREE FRAGMENTS OF SPEECHES.

SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE.

THE following Three small Fragments of Speeches will have to represent for us some six months of occasional loud debating, and continual anxious gestation and manipulation, in the Two Houses, in the Committee of Both Kingdoms, and in many other houses and places;—the ultimate outcome of which was the celebrated "Self-denying Ordinance," and "New Model" of the Parliament's Army; which indeed brings on an entirely New Epoch in the Parliament's Affairs.

Essex and Waller had, for the third or even fourth time, chiefly by the exertions of ever-zealous London, been fitted out with Armies; had marched forth together to subdue the West;—and ended in quite other results than that. The two Generals differed in opinion; did not march long together: Essex, urged by a subordinate, Lord Roberts, who had estates in Cornwall and hoped to get some rents out of them,[1] turned down thitherwards to the left; Waller bending up to the right,—with small issue either way. Waller's last action was an indecisive, rather unsuccessful Fight, or day of skirmishing, with the King, at Cropredy Bridge on the border of Oxford and Northampton Shires,[2] three days before Marston Moor. After which both parties separated: the King to follow Essex, since there was now no hope in the North; Waller to wander London-wards, and gradually "lose his Army by desertion," as the habit of him was. As for the King, he followed Essex into Cornwall with effect; hemmed him in among the hills there, about Bodmin, Lestwithiel, Foy, with continual skirmishing, with ever-growing scarcity of victual; forced poor Essex to escape to Plymouth by the Fleet,[3] and *leave* his Army to shift for itself as best might be: the horse under Balfour, to cut their way through; the foot under Skippon to lay down their arms, cease to be soldiers, and march away "with staves in their hands" into the wide world. This surrender was effected 1st September, 1644, two months after Marston Moor. The Parliament's, and Cromwell's worst anticipation, in that quarter, is fulfilled.

The Parliament made no complaint of Essex; with a kind of Roman dignity, they rather thanked him. They proceeded to recruit Waller and him, summoned Manchester with Cromwell his Lieutenant-General

* Seward's Anecdotes *ut supra* I.1,362. [1] Clarendon. [2] 29th June, 1644, Clarendon ii. 655.
[3] His own distinct, downright, and somewhat sulky Narrative, Rushworth, v. 701.

join them; by which three bodies, making again a considerable army, under the command of Manchester and Waller (for Essex lay "sick," or seeming to be sick), the King, returning towards Oxford from his victory, was intercepted at Newbury; and there, on Sunday, 27th October, 1644, fell out the *Second* Battle of Newbury.[1] Wherein his Majesty, after four hours confused fighting, rather had the worse; yet contrived to march off, unmolested, "by moonlight at 10 o'clock," towards Wallingford, and got safe home. Manchester refused to pursue; though urged by Cromwell, and again urged. Nay twelve days after, when the King came back, and openly revictualled Dennington Castle, an important strongplace hard by,—Manchester, in spite of Cromwell's urgency, still refused to interfere.

They in fact came to a quarrel here, these two:—and much else that was represented by them came to a quarrel; Presbytery and Independency, to wit. Manchester was reported to have said, If they lost this Army pursuing the King, they had no other; the King "might hang them all." To Cromwell and the thorough-going party, it had become very clear that high Essexes and Manchesters, of limited notions and large estates and anxieties, who besides their fear of being themselves beaten utterly, and forfeited and "hanged," were afraid of beating the King too well, would never end this Cause in a good way. Whereupon ensue some six months of very complex manipulation, and public and private consultation, which these Three Fragments of Speeches are here to represent for us.

I. In the House of Commons, on Monday, 25th November, 1644, Lieutenant-General Cromwell did, as ordered on the Saturday before, exhibit a charge against the Earl of Manchester to this effect:

That the said Earl hath always been indisposed and backward to engagements, and the ending of the War by the sword; and "always" *for* such a Peace as a "thorough" victory would be a disadvantage to;—and hath declared this by principles express to that purpose, and "by" a continued series of carriage and actions answerable.

That since the taking of York,[2] as if the Parliament had now advantage fully enough, he hath declined whatsoever tended to farther advantage upon the Enemy; "hath" neglected and studiously shifted off opportunities to that purpose, as if he thought the King too low, and the Parliament too high,—especially at Dennington Castle.

That he hath drawn the Army into, and detained them in, such a posture as to give the Enemy fresh advantages; and this, before his conjunction with the other Armies,[3] by his own absolute will, against or without his Council of War, against many commands of the Committee of Both Kingdoms, and with contempt and vilifying of those commands;—and, *since* the conjunction, sometimes against the Councils of War, and sometimes by persuading and deluding the Council to neglect

[1] Clarendon, ii. 717. [2] Directly after Marston Moor.
[3] Waller's and Essex's at Newbury.

one opportunity with pretence of another, and this again of a third, and at last by persuading "them" that it was not fit to fight at all.*

To these heavy charges, Manchester,—furnished with his confused Crawford Documents, and not forgetting Letter *Fifteenth* which we lately read,—makes heavy answer, at great length, about a week after: of which we shall remember only this piece of counter-charge, How his Lordship had once in those very Newbury days, ordered Cromwell to proceed to some rendezvous with the horse, and Cromwell, very unsuitably for a Lieutenant-General, had answered, The horses were already worn off their feet: "if your Lordship want to have the *skins* of the horses, this is the way to get them!"—Through which small slit one looks into large seas of general discrepancy in those old months! Lieutenant-General Cromwell is also reported to have said, in a moment of irritation surely, "There would never be a good time in England till we had done with Lords."[1] But the most appalling report that now circulates in the world is this, of his saying once, "If he met the King in battle, he would fire his pistol at the King as at another;" —pistol, at our poor semi-divine misguided Father fallen insane: a thing hardly conceivable to the Presbyterian human mind![2]

II. In the House of Commons, on Wednesday, 9th December, all sitting in Grand Committee, "there was a general silence for a good space of time," one looking upon the other to see who would break the ice, in regard to this delicate point of getting our Essexes and Manchesters softly ousted from the Army; a very delicate point indeed,—when Lieutenant-General Cromwell stood up, and spake shortly to this effect:

It is now a time to speak, or forever hold the tongue. The important occasion now, is no less than to save a Nation, out of a bleeding, nay almost dying condition; which the long continuance of this War hath already brought it into; so that without a more speedy, vigorous and effectual prosecution of the War,—casting off all lingering proceedings like "those of" soldiers-of-fortune beyond sea, to spin out a war,—we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a Parliament.

For what do the enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the Parliament? Even this, That the Members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands; and, what by interest in Parliament, what by power in the Army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the War speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This "that" I speak here to our own faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any. I know the worth of those Commanders, Members of both Houses, who are yet in power: but if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive if the Army be not put into an-

* Rushworth, v. 732: Commons Journals, iii. 703, 5.
[1] Rushworth, v. 734.
[2] Old Pamphlet *passim*, onwards to 1694.

other method, and the War more vigorously prosecuted, the People can bear the War no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable Peace.

But this I would recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any Commander-in-chief upon any occasion whatsoever; for as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs. Therefore waving a strict inquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy; which is most necessary. And I hope we have such true English hearts, and zealous affections towards the general weal of our Mother Country, as no Members of either House will scruple to *deny* themselves, and their own private interests, for the public good; nor account it to be a dishonour done to them, whatever the Parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter.*

III. On the same day, seemingly at a subsequent part of the debate, Lieutenant-General Cromwell said likewise, as follows:

Mr. Speaker,—I am not of the mind that the calling of the Members to sit in Parliament will break, or scatter our Armies. I can speak this for my own soldiers, that they look not upon me, but upon you; and for you they will fight, and live and die in your Cause; and if others be of that mind that they are of, you need not fear them. They do not idolise me, but look upon the cause they fight for. You may lay upon them what commands you please, they will obey your commands in that Cause they fight for.†

To be brief, Mr. Zouch Tate, Member for Northampton, moved this day a Self-denying Ordinance; which, in a few days more, was passed in the Commons. It was not so easily got through the Lords; but there too it had ultimately to pass. One of the most important clauses was this, introduced not without difficulty, That religious men might now serve *without* taking the Covenant as a *first* preliminary,—perhaps they might take it by and by. This was a great ease to tender consciences; and indicates a deep split, which will grow wider and wider, in our religious affairs. The Scots Commissioners have sent for Whitlocke and Maynard to the Lord General's to ask in judicious Scotch dialect, Whether there be not ground to prosecute Cromwell as an "incendiary?" "You ken varry weel!"—The two learned gentlemen shook their heads.‡

This Self-denying Ordinance had to pass; it and the New Model wholly; by the steps indicated below.[2] Essex was gratified by a splendid Pension,—very little of it ever actually paid; for indeed he died some two years after: Manchester was put on the Committee of Both

* Rushworth, vi., 4.

† Cromwelliana, p. 12.

‡ Whitlocke, iii., p. 111 (December, 1644).

[2] Rushworth, vi., 7, 8: Self-denying Ordinance *passed* in the Commons 19th December, and is sent to the Lords; Conference about it, 7th January; *rejected* by the Lords 15th January,—because "we do not know what *shape* the Army will now suddenly take." Whereupon 21st January, "Fairfax is nominated General;" and on the 19 February, the New Model is completed and passed: "*This* is the shape the army is to take." A second Self-denying Ordinance, now introduced, got itself finally passed 3rd April, 1645.

Kingdoms: the Parliament had its New-Model Army, and soon was an entirely new epoch in its affairs.

LETTER XIX.

BEFORE the old Officers laid down their commissions, Waller, with Cromwell and Massey were sent on an Expedition into the West against Goring and Company; concerning which there is some echo in the old Books and Commons Journals, but no definite vestige of it, except the following Letter, read in the House of Commons, 9th April, 1645; which D'Ewes happily had given his Clerk to copy. The Expedition itself, which proved successful, is now coming towards an end. Fairfax the new General is at Windsor all April; full of business, regimenting, discharging, enlisting, new-modelling.

LETTER XIX.

For the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Army: Haste, Haste: These: At Windsor.

SIR, 'Salisbury,' 9th April (ten o'clock at night), 1645.

Upon Sunday last we marched towards Bruton in Somersetshire, which was General Goring's headquarter: but he would not stand us; but marched away, upon our appearance, to Wells and Glastonbury. Whither we held it unsafe to follow him; lest we should engage our Body of Horse too far into that enclosed country, not having foot enough to stand by them; and partly because we doubted the advance of Prince Rupert with his force to join with Goring; having some notice from Colonel Massey of the Prince his coming this way.

General Goring hath 'Sir Richard' Greenvil in a near posture to join with him. He hath all their Garrisons in Devon, Dorset and Somersetshire, to make an addition to him. Whereupon, Sir William Waller, having a very poor Infantry of about 1600 men,—lest they, being so inconsiderable, should engage[1] our Horse,—we came from Shaftesbury to Salisbury to secure our foot; to prevent our being necessitated to a too unequal engagement, and to be nearer a communication with our friends.

Since our coming hither, we hear Prince Rupert is come to Marshfield, a market-town not far from Trowbridge. If the enemy advance altogether, how far we may be endangered,—that I humbly offer to you; entreating you to take care of us, and to send us with all speed such an assistance, to Salisbury, as may enable us to keep the field and repel the enemy, if God assist us: at least to secure and countenance us so, as that we be not put to the shame and hazard of a retreat; which will lose the Parliament many friends in these parts, who will think themselves abandoned on our departure from them. Sir, I beseech you send what Horse and Foot you can spare towards Salisbury, by way of Kingscleere, with what convenient expedition may be. Truly we look to be attempted upon every day.

[1] entangle or encumber.

These things being humbly represented to your knowledge and care, I subscribe myself,

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

In Carte's Ormond Papers (i. 79) is a Letter of the same date on the same subject, somewhat illustrative of this. See also Commons Journals *in die.*

LETTERS XX.—XXIII.

PRINCE RUPERT had withdrawn without fighting; was now at Worcester with a considerable force, meditating new infall, for which end, we hear, he has sent 2,000 men across the country to his Majesty at Oxford, to convoy his Majesty's person and the artillery over to Worcester to him,—both of which objects are likely to be useful there. The Committee of Both Kingdoms order the said convoy to be attacked.

"The charge of this service they recommend particularly to General Cromwell, who looking on himself now as discharged of military employment by the New Ordinance, which was to take effect within few days, and to have no longer opportunity to serve his country in that way,—was, the night before, come to Windsor, from his service in the West, to kiss the General's hand and take leave of him: when, in the morning ere he was come forth of his chamber, those commands, than which he thought of nothing less in all the world, came to him from the Committee of Both Kingdoms."[1]

"The night before" must mean, to all appearance, the 22d of April. How Cromwell instantly took horse; plunged into Oxfordshire, and on the 24th, at Islip Bridge, attacked and routed this said Convoy; and the same day, "merely by dragoons" and fierce countenance, took Bletchington House, for which poor Colonel Windebank was shot, so angry were they: all this is known from Clarendon, or more authentically from Rushworth;[2] and here now is Cromwell's own account of it:

LETTER XX.

"COMMITTEE of Both Kingdoms," first set up in February gone a year, when the Scotch Army came to help, has been the Executive in the War-department ever since; a great but now a rapidly declining authority. Sits at Derby House: Four Scotch; Twenty-one English, of whom Six a quorum. Johnston of Warriston is the notablest Scotchman; among the leading English are Philip Lord Wharton and the Younger Vane.[3]

"Watlington" is in the Southeast nook of Oxfordshire; a day's

* D'Ewes's MSS. vol. v. p. 189; p. 445 of Transcript.

1 Sprigge's Anglia Rediviva (London, 1647), p. 10. Sprigge was one of Fairfax's Chaplains; his Book, a rather ornate work, gives florid but authentic and sufficient account of this New-Model Army in all its features and operations, by which "England" had "come alive again." A little sparing in dates; but correct where they are given. None of the old Books is better worth reprinting.—For some glimmer of notice concerning Joshua Sprigge himself, see Wood *in voce*,—and disbelieve altogether that "Nat. Fiennes" had anything to do with this Book.

2 vi. 23, 4.

3 List, and light as to its appointment, in Commons Journals (7 Feb. 1643-4), iii. 391; Baillie, ii. 141 *et sæpius*. Its Papers and Correspondence, a curious set of records, lie in very tolerable order in the State-Paper Office.

march from Windsor. "Major-General Browne" commands at Abingdon; a City Wood-merchant once; a zealous soldier, of Presbyterian principles at present. The rendezvous at Watlington took place on Wednesday night; the 25th of April is Friday.

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Both Kingdoms, at Derby House: These.

Bletchington, 25th April, 1645.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

According to your Lordships' appointment, I have attended your Service in these parts; and have not had so fit an opportunity to give you an account as now.

So soon as I received your commands, I appointed a rendezvous at Watlington. The body being come up, I marched to Wheatley Bridge, having sent before to Major-General Browne for intelligence; and it being market-day at Oxford, from whence I likewise hoped, by some of the market-people, to gain notice where the Enemy was.

Towards night I received certain notice by Major-General Browne, that the Carriages were not stirred, that Prince Maurice was not here; and by some Oxford scholars, that there were Four Carriages and Waggons ready in one place, and in another Five; all, as I conceived, fit for a march.[1]

I received notice also that the Earl of Northampton's Regiment was quartered at Islip; wherefore in the evening I marched that way, hoping to have surprised them; but, by the mistake and failing of the forlorn-hope, they had an alarm there, and to all their quarters, and so escaped me; by means whereof they had time to draw all together.

I kept my body all night at Islip: and, in the morning, a party of the Earl of Northampton's Regiment, the Lord Wilmot's and the Queen's, came to make an infall upon me. Sir Thomas Fairfax's Regiment[2] was the first that took the field; the rest drew out with all possible speed. That which is the General's Troop charged a whole Squadron of the Enemy, and presently broke it. Our other Troops coming seasonably on, the rest of the Enemy were presently put into confusion; so that we had the chase of them three or four miles; wherein we killed many, and took near Two-hundred prisoners, and about Four-hundred horse.

Many of them escaped towards Oxford and Woodstock, divers were drowned; and others got into a strong House in Bletchington, belonging to Sir Thomas Cogan; wherein Colonel Windebank kept a garrison with near Two-hundred men. Whom I presently summoned; and after a long Treaty, he went out, about twelve at night, with these Terms here enclosed; leaving us between Two and Three-hundred muskets, besides horse-arms, and other ammunition, and about Three-score-and-eleven horses more.

This was the mercy of God; and nothing is more due than a real acknowledgment. And though I have had greater mercies, yet none

1 "march," out towards Worcester.

2 "Which was once mine," he might have added, but modestly does not; only alluding to it from afar, in the next sentence.

clearer: because, in the first 'place,' God brought them to our hands when we looked not for them; and delivered them out of our hands, when we laid a reasonable design to surprise them, and which we carefully endeavoured. His mercy appears in this also, That I did much doubt the storming of the House, it being strong and well manned, and I having few dragoons, and this being not my business;—and yet we got it.

I hope you will pardon me if I say, God is not enough owned. We look too much to men and visible helps: this hath much hindered our success. But I hope God will direct all to acknowledge Him alone in all 'things.'

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL*

Poor Windebank was shot by sudden Court-martial, so enraged were they at Oxford,—for Cromwell had not even foot-soldiers, still less a battering gun. It was his poor young Wife, they said, she and other "ladies on a visit there," that had confused poor Windebank: he set his back to the wall of Merton College, and received his death-volley with a soldier's stoicism.[1] The Son of Secretary Windebank, who fled beyond seas long since.

LETTER XXI.

How Cromwell, sending off his new guns and stores to Abingdon, now shot across westward to "Radcot Bridge" or "Bampton-in-the-Bush;" and on the 26th gained a new victory there; and on the whole made rather a brilliant sally of it:—this too is known from Clarendon, or more authentically from Rushworth; but only the concluding unsuccessful part of this, the fruitless summons to Farringdon, has left any trace in autograph.

To the Governor of the Garrison in Farringdon.

SIR, 29th April, 1645.

I summon you to deliver into my hands the House wherein you are, and your Ammunition, with all things else there; together with your persons, to be disposed of as the Parliament shall appoint. Which if you refuse to do, you are to expect the utmost extremity of war. I rest,

Your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL†.

This Governor, "Roger Burgess," is not to be terrified with fierce countenance and mere dragoons; he refuses. Cromwell withdrew into Farringdon Town, and again summons:

* Pamphlet, in Parliamentary History, xiii. 459: read in the House, Monday 28 April (Commons Journals, iv. 124).—Letter to Fairfax on the same subject, Appendix, No. 5.
[1] Heath's Chronicle, p. 122.
† Rushworth, vi. 26.

LETTER XXII.

To the same; same date.

SIR,

I understand by forty or fifty poor men whom you forced into your House, that you have many there whom you cannot arm, and who are not serviceable to you. If these men should perish by your means, it were great inhumanity surely. Honour and honesty require this, That though you be prodigal of your own lives, yet not to be so of theirs. If God give you into my hands, I will not spare a man of you, if you put me to a storm.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Roger Burgess, still unawed, refuses; Cromwell waits for infantry from Abingdon "till 3 next morning," then storms; loses fourteen men, with a captain taken prisoner;—and draws away, leaving Burgess to crow over him. The Army, which rose from Windsor yesterday, gets to Reading this day, and he must hasten thither.

Yesterday, Wednesday, Monthly-fast day, all Preachers, by Ordinance of Parliament, were praying for "God's merciful assistance to this New Army now on march, and His blessing upon their endeavours."[1] Consider it; actually "praying!" It was a capability old London and its Preachers and Populations had; to us the incrediblest.

LETTER XXIII.

BY Letter Twelfth it will be seen that Lieutenant-General Cromwell has never yet resumed his Parliamentary duty. In fact, he is in the Associated Counties, raising force; "for protection of the Isle of Ely," and other purposes. To Fairfax and his Officers, to the Parliament, to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, to all persons, it is clear that Cromwell cannot be dispensed with. Fairfax and the Officers petition Parliament[2] that he may be appointed their Lieutenant-General, Commander-in-chief of the Horse. There is a clear necessity in it. Parliament, the Commons somewhat more readily than the Lords, continue by instalments of "forty days," of "three months," his service in the Army, and at length grow to regard him as a constant element there. A few others got similar leave of absence, similar dispensation from the Self-denying Ordinance. Sprigge's words, cited above, are no doubt veracious; yet there is trace of evidence[3] that Cromwell's continuance in the Army had, even by the framers of the Self-denying Ordinance, been considered a thing possible, a thing desirable. As it well might! To Cromwell himself there was no overpowering felicity in getting out to be shot at, except where wanted; he very probably, as Sprigge intimates, did let the matter in silence take its own course.

'*To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliament's Army: These.*'

SIR,

Huntingdon, 4 June, 1645.

I most humbly beseech you to pardon my long silence. I am conscious of the fault, considering the great obligations lying upon

* Rushworth, ibid.

1 Rushworth, vi. 25. 2 Their Letter (Newspapers, 9-16 June), in Cromwelliana, p. 18.

3 Godwin's History of the Commonwealth (London, 1824), i. 405.

me. But since my coming into these parts, I have been busied to secure that part of the Isle of Ely where I conceived most danger to be.

Truly I found it in a very ill posture: and it is yet but weak; without works, ammunition or men considerable,—and of money least: and then, I hope, you will easily conceive of the defence: and God has preserved us all this while to a miracle. The party under Vermuyden waits the King's Army, and is about Deeping; has a command to join with Sir John Gell, if he commands him. So 'too' the Nottingham Horse. I shall be bold to present you with intelligence as it comes to me.

I am bold to present this as my humble suit: That you would be pleased to make Captain Rawlins, this Bearer, a Captain of Horse. He has been so before; was nominated to the Model; is a most honest man. Colonel Sidney leaving his regiment, if it please you to bestow *his* troop on him, I am confident he will serve you faithfully. So, by God's assistance, will

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The "Vermuyden" mentioned here, who became Colonel Vermuyden, is supposed to be a son of the Dutch Engineer who drained the Fens. "Colonel Sidney" is the celebrated Algernon; he was nominated in the "Model," but is "leaving his regiment;" having been appointed Governor of Chichester.[1] Captain Rawlins does obtain a Company of Horse; under "Colonel Sir Robert Pye."[2]—Colonel Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, has a Foot-Regiment here. Hugh Peters is "Chaplain to the Train."

The King has got into the Midland Counties; "hunting," driving "large herds of cattle" before him,—uncertain whitherward: and we are now within sight of Naseby Field.

LETTER XXIV.

NASEBY.

THE old Hamlet of Naseby stands yet, on its old hill-top, very much as it did in Saxon days, on the Northwestern border of Northamptonshire; some seven or eight miles from Market-Harborough in Leicestershire; nearly on a line, and nearly midway, between that Town and Daventry. A peaceable old Hamlet, of perhaps five hundred souls; clay cottages for labourers, but neatly thatched and swept; smith's shop, saddler's shop, beer-shop, all in order; forming a kind of square, which leads off Southwards, into two long streets: the old Church, with its graves, stands in the centre, the truncated spire finishing itself with a strange old Ball, held up by rods; a "hollow copper Ball, which came from Boulogne in Henry the Eighth's time,"—which has, like Hudibras's breeches, "been at the Siege of Bullen." The ground is upland, moorland, though now growing corn; was not enclosed till the last genera

* Rushworth, vi. (London, 1701, p. 37).
1 Commons Journals, iv. 136 (9 May, 1645).
2 Army-List, in Sprigge (p. 330).

tion, and is still somewhat bare of wood. It stands nearly in the heart of England; gentle Dulness, taking a turn at etymology, sometimes derives it from *Navel;* "Navesby, quasi *Navels*by, from being," &c.: Avon Well, the distinct source of Shakespeare's Avon, is on the Western slope of the high grounds; Nen and Welland, streams leading towards Cromwell's Fen-country, begin to gather themselves from boggy places on the Eastern side. The grounds, as we say, lie high; and are still, in their new subdivisions, known by the name of "Hills," "Rutput Hill," "Mill Hill," "Dust Hill," and the like, precisely as in Rushworth's time: but they are not properly hills at all; they are broad blunt clayey masses, swelling towards and from each other, like indolent waves of a sea, sometimes of miles in extent.

It was on this high moor-ground, in the centre of England, that King Charles, on the 14th of June, 1645, fought his last Battle; dashed fiercely against the New-Model Army, which he had despised till then; and saw himself shivered utterly to ruin thereby. "Prince Rupert, on the King's right wing, charged *up* the hill, and carried all before him;" but Lieutenant-General Cromwell charged downhill on the other wing, likewise carrying all before him,—and did *not* gallop off the field to plunder, he, Cromwell, ordered thither by the Parliament, had arrived from the Association two days before, "amid shouts from the whole Army:" he had the ordering of the Horse this morning. Prince Rupert, on returning from his plunder, finds the King's Infantry a ruin; prepares to charge again with the rallied Cavalry; but the Cavalry too, when it came to the point, "broke all asunder,"—never to reassemble more. The chase went through Harborough; where the King had already been that morning, when in an evil hour he turned back to revenge some "surprise of an outpost at Naseby the night before," and give the Roundheads battle.

Ample details of this Battle, and of the movements prior and posterior to it, are to be found in Sprigge, or copied with some abridgment into Rushworth; who has also copied a strange old Plan of the Battle; half plan, half picture, which the Sale-Catalogues are very chary of, in the case of Sprigge. By assiduous attention, aided by this Plan, as the old names yet stick to the localities, the Narrative can still be, and has lately been, pretty accurately verified, and the Figure of the old Battle dimly brought back again. The reader shall imagine it, for the present. —On the crown of Naseby Height stands a modern Battle-monument; but, by an unlucky oversight, it is above a mile to the east of where the Battle really was. There are likewise two modern Books about Naseby and its Battle; both of them without value.

The Parliamentary Army stood ranged on the Height still partly called "Mill Hill," as in Rushworth's time, a mile and half from Naseby; the King's Army, on a parallel "Hill," its back to Harborough;—with the wide table of upland now named *Broad Moor* between them; where indeed the main brunt of the action still clearly enough shews itself to have been. There are hollow spots, of a rank vegetation, scattered over that Broad Moor; which are understood to have once been burial *mounds;*—some of which, one to my knowledge, have been (with more or less of sacrilege) verified as such. A friend of mine has in his

THE BATTLE OF NASEBY.

From the picture by Lucy Kemp-Welch.

cabinet two ancient grinder-teeth, dug lately from that ground,—and waits for an opportunity to rebury them there. Sound effectual grinders, one of them very large; which ate their breakfast on the fourteenth morning of June two hundred years ago, and except to be clinched once in grim battle, had never work to do more in this world! —"A stack of dead bodies, perhaps about 100, had been buried in this Trench: piled as in a wall, a man's length thick: the skeletons lay in courses, the heads of one course to the heels of the next;—one figure, by the strange position of the bones, gave us the hideous notion of its having been thrown in *before* death! We did not proceed far:—perhaps some half-dozen skeletons. The bones were treated with all piety; watched rigorously, over Sunday, till they could be covered in again."[1] Sweet friends, for Jesus' sake forbear!

At this Battle Mr. John Rushworth, our Historical Rushworth, had, unexpectedly, for some instants, sight of a very famous person. Mr. John is Secretary to Fairfax; and they have placed him to-day among the Baggage-waggons, near Naseby Hamlet, above a mile from the fighting, where he waits in an anxious manner. It is known how Prince Rupert broke our left wing, while Cromwell was breaking their left. "A Gentleman of Public Employment in the late Service near Naseby" writes next day, "Harborough, 15th June, 2 in the morning," a rough graphic Letter in the Newspapers,[2] wherein is this sentence:

* * "A party of theirs that broke through the left wing of horse, came quite behind the rear to our Train; the Leader of them, being a person somewhat in habit like the General, in a red montero, as the General had. He came as a friend; our commander of the guard of the Train went with his hat in his hand, and asked him, How the day went? thinking it had been the General: the Cavalier, who we since heard was Rupert, asked him and the rest, If they would have quarter? They cried No; gave fire, and instantly beat them off. It was a happy deliverance,"—without doubt.

There were taken here a good few "ladies of quality in carriages;" —and above a hundred Irish ladies not of quality, tattery camp-followers "with long skean-knives about a foot in length," which they well knew how to use; upon whom I fear the Ordinance against Papists pressed hard this day.[3] The King's Carriage was also taken, with a Cabinet and many Royal Autographs in it, which when printed made a sad impression against his Majesty,—gave in fact a most melancholy view of the veracity of his Majesty, "On the word of a King."[4] All was lost!—

Here is Cromwell's Letter, written from Harborough, or "Haverbrow" as he calls it, that same night; after the hot Battle and hot chase were over. The original, printed long since in Rushworth, still lies in the British Museum,—with "a strong steady signature," which one could look at with interest. "The Letter consists of two leaves; much worn,

1 MS. *penes me.*

2 King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 212, sec. 26, p. 2; the punctual contemporaneous Collector has named him with his pen: "Mr. Rushworth's Letter, being the Secretary to his Excellency."

3 Whitlocke.

4 The King's Cabinet opened; or Letters taken in the Cabinet at Naseby Field (London, 1645):—reprinted in Harleian Miscellany (London, 1810), v. 514.

and now supported by pasting; red seal much defaced; is addressed on the second leaf:"

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament: These.

SIR, Harborough, 14th June, 1645.

Being commanded by you to this service, I think myself bound to acquaint you with the good hand of God towards you and us.

We marched yesterday after the King, who went before us from Daventry to Harborough; and quartered about six miles from him. This day we marched towards him. He drew out to meet us; both armies engaged. We, after three hours fight very doubtful, at last routed his army; killed and took about 5000,—very many officers, but of what quality we yet know not. We took also about 200 carriages, all he had; and all his guns, being 12 in number, whereof two were demi-cannon, two demi-culverins, and I think the rest sackers. We pursued the enemy from three miles short of Harborough to nine beyond, even to the sight of Leicester, whither the King fled.

Sir, this is none other but the hand of God; and to Him alone belongs the glory, wherein none are to share with Him. The General served you with all faithfulness and honour; and the best commendation I can give him is, That I daresay he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himself. Which is an honest and a thriving way:—and yet as much for bravery may be given to him, in this action, as to a man. Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty; I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for. In this he rests, who is

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

John Bunyan, I believe, is this night in Leicester—not yet writing his *Pilgrim's Progress* on paper, but acting it on the face of the Earth, with a brown matchlock on his shoulder. Or rather, *without* the matchlock, just at present; Leicester and he having been taken the other day. "Harborough Church" is getting "filled with prisoners" while Oliver writes—and an immense contemporaneous tumult everywhere going on!

The "honest men who served you faithfully," on this occasion are the considerable portion of the Army who have not yet succeeded in bringing themselves to take the Covenant. Whom the Presbyterian Party, rigorous for their own formula, call "Schismatics," "Sectaries," "Anabaptists," and other hard names; whom Cromwell, here and elsewhere, earnestly pleads for. To Cromwell, perhaps, as much as to another, order was lovely, and disorder hateful; but he discerned better than some others what order and disorder really were. The forest trees are not in "order" because they are all clipt into the same

* Harl. MSS. no. 7502, art. 5, p. 7; Rushworth, vi. 45.

shape of Dutch dragons, and forced to die or grow in that way; but because in each of them there is the same genuine unity of life, from the inmost pith to the outmost leaf, and they do grow according to that!—Cromwell naturally became the head of this Schismatic Party, intent to grow not as Dutch dragons, but as real trees; a Party which naturally increased with the increasing earnestness of events and of men.

The King stayed but a few hours in Leicester; he had taken Leicester, some days before, and it was retaken from him some days after:—he stayed but a few hours here; rode on, that same night, to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, which he reached "at daybreak,"—poor wearied King!—then again swiftly Westward to Wales, to Ragland Castle, to this place and that; in the hope of raising some force, and coming to fight again; which, however, he could never do.[1] Some ten months more of roaming, and he, "disguised as a groom," will be riding with Parson Hudson towards the Scots at Newark.

The New-Model Army marched into the Southwest; very soon "relieved Colonel Robert Blake" (Admiral Blake), and many others; marched to ever new exploits and victories, which excite the pious admiration of Joshua Sprigge; and very soon swept all its enemies from the field, and brought this War to a close.[2]

The following Letters exhibit part of Cromwell's share in that business, and may be read with little commentary.

LETTER XXV.

THE CLUBMEN.

THE victorious Army, driving all before it in the Southwest, where alone the King had still any considerable fighting force, found itself opposed by a very unexpected enemy, famed in the old Pamphlets by the name of *Clubmen*. The design was at bottom Royalist; but the country people in those regions had been worked upon by the Royalist Gentry and Clergy, on the somewhat plausible ground of taking up arms to defend themselves against the plunder and harassment of *both* Armies. The great mass of them were Neutrals; there even appeared by and by various transient bodies of "Clubmen" on the Parliament side, whom Fairfax entertained occasionally to assist him in pioneering and other such services. They were called Clubmen, not, as M. Villemain supposes,[3] because they united in *Clubs*, but because they were armed with rough country weapons, mere bludgeons if no other could be had. Sufficient understanding of them may be gained from the following Letter of Cromwell, prefaced by some Excerpts.

[1] *Iter Carolinum;* being a succinct Relation of the necessitated Marches, Retreats and Sufferings of his Majesty Charles the First, from 10 January, 1641, till the time of his Death, 1648: Collected by a daily Attendant upon his Sacred Majesty during all the said time. London, 1660.—It is reprinted in *Somers Tracts* (v. 263), but, as usual there, without any editing except a nominal one, though it somewhat needed more.

[2] A Journal of every day's March of the Army under his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax (in Sprigge, p. 331).

[3] Our French friends ought to be informed that M. Villemain's Book on Cromwell is, unluckily, a rather ignorant and shallow one.—Of M. Guziot, on the other hand, we are to say that his Two Volumes, so far as they go, are the fruit of real ability and solid studies applied to those Transactions.

From Rushworth: "Thursday, July 3d, Fairfax marched from Brandford to Dorchester, 12 miles; a very hot day. Where Colonel Sidenham, Governor of Weymouth, gave him information of the condition of those parts; and of the great danger from the Club-risers;" a set of men "who would not suffer either contribution or victuals to be carried to the Parliament's garrisons. And the same night Mr. Hollis of Dorsetshire, the chief leader of the Clubmen, with some others of their principal men, came to Fairfax: and Mr. Hollis owned himself to be one of their Leaders; affirming that it was fit the people should shew their grievances and their strength. Fairfax treated them civilly, and promised they should have an answer the next morning. For they were so strong at that time, that it was held a point of prudence to be fair in demeanour towards them for a while; for if he should engage with General Goring, and be put to the worst, these Clubmen would knock them on the head as they should fly for safety.—That which they desired from him was a safe conduct for certain persons to go to the King and Parliament with petitions;"[1] which Fairfax in a very mild but resolute manner *refused.*

From Sprigge,[2] copied also into Rushworth with some inaccuracies: "On Monday, August 4th, Lieutenant-General Cromwell having intelligence of some of their places of rendezvous for their several divisions, went forth" from Sherborne "with a party of Horse to meet these Clubmen; being well satisfied of the danger of their design. As he was marching towards Shaftesbury with the party, they discovered some colours upon the top of a high Hill, full of wood and almost inaccessible. A Lieutenant with a small party was sent to them to know their meaning, and to acquaint them that the Lieutenant-General of the Army was there; whereupon Mr. Newman, one of their leaders, thought fit to come down, and told us, The intent was to desire to know why the gentlemen were taken at Shaftesbury on Saturday? The Lieutenant-General returned him this answer: That he held himself not bound to give him or them an account; what was done was by authority; and they that did it were not responsible to them that had none; but not to leave them wholly unsatisfied, he told him, Those persons so met had been the occasion and stirrers of many tumultuous and unlawful meetings; for which they were to be tried by law; which trial ought not by them to be questioned or interrupted. Mr. Newman desired to go up to return the answer; the Lieutenant-General with a small party went with him; and had some conference with the people; to this purpose: That whereas they pretended to meet there to save their goods, they took a very ill course for that: to leave their houses was the way to *lose* their goods; and it was offered them, That justice should be done upon any who offered them violence; and as for the gentlemen taken at Shaftesbury, it was only to answer some things they were accused of, which they had done contrary to law and the peace of the Kingdom.—Herewith they seeming to be well satisfied, promised to return to their houses; and accordingly did so.

"These being thus quietly sent home, the Lieutenant-General advanced further, to a meeting of a greater number, of about 4,000, who

[1] Rushworth vi. 52. [2] pp. 78, 9.

betook themselves to Hambledon Hill, near Shrawton. At the bottom of the Hill ours met a man with a musket, and asked, Whither he was going? he said, To the Club Army; ours asked, What he meant to do? he asked, What they had to do with that? Being required to lay down his arms, he said, He would first lose his life; but was not so good as his word, for though he cocked, and presented his musket, he was prevented, disarmed, and wounded, but not"—Here however is Cromwell's own Narrative:

To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Fairfax, Commander in Chief of the Parliament's Forces, at 'Sherborne: These:'

SIR, 'Shaftesbury,' 4th August, 1645.

I marched this morning towards Shaftesbury. In my way I found a party of Clubmen gathered together, about two miles on this side of the Town, towards you; and one Mr. Newman in the head of them,—who was one of those that did attend you at Dorchester, with Mr. Hollis. I sent to them to know the cause of their meeting: Mr. Newman came to me, and told me, That the Clubmen in Dorset and Wilts, to the number of ten-thousand, were to meet about their men who were taken away at Shaftesbury, and that their intendment was to secure themselves from plundering. To the first I told them, That although no account was due to them, yet I knew the men were taken by your authority, to be tried judicially for raising a Third Party in the Kingdom; and if they should be found guilty, they must suffer according to the nature of their offence; if innocent, I assured them you would acquit them. Upon this they said, If they have deserved punishment, they would not have any thing to do with them; and so were quieted as to that point. For the other 'point,' I assured them, That it was your great care, not to suffer them in the least to be plundered, and that they should defend themselves from violence, and bring to your Army such as did them any wrong, where they should be punished with all severity: upon this, very quietly and peaceably they marched away to their houses, being very well satisfied and contented.

We marched on to Shaftesbury, where we heard a great body of them was drawn together about Hambledon Hill;—where indeed near two-thousand were gathered. I sent 'up' a forlorn-hope of about fifty Horse; who coming very civilly to them, they fired upon them; and ours desiring some of them to come to me, were refused with disdain. They were drawn into one of the old Camps,[1] upon a very high Hill: I sent one Mr. Lee[2] to them, To certify the peaceableness of my intentions, and To desire them to peaceableness, and to submit to the Parliament. They refused, and fired at us. I sent him a second time, To let them know, that if they would lay down their arms, no wrong should be done them. They still (through the animation of their leaders, and especially two vile Ministers) refused; I commanded your Captain-Lieutenant to draw up to them, to be in readiness to charge; and if upon his falling-on, they would lay down arms, to accept them and spare them. When we came near, they refused his offer, and let

1 Roman Camps (Gough's Camden, i., 52).
2 "One Mr. Lee who, upon the approach of ours, had come from them." (Sprigge, p. 79.)

fly at him; killed about two of his men, and at least four horses. The passage not being for above three a-breast, kept us out: whereupon Major Desborow wheeled about; got in the rear of them, beat them from the work, and did some small execution upon them;—I believe killed not twelve of them, but cut very many, 'and put them all to flight.' We have taken about 300; many of which are poor silly creatures, whom if you please to let me send home, they promise to be very dutiful for time to come, and "will be hanged before they come out again."

The ringleaders which we have, I intend to bring to you. They had taken divers of the Parliament soldiers prisoners, besides Colonel Fiennes his men; and used them most barbarously; bragging, They hoped to see my Lord Hopton, and that he is to command them. They expected from Wilts great store; and gave out they meant to raise the siege at Sherborne, when 'once' they were all met. We have gotten great store of their arms, and they carried few or none home. We quarter about ten miles off, and purpose to draw our quarters near to you to-morrow.

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"On Tuesday at night, August 5th, the Lieutenant-General" Cromwell "with his party returned to Sherborne," where the General and the rest were very busy besieging the inexpugnable Sir Lewis Dives.

"This work," which the Lieutenant-General had now been upon, continues Sprigge, "though unhappy, was very necessary."[1] No messenger could be sent out, but he was picked up by these Clubmen; these once dispersed, "a man might ride very quietly from Sherborne to Salisbury." The inexpugnable Sir Lewis Dives (a thrasonical person known to the readers of Evelyn), after due battering, was now soon stormed; whereupon, by Letters found on him, it became apparent how deeply Royalist this scheme of Clubmen had been: "Commissions for raising Regiments of Clubmen;" the design to be extended over England at large, "yea into the Associated Counties:" however, it has now come to nothing; and the Army turns up to the Siege of Bristol, where Prince Rupert is doing all he can to entrench himself.

LETTER XXVI.

STORM OF BRISTOL.

"ON the Lord's Day, September 21, according to Order of Parliament, Lieutenant-General Cromwell's Letter on the taking of Bristol was read in" the "several Congregations about London, and thanks returned to Almighty God for the admirable and wonderful reducing of that city. The Letter of the renowned Commander is well worth observation."[2] For the Siege itself and what preceded and followed it, see besides this Letter, Rupert's own account,[3] and the ample details of Sprigge copied

* Newspapers (Cromwelliana, p. 20). Also Sprigge, pp. 112, 118.
[1] Sprigge, p. 81.
[2] Newspapers, Cromwelliana, p. 24.
[3] Rushworth, vi. 69, &c.

with abridgment by Rushworth ; Sayer's *History of Bristol* gives Plans, and all manner of local details, though in a rather vague way.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament : These.

SIR, Bristol, 14th September, 1645.

It has pleased the General to give me in charge to represent unto you a particular account of the taking of Bristol ; the which I gladly undertake.

After the finishing of that service at Sherborne, it was disputed at a council of war, Whether we should march into the West or to Bristol? Amongst other arguments, the leaving so considerable an enemy at our backs, to march into the heart of the Kingdom, the undoing of the country about Bristol, which was 'already' exceedingly harassed by the Prince his being thereabouts but a fortnight ; the correspondency he might hold in Wales ; the possibility of uniting the Enemy's forces where they pleased, and especially of drawing to an head the disaffected Club-men of Somerset, Wilts and Dorset, when once our backs were toward them : these considerations, together with 'the hope of' taking so important a place, so advantageous for the opening of trade to London,—did sway the balance, and beget that conclusion.

When we came within four miles of the City, we had a new debate, Whether we should endeavour to block it up, or make a regular siege? The latter being overruled, Colonel Welden with his brigade marched to Pile Hill, on the South side of the City, being within musket-shot thereof ;—where in a few days they made a good quarter, overlooking the City. Upon our advance, the enemy fired Bedminster, Clifton, and some other villages lying near to the City : and would have fired more, if our unexpected coming had not hindered. The General caused some Horse and Dragoons under Commissary-General Ireton to advance over Avon, to keep-in the enemy on the North side of the Town, till the foot could come up : and after a day, the General, with Colonel Montague's and Colonel Rainsborough's brigades, marched over at Kensham to Stapleton, where he quartered that night. The next day, Colonel Montague, having this post assigned with his brigade, To secure all between the Rivers Froom and Avon ; he came up to Lawford's Gate,[1] within musket-shot thereof. Colonel Rainsborough's post was near to Durdam Down, whereof the Dragoons and three regiments of Horse made good a post upon the Down, between him and the River Avon, on his right hand. And from Colonel Rainsborough's quarters to Froom River, on his left, a part of Colonel Birch's, and 'the whole of' General Skippon's regiment were to maintain that post.

These posts thus settled, our Horse were forced to be upon exceeding great duty ; to stand by the Foot, lest the Foot, being so weak in all their posts, might receive an affront. And truly herein we were very happy, that we should receive so little loss by sallies ; considering the paucity of our men to make good the post, and strength of the enemy within. By sallies (which were three or four) I know not that we lost thirty men in all the time of our siege. Of officers of quality, only

[1] One of the Bristol Gates.

Colonel Okey was taken by mistake (going 'of himself' to the enemy, thinking they had been friends), and Captain Guilliams slain in a charge. We took Sir Bernard Astley; and killed Sir Richard Crane,—one very considerable with the Prince.

We had a council of war concerning the storming of the Town, about eight days before we took it; and in that there appeared great unwillingness to the work, through the unseasonableness of the weather, and other apparent difficulties. Some inducement to bring us thither had been the report of the good affection of the Townsmen to us; but that did not answer expectation. Upon a second consideration, it was overruled for a storm. And all things seemed to favour the design;—and truly there hath been seldom the like cheerfulness to any work like to this, after it was once resolved upon. The day and hour of our storm was appointed to be on Wednesday morning, the Tenth of September, about one of the clock. We chose to act it so early because we hoped thereby to surprise the Enemy. With this resolution also, to avoid confusion and falling foul one upon another, That when 'once' we had recovered [1] the Line, and Forts upon it, we should not advance further till day. The General's signal unto a storm, was to be, The firing of straw, and discharging four pieces of cannon at Pryor's Hill Fort.

The signal was very well perceived of all;—and truly the men went on with great resolution; and very presently recovered the Line, making way for the Horse to enter. Colonel Montague and Colonel Pickering, who stormed at Lawford's Gate, where was a double work, well filled with men and cannon, presently entered; and with great resolution beat the enemy from their works, and possessed their cannon. Their expedition was such that they forced the enemy from their advantages, without any considerable loss to themselves. They laid down the bridges for the Horse to enter;—Major Desborow commanding the Horse; who very gallantly seconded the Foot. Then our Foot advanced to the City Walls; where they possessed the Gate against the Castle Street: whereinto were put a Hundred men; who made it good. Sir Hardress Waller with his own and the General's regiment, with no less resolution, entered on the other side of Lawford's Gate, towards Avon River; and put themselves into immediate conjunction with the rest of the brigade.

During this, Colonel Rainsborough and Colonel Hammond attempted Pryor's Hill Fort, and the Line downwards towards Froom; and the Major-General's regiment being to storm towards Froom River, Colonel Hammond possessed the Line immediately, and beating the enemy from it, made way for the Horse to enter. Colonel Rainsborough, who had the hardest task of all at Pryor's Hill Fort, attempted it; and fought near three hours for it. And indeed there was great despair of carrying the place; it being exceeding high, a ladder of thirty rounds scarcely reaching the top thereof; but his resolution was such that, notwithstanding the inaccessibleness and difficulty, he would not give it over. The enemy had four pieces of cannon upon it, which they plied with round and case shot upon our men: his Lieutenant-Colonel Bowen, and

[1] *recovered* means "taken," "got possession of:" *the Line* is a new earthen work outside the walls; very deficient in height according to Rupert's account.

others, were two hours at push of pike, standing upon the palisadoes, but could not enter. 'But now' Colonel Hammond being entered the Line (and 'here' Captain Ireton [1] with a forlorn of Colonel Rich's regiment interposing with his Horse between the Enemy's Horse and Colonel Hammond, received a shot with two pistol-bullets, which broke his arm),—by means of this entrance of Colonel Hammond they did storm the Fort on that part which was inward; 'and so' Colonel Rainsborough's and Colonel Hammond's men entered the Fort, and immediately put almost all the men in it to the sword.

And as this was the place of most difficulty, so 'it was' of most loss to us on that side,—and of very great honour to the undertaker. The Horse 'too' did second them with great resolution: both these Colonels do acknowledge that *their* interposition between the enemy's Horse and their Foot, was a great means of obtaining of this strong Fort. Without which all the rest of the Line to Froom River would have done us little good: and indeed neither Horse nor Foot could have stood in all that way, in any manner of security, had not the Fort been taken.—Major Bethel's were the first horse that entered the Line; who did behave themselves gallantly; and was shot in the thigh, had one or two shot more, and had his horse shot under him. Colonel Birch with his men, and the Major-General's regiment, entered with very good resolution where their post was; possessing the enemy's guns, and turning them upon them.

By this, all the Line from Pryor's Hill Fort to Avon (which was a full mile), with all the forts, ordnance and bulwarks, were possessed by us; —save one, wherein were about Two hundred and twenty men of the Enemy; which the General summoned, and all the men submitted.

The success on Colonel Welden's side did not answer with this. And although the Colonels, and other the officers and soldiers both Horse and Foot, testified as much resolution as could be expected,—Colonel Welden, Colonel Ingoldsby, Colonel Herbert, and the rest of the Colonels and officers, both of Horse and Foot, doing what could be well looked for from men of honour,—yet what by reason of the height of the works, which proved higher than report made them, and the shortness of the ladders, they were repulsed with the loss of about One hundred men. Colonel Fortescue's Lieutenant-Colonel was killed, and Major Cromwell[2] dangerously shot; and two of Colonel Ingoldsby's brothers hurt; with some officers.

Being possessed of thus much as hath been related, the Town was fired in three places by the Enemy; which we could not put out. Which begat a great trouble in the General, and us all; fearing to see so famous a City burnt to ashes before our faces. Whilst we were viewing so sad a spectacle, and consulting which way to make further advantage of our success, the Prince sent a trumpet to the General to desire a treaty for the surrender of the Town. To which the General agreed; and deputed Colonel Montague, Colonel Rainsborough, and Colonel Pickering for that service; authorising them with instructions

[1] This is not the famous Ireton; this is his brother. "Commissary-General Ireton," as we have seen, is also here; he is not wedded yet

[2] A cousin.

to treat and conclude the Articles,—which 'accordingly' are these enclosed. For performance whereof hostages were mutually given.

On Thursday about two of the clock in the afternoon, the Prince marched out; having a convoy of two regiments of Horse from us; and making election of Oxford for the place he would go to, which he had liberty to do by his Articles.

The cannon which we have taken are about a Hundred and forty mounted; about a Hundred barrels of powder already come to our hands, with a good quantity of shot, ammunition, and arms. We have found already between Two and Three thousand muskets. The Royal Fort had victual in it for a Hundred and fifty men, for Three hundred and twenty days; the Castle victualled for nearly half as long. The Prince had in Foot of the Garrison, as the Mayor of the City informed me, Two-thousand five-hundred, and about a Thousand Horse, besides the Trained Bands of the Town, and Auxiliaries a Thousand, some say a Thousand five hundred.—I hear but of one man that hath died of the plague in all our Army, although we have quartered amongst and in the midst of infected persons and places. We had not killed of ours in the Storm, nor in all this Siege, Two-hundred men.

Thus I have given you a true, but not a full account of this great business; wherein he that runs may read, That all this is none other than the work of God. He must be a very Atheist that doth not acknowledge it.

It may be thought that some praises are due to those gallant men of whose valour so much mention is made:—their humble suit to you and all that have an interest in this blessing, is, That in the remembrance of God's praises they be forgotten. It's their joy that they are instruments of God's glory, and their country's good. It's their honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service know, that faith and prayer obtained this City for you: I do not say ours only, but of the people of God with you and all England over, who have wrestled with God for a blessing in this very thing. Our desires are that God may be glorified by the same spirit of faith by which we ask all our sufficiency, and have received it. It is meet that He have all the praise. Presbyterians, Independents, all have here the same spirit of faith and prayer; the same presence and answer; they agree here, have no names of difference: pity it is it should be otherwise anywhere! All that believe, have the real unity, which is most glorious because inward, and spiritual, in the Body, and to the Head.[1] For being united in forms commonly called Uniformity, every Christian will for peace-sake study and do, as far as conscience will permit. And for brethren, in things of the mind we look for no compulsion, but that of light and reason. In other things, God hath put the sword in the Parliament's hands,—for the terror of evil-doers and the praise of them that do well. If any plead exemption from that,—he knows not the Gospel: if any would wring that out of your hands, or steal it from you under what pretence sover, I hope they shall do it without effect. That

[1] "Head" means *Christ*; "Body" is *True Church of Christ*

God may maintain it in your hands, and direct you in the use thereof, is the prayer of

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

These last paragraphs are, as the old Newspapers say, "very remarkable." If modern readers suppose them to be "cant," it will turn out an entire mistake. I advise all modern readers not only to believe that Cromwell here means what he says; but even to try how *they*, each for himself in a new dialect, could mean the like or something better!—

Prince Rupert rode out of Bristol amid seas of angry human faces glooming unutterable things upon him; growling audibly, in spite of his escort, "Why not hang *him!*" For indeed the poor Prince had been necessitated to much plunder; commanding "the elixir of the Blackguardism of the three Kingdoms," with very insufficient funds for most part!—He begged a thousand muskets from Fairfax on this occasion, to assist his escort in protecting him across the country to Oxford; promising on his honour to return them after that service. Fairfax lent the muskets; the Prince did honourably return them, what he had of them,—honourably apologising that so many had "deserted" on the road, of whom neither man nor musket were recoverable at present.

LETTERS XXVII.—XXX.

FROM Bristol the Army turned Southward again, to deal with the yet remaining force of Royalism in that quarter. Sir Ralph Hopton, with Goring and others under him, made stubborn resistance; but were constantly worsted, at Langport, at Torrington, wheresoever they rallied and made a new attempt. The Parliament Army went steadily and rapidly on; storming Bridgewater, storming all manner of Towns and Castles; clearing the ground before them: till Sir Ralph was driven into Cornwall; and, without resource or escape, saw himself obliged next spring[1] to surrender, and go beyond seas. A brave and honourable man; respected on both sides; and of all the King's Generals the most deserving respect. He lived in retirement abroad; taking no part in Charles Second's businesses; and died in honourable poverty before the Restoration.

The following Three Letters are what remain to us concerning Cromwell's share in that course of victories. He was present in various general or partial Fights from Langport to Bovey Tracey; became especially renowned by his Sieges, and took many Strong Places besides those mentioned here.

LETTER XXVII.

'To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of The Parliament's Army: These.'

SIR, 'Winchester, 6th October, 1645.'

I came to Winchester on the Lord's day, the 28th of September; with Colonel Pickering,—commanding his own, Colonel

* Rushworth, vi. 85.

[1] Truro, 14th March, 1646 (Rushworth, vi. 110).

Montague's, and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments. After some dispute with the Governor, we entered the Town. I summoned the Castle; was denied; whereupon we fell to prepare batteries,—which we could not perfect (some of our guns being out of order) until Friday following. Our battery was six guns; which being finished,—after firing one round, I sent in a second summons for a treaty; which they refused. Whereupon we went on with our work, and made a breach in the wall near the Black Tower; which, after about 200 shot, we thought stormable; and purposed on Monday morning to attempt it. On Sunday night, about ten of the clock, the Governor beat a parley, desiring to treat. I agreed unto it; and sent Colonel Hammond and Major Harrison in to him, who agreed upon these enclosed Articles.

Sir, this is the addition of another mercy. You see God is not weary in doing you good: I confess, Sir, His favour to you is as visible, when He comes by His power upon the hearts of your enemies, making them quit places of strength to you, as when He gives courage to your soldiers to attempt hard things. His goodness in this is much to be acknowledged: for the Castle was well manned with Six-hundred and eighty horse and foot, there being near Two-hundred gentlemen, officers, and their servants; well victualled with fifteen hundred-weight of cheese, very great store of wheat and beer; near twenty barrels of powder, seven pieces of cannon; the works were exceeding good and strong. It's very likely it would have cost much blood to have gained it by storm. We have not lost twelve men: this is repeated to you, that God may have all the praise, for it's all His due.

Sir, I rest,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"Lieutenant-General Cromwell's Secretary," who brings this Letter, gets 50*l.* for his good news.[1] By Sprigge's account,[2] he appears to have been "Mr. Hugh Peters," this Secretary. Peters there makes a verbal Narrative of the affair, to Mr. Speaker and the Commons, which, were not room so scanty, we should be glad to insert.

It was at this surrender of Winchester that certain of the captive enemies having complained of being plundered contrary to Articles, Cromwell had the accused parties, six of his own soldiers, tried: being all found guilty, one of them by lot was hanged, and the other five were marched off to Oxford, to be there disposed of as the Governor saw fit. The Oxford Governor politely returned the five prisoners, "with an acknowledgment of the Lieutenant-General's nobleness."[3]

LETTER XXVIII.

BASING House, Pawlet Marquis of Winchester's Mansion, stood, as the ruined heaps still testify, at a small distance from Basingstoke in Hampshire. It had long infested the Parliament in those quarters; and been especially a great eyesorrow to the "Trade of London with

* Sprigge, p. 128, and Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 25), Rushworth, vi. 91.
[1] Commons Journals, 7th October, 1645. [2] p. 129.
[3] Sprigge, p. 133.

the Western Parts." With Dennington Castle at Newbury, and this Basing House at Basingstoke, there was no travelling the western roads, except with escort, or on sufferance. The two places had often been attempted; but always in vain. Basing House especially had stood siege after siege, for four years; ruining poor Colonel This and then poor Colonel That: the jubilant Royalists had given it the name of *Basting* House; there was, on the Parliament side, a kind of passion to have Basing House taken. The Lieutenant-General, gathering all the artillery he can lay hold of; firing about 200 or 500 shot at some given point till he see a hole made; and then storming like a fireflood: he perhaps may manage it.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament: These.

SIR, Basingstoke, 14th October, 1645.

I thank God, I can give you a good account of Basing. After our batteries placed, we settled the several posts for the storm: Colonel Dalbier was to be on the north side of the House next the Grange; Colonel Pickering on his left hand, and Sir Hardress Waller's and Colonel Montague's regiments next him. We stormed this morning after six of the clock; the signal for falling on was the firing four of our cannon, which being done, our men fell on with great resolution and cheerfulness; we took the two Houses without any considerable loss to ourselves. Colonel Pickering stormed the New House, passed through, and got the gate of the Old House, whereupon they summoned a parley, which our men would not hear.

In the mean time Colonel Montague's and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments assaulted the strongest work, where the Enemy kept his Court of Guard;—which, with great resolution, they recovered; beating the Enemy from a whole culverin, and from that work: which having done, they drew their ladders after them, and got over another work, and the house-wall, before they could enter. In this Sir Hardress Waller performed his duty with honour and diligence; was shot on the arm, but not dangerously.

We have had little loss: many of the Enemy our men put to the sword, and some officers of quality; most of the rest we have prisoners, amongst whom the Marquis 'of Winchester himself' and Sir Robert Peak, with divers other officers, whom I have ordered to be sent up to you. We have taken about ten pieces of ordnance, with much ammunition, and our soldiers a good encouragement.

I humbly offer to you, to have this place utterly slighted, for these following reasons: It will ask about Eight-hundred men to manage it; it is no frontier; the country is poor about it; the place exceedingly ruined by our batteries and mortar-pieces, and by a fire which fell upon the place since our taking it. If you please to take the garrison at Farnham, some out of Chichester, and a good part of the foot which were here under Dalbier, and to make a strong Quarter at Newbury with three or four troops of horse,—I dare be confident it would not only be a curb to Dennington, but a security and a frontier to all these parts; inasmuch as Newbury lies upon the River, and will prevent any

incursion from Dennington, Wallingford, or Farringdon into these parts; and by lying there, will make the trade most secure between Bristol and London for all carriages. And I believe the gentlemen of Sussex and Hampshire will with more cheerfulness contribute to maintain a garrison on the frontier, than in their bowels, which will have less safety in it.

Sir, I hope not to delay, but to march towards the West tomorrow: and to be as diligent as I may in my expedition thither. I must speak my judgment to you, That if you intend to have your work carried on, recruits of Foot must be had, and a course taken to pay your Army; else, believe me, Sir, it may not be able to answer the work you have for it to do.

I entrusted Colonel Hammond to wait upon you, who was taken by a mistake whilst we lay before this Garrison, whom God safely delivered to us, to our great joy; but to his loss of almost all he had, which the Enemy took from him. The Lord grant that these mercies may be acknowledged with all thankfulness; God exceedingly abounds in His goodness to us, and will not be weary until righteousness and peace meet; and until He hath brought forth a glorious work for the happiness of this poor Kingdom. Wherein desires to serve God and you, with a faithful heart,

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Colonel Hammond, whom we shall by and by see again, brought this good news to London, and had his reward;[1] Mr. Peters also, being requested "to make a relation to the House of Commons, spake as follows." The reader will like to hear Mr. Peters for once, a man concerning whom he has heard so many falsehoods, and to see an old grim scene through his eyes. Mr. Peters related:

"That he came into Basing House some time after the storm," on Tuesday 14th of October, 1645;—"and took a view first of the works; which were many, the circumvallation being above a mile in compass. The Old House had stood (as it is reported) two or three hundred years, a nest of Idolatry; the New House surpassing that, in beauty and stateliness; and either of them fit to make an emperor's court.

"The rooms before the storm (it seems), in Both Houses, were all completely furnished; provisions for some years rather than months; 400 quarters of wheat; bacon divers rooms-full, containing hundreds of flitches; cheese proportionable; with oatmeal, beef, pork; beer divers cellars-full, and that very good,"—Mr. Peters having taken a draught of the same.

"A bed in one room, furnished, which cost 1,300*l.* Popish books many, with copes, and such utensils. In truth, the House stood in its full pride; and the Enemy was persuaded that it would be the last piece of ground that would be taken by the Parliament, because they had so often foiled our forces, which had formerly appeared before it. In the several rooms and about the House, there were slain seventy-four, and

* Sprigge, p. 139; and the Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 27); and Harl. MSS., 787.
[1] Commons Journals, iv. 309.

only one woman, the daughter of Dr. Griffith, who by her railing," poor lady, "provoked our soldiers (then in heat) into a further passion. There lay dead upon the ground, Major Cuffle;—a man of great account amongst them, and a notorious Papist; slain by the hands of Major Harrison, that godly and gallant gentleman,"—all men know him; "and Robinson the Player, who a little before the storm was known to be mocking and scorning the Parliament, and our Army. Eight or nine gentlewomen of rank, running forth together, were entertained by the common soldiers somewhat coarsely;—yet not uncivilly, considering the action in hand.

"The plunder of the soldiers continued till Tuesday night: one soldier had a Hundred and twenty Pieces in gold for his share; others plate, others jewels;—among the rest, one got three bags of silver, which (he being not able to keep his own counsel) grew to be common pillage amongst the rest, and the fellow had but one half-crown left for himself at last.—The soldiers sold the wheat to country people; which they held up at good rates a while; but afterwards the market fell, and there was some abatements for haste. After that, they sold the household stuff; whereof there was good store, and the country loaded away many carts; and they continued a great while, fetching out all manner of household stuff, till they had fetched out all the stools, chairs, and other lumber, all which they sold to the country people by piecemeal.

"In all these great buildings, there was not one iron bar left in all the windows (safe only what were on fire), before night. And the last work of all was the lead; and by Wednesday morning, they had hardly left one gutter about the House. And what the soldiers left, the fire took hold on; which made more than ordinary haste; leaving nothing but bare walls and chimneys in less than twenty hours;—being occasioned by the neglect of the Enemy in quenching a fire-ball of ours at first."—What a scene!

"We know not how to give a just account of the number of persons that were within. For we have not quite Three-hundred prisoners; and it may be, have found an Hundred slain,—whose bodies, some being covered with rubbish, came not at once to our view. Only, riding to the House on Tuesday night, we heard divers crying in vaults for quarter; but our men could neither come to them, nor they to us. Amongst those that we saw slain, one of their Officers lying on the ground, seeming so exceeding tall, was measured; and from his great toe to his crown was 9 feet in length" (*sic*).

"The Marquis being pressed, by Mr. Peters arguing with him," which was not very chivalrous for Mr. Peters, "broke out and said, 'That if the King had no more ground in England but Basing House, he would adventure as he did, and so maintain it to the uttermost;'—meaning with these Papists; comforting himself in this disaster, That Basing House was called *Loyalty*. But he was soon silenced in the question concerning the King and Parliament; and could only hope 'That the King might have a day again.'—And thus the Lord was pleased in a few hours to show us what mortal seed all earthly glory grows upon; and how just and righteous the ways of God are, who takes sin-

ners in their own snares, and lifteth up the hands of His despised people.

"This is now the Twentieth garrison that hath been taken in this Summer by this Army:—and, I believe most of them the answers of the prayers, and trophies of the faith, of some of God's servants. The Commander of this Brigade," Lieutenant-General Cromwell, "had spent much time with God in prayer the night before the storm;—and seldom fights without some Text of Scripture to support him. This time he rested upon that blessed word of God, written in the Hundred-and-fifteenth Psalm, eighth verse, *They that make them are like unto them; so is every one that trusteth in them.* Which, with some verses going before, was now accomplished."[1]

"Mr. Peters presented the Marquis's own Colours, which he brought from Basing; the Motto of which was, *Donec pax redeat terris;* the very same as King Charles gave upon his Coronation-money, when he came to the Crown."[2]—So Mr. Peters; and then withdrew,—getting by and by 200*l.* a-year settled on him.[3]

This Letter was read in all Pulpits next Sunday, with thanks rendered to Heaven, by order of Parliament. Basing House is to be carted away; "whoever will come for brick or stone shall freely have the same for his pains."[4]

Among the names of the Prisoners taken here one reads that of *Inigo Jones*,—unfortunate old Inigo. Vertue, on what evidence I know not, asserts farther that Wenceslaus Hollar, with his graving-tools, and unrivalled graving-talent, was taken here.[5] The Marquis of Winchester had been addicted to the Arts,—to the Upholsteries perhaps still more. A magnificent kind of man; whose "best bed," now laid bare to general inspection, excited the wonder of the world.

LETTER XXIX.

FAIRFAX with the Army is in Devonshire; the following Letter will find him at Tiverton; Cromwell marching that way, having now ended Basing. It is ordered in the Commons House that Cromwell be thanked; moreover that he now attack Dennington Castle,[6] of which we heard already at Newbury. These Messages overtake him on the road. This fraction of old Museum Manuscript, written early on an autumn morning, with a long march before one, is now legible. "The day's march," I suppose, is yesterday's.

[1] "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name give glory; for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake. Wherefore should the Heathen say, Where is now their God? Our God is in the Heavens; he hath done whatsoever he hath pleased!—Their Idols are silver and gold; the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not; they have ears, but they hear not; noses have they, but they smell not; they have hands, but they handle not; feet have they, but they walk not; neither speak they through their throat! They that make them are like unto them; so is every one that trusteth in them."—These words, awful as the words of very God, were in Oliver Cromwell's heart that night.

[2] Sprigge, pp., 139-41.

[3] Whitlocke.

[4] Commons Journals, iv., 309.

[5] Life of Hollar.

[6] Commons Journals, 15 October, 1645.

To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliament's Army: [1] *Haste: These:*

SIR, Wallop, 14th [error for 16th] October, 1645.

In to-day's march I came to Wallop, twenty miles from Basing, towards you. That night I received this enclosed from the Speaker of the House of Commons; which I thought fit to send you; and to which I returned an Answer,[2] a copy whereof I have also sent enclosed to you.

I perceive that it's their desire to have the place[3] taken in. But truly I could not do other than let them know what the condition of affairs in the West is, and submit the business to them and you. I shall be at Longford House to-morrow night, if God please. I hope the work will not be long. If it should, I will rather leave a small part of the Foot (if Horse will not be sufficient to take it in), than be detained from obeying such commands as I shall receive. I humbly beseech you to be confident that no man hath a more faithful heart to serve you than myself, nor shall be more strict to obey your commands than

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Sir, I beseech you to let me know your resolution in this business with all the possible speed that may be; because whatsoever I be designed to, I wish I may speedily endeavour it, time being so precious for action in this season.*

Langford House, whither Oliver is now bound, hoping to arrive ere night, is near Salisbury. He did arrive accordingly; drew out part of his brigade, and summoned the place; here is his own most brief account of the business.

LETTER XXX.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker to the Honourable House of Commons: These.

SIR, Salisbury, 17th October 1645, 12 at night.

I gave you an account, the last night, of my marching to Langford House. Whither I came this day, and immediately sent them in a Summons. The Governor desired I should send two officers to treat with him; and I accordingly appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Hewson and Major Kelsey thereunto. The treaty produced the agreement, which I have here enclosed to you.

The General, I hear, is advanced as far West as Collumpton, and hath sent some Horse and Foot to Tiverton. It is earnestly desired, that more Foot might march up to him;—it being convenient that we stay 'here' a day for our Foot that are behind and coming up.

1 Marching from Collumpton to Tiverton, while Cromwell writes (Sprigge, p. 334).
2 Alluded to in next Letter.
3 Dennington Castle.
* Sloane MSS. 1519, fol. 61;—only the signature is in Oliver's hand.

I wait your answer to my Letter last night from Wallop; I shall desire that your pleasure may be speeded to me;—and rest,

Sir,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Basing is black ashes, then; and Longford is ours, the Garrison to march forth to-morrow at twelve of the clock, being the 18th instant.[1] And now the question is, shall we attack Dennington or not?

Colonel Dalbier, a man of Dutch birth, well-known to readers of the old Books, is with Cromwell at present; his Second in command. It was from Dalbier that Cromwell first of all learned the mechanical part of soldiering; he had Dalbier to help him in drilling his Ironsides; so says Heath, credible on such a point. Dennington Castle was not besieged at present; it surrendered next spring to Dalbier.[2] Cromwell returned to Fairfax; served through Winter with him in the West, till all ended there.

About a month before the date of this Letter, the King had appeared again with some remnant of force, got together in Wales; with intent to relieve Chester, which was his key to Ireland: but this force too, he saw shattered to pieces on Rowton Heath, near that City.[3] He had also had an eye towards the great Montrose in Scotland, who in these weeks was blazing at his highest there: but him too David Lesley with dragoons, emerging from the mist of the Autumn morning, on Philipshaugh near Selkirk, had in one fell hour, trampled utterly out. The King had to retire to Wales again; to Oxford and obscurity again.

On the 14th of next March, as we said, Sir Ralph Hopton surrendered himself in Cornwall.[4] On the 22d of the same month Sir Jacob Astley, another distinguished Royalist General, the last of them all,—coming towards Oxford with some small force he had gathered,—was beaten and captured at Stow among the Wolds of Gloucestershire:[5] surrendering himself, the brave veteran said, or is reported to have said, "You have now done your work, and may go to play,—unless you will fall out among yourselves."

On Monday night, towards twelve of the clock, 27th April 1646, the King in disguise rode out of Oxford, somewhat uncertain whitherward,—at length towards Newark and the Scots Army.[6] On the Wednesday before, Oliver Cromwell had returned to his place in Parliament.[7] Some detached Castles and Towns still held out, Ragland Castle even till the next August; but the First Civil War, we may say, has now ended.

The Parliament, in these circumstances, was now getting itself "recruited,"—its vacanies filled up again. The Royalist Members who had deserted three years ago, had been, without much difficulty,

* King's Pamphlets, Small 4to., No. 229, art. 19 (No. 42 of *The Weekly Account*).
1 Sprigge, p. 145.
2 1 April, 1646 (Rushworth, vi. 252).
3 24 September, 1645 (Rushworth, vi. 117; Lord Digby's Account of it, Ormond Papers, ii. 90).
4 Hopton's own account of it, Ormond Papers, ii. 109-26.
5 Rushworth, vi. 139-41.
6 Rushworth, vi. 267; Iter Carolinum.
7 Cromwelliana.

successively "disabled," as their crime came to the light: but to issue new writs for new elections, while the quarrel with the King still lasted, was a matter of more delicacy; this too, however, was at length resolved upon, the Parliament Cause now looking so decidedly prosperous in the autumn of 1645. Gradually, in the following months, the new Members were elected, above Two hundred and thirty of them in all. These new Members, "Recruiters," as Anthony Wood and the Royalist world reproachfully call them, were by the very fact of their standing candidates in such circumstances, decided Puritans all,—Independents many of them. Colonel, afterwards Admiral Blake (for Taunton), Ludlow, Ireton (for Appleby), Algernon Sidney, Hutchinson known by his Wife's *Memoirs*, were among these new Members. Fairfax on his Father's death some two years hence, likewise came in.[1]

PART III.

BETWEEN THE TWO CIVIL WARS.

1646-1648.

LETTERS XXXI.—XXXVII.

THE conquering of the King had been a difficult operation; but to make a Treaty with him now when he was conquered, proved an impossible one. The Scots, to whom he had fled, entreated him, at last "with tears" and "on their knees," to take the Covenant, and sanction the Presbyterian worship, if he could not adopt it: on that condition they would fight to the last man for him; on no other condition durst or would a man of them fight for him. The English Presbyterians, as yet the dominant party, earnestly entreated to the same effect. In vain, both of them. The King had other schemes: The King writing privately to Digby, before quitting Oxford, when he had some mind to venture privately on London, as he ultimately did on the Scotch Camp, to raise Treaties and Caballings there, had said, "—endeavouring to get to London; being not without hope that I shall be able so to draw either the Presbyterians or the Independents to side with me for extirpating one another, that I shall be really King again."[2] Such a man is not easy to make a Treaty with,—on the word of a King! In fact his Majesty, though a belligerent party who had not now one soldier on foot, considered himself still a tower of strength; as indeed he was; all men having a to us inconceivable reverence for him, till bitter Necessity and he together drove them away from it. Equivocations, spasmodic obstinacies, and blindness to the real state of facts, must have an end.—

The following Seven Letters, of little or no significance for illustrating public affairs, are to carry us over a period of most intricate negotiation: negotiation with the Scots, managed manfully on both sides, otherwise it had ended in quarrel; negotiations with the King; infinite public and private negotiations;—which issue at last in the Scots marching

[1] The Writ is issued 16 March, 1647-8 (Commons Journals).
[2] Oxford, 26 March, 1646-7; Carte's Life of Ormond, iii. (London, 1735), p. 452.

home with £200,000 as "a fair instalment of their arrears," in their pocket; and the King marching, under escort of Parliamentary Commissioners, to Holmby House in Northamptonshire, to continue in strict though very stately seclusion, "on £50 a-day,"[1] and await the destinies there.

LETTER XXXI.

KNYVETT, of Ashwellthorpe in Norfolk, is one of the unfortunate Royalist Gentlemen whom Cromwell laid sudden hold of at Lowestoff, some years ago, and lodged in the Castle of Cambridge,—suddenly snuffing out their Royalist light in that quarter. Knyvett, we conclude, paid his "contribution," or due fine, for the business; got safe home again; and has lived quieter ever since. Of whom we promised the reader some transitory glimpse once more.[2]

Here accordingly is a remarkable letter to him, now first adjusted to its right place in this series. The letter used to be in the possession of the Lords Berners, whose ancestor this Knyvett was, one of whose seats this Ashwellthorpe in Norfolk still is. With them, however, there remains nothing but a copy now, and that without date, and otherwise not quite correct. Happily it had already gone forth in print with date and address in full;—has been found among the lumber and innocent marine-stores of *Sylvanus Urban*, communicated, in an incidental way, "by a Gentleman at Shrewsbury," who, in 1787, had got possession of it,—honestly, we hope, and to the comfort of readers here.

'*For my noble friend, Thomas Knyvett, Esquire, at his House of Ashwellthorpe: These.*'

SIR, London, 27th July, 1646.

I cannot pretend any interest in you for anything I have done, nor ask any favour for any service I may do you. But because I am conscious to myself of a readiness to serve any gentleman in all possible civilities, I am bold to be beforehand with you to ask your favour on behalf of your honest poor neighbours of Hapton, who, as I am informed, are in some trouble, and are likely to be put to more, by one Robert Browne your Tenant, who, not well pleased with the way of these men, seeks their disquiet all he may.

Truly nothing moves me to desire this, more than the pity I bear them in respect of their honesties, and the trouble I hear they are likely to suffer for their consciences, and humour as the world interprets it. I am not ashamed to solicit for such as are anywhere under pressure of this kind; doing even as I would be done by. Sir, this is a quarrelsome age; and the anger seems to me to be the worse, where the ground is difference of opinion;—which to cure, to hurt men in their houses, persons or estates, will not be found an apt remedy. Sir, it will not repent you to protect those poor men of Hapton from injury and oppression: which that you would is the effect of this Letter. Sir,

[1] Whitlocke, p. 244. [2] Antea p.

you will not want the grateful acknowledgment, nor utmost endeavours of requital from

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Hapton is a Parish and Hamlet some seven or eight miles south of Norwich, in the Hundred of Depwade ; it is within a mile or two of this Ashwellthorpe ; which was Knyvett's residence at that time. What "Robert Browne your Tenant" had in hand or view against these poor Parishioners of Hapton must, as the adjoining circumstances are all obliterated, remain somewhat indistinct to us. We gather in general that the parishioners of Hapton were a little given to Sectarian Independent notions ; which Browne, a respectable Christian of the Presbyterian strain, could not away with. The oppressed poor Tenants have contrived to make their case credible to Lieutenant-General Cromwell, now in his place in Parliament again ;—have written to him ; perhaps clubbed some poor sixpences and sent up a rustic Deputation to him : And he, however the respectable Presbyterian world may interpret it, is not ashamed to solicit for them ; with effect either now or soon.

LETTER XXXII.

For his Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliament's Forces : [1] *These.*'

SIR, 'London,' 31st July, 1646.

I was desired to write a letter to you by Adjutant Fleming. The end of it is, To desire your Letter in his commendation. He will acquaint you with the sum thereof, more particularly what the business is. I most humbly submit to your better judgment, when you hear it from him.

Craving pardon for my boldness in putting you to this trouble,

I rest,
Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.†

Adjutant Fleming is in Sprigge's Army-list. I suppose him to be the Fleming who, as Colonel Fleming, in Spring 1648, had rough service in South Wales two years afterwards ; and was finally defeated,—attempting to "seize a Pass" near Pembroke Castle, then in revolt under Poyer ; was driven into a Church, and there slain,—some say, slew himself.[2]

Of Fleming's present "business" with Fairfax, whether it were to solicit promotion here, or continued employment in Ireland, nothing can be known. The War, which proved to be but the "First War," is now, as we said, to all real intents, ended : Ragland Castle, the last that held out for Charles, has been under siege for some weeks ; and

* Gentleman's Magazine, (1787) liv. 337.
1 At Ragland, or about leaving Bath for the purpose of coucluding Ragland Siege (Rushworth, vi. 293).
† Sloane MSS. 1519, fol. 70.
2 Rushworth, vii. 1097, 38 :—a little "before ' March, 1648.

Fairfax, who had been "at the Bath for his health," was now come or coming into those parts for the peremptory reduction of it.[1] There have begun now to be discussions and speculations about sending men to Ireland ;[2] about sending Massey (famed Governor of Gloucester) to Ireland with men, and then also about disbanding Massey's men.

Exactly a week before, 24th July, 1646, the united Scots and Parliamentary Commissioners have presented their "Propositions" to his Majesty at Newcastle : Yes or No, is all the answer they can take. They are most zealous that he should say Yes. Chancellor Loudon implores and prophesies in a very remarkable manner : "All England will rise against you ; they," these Sectarian Parties, "will process and depose you, and set up another Government," unless you close with the Propositions. His Majesty, on the 1st of August (writing at Newcastle, in the same hours while Cromwell writes this in London), answers in a haughty way, No.[3]

LETTER XXXIII.

August 10th. The Parliamentary Commissioners have returned, and three of the leading Scots with them,—to see what is now to be done. The "Chancellor" who comes with Argyle is Loudon, the Scotch Chancellor, a busy man in those years. Fairfax is at Bath ; and "the Solicitor," St. John the Shipmoney Lawyer, is there with him.

For his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, the General : These.

SIR, London, 10th August, 1646.

Hearing you were returned from Ragland to the Bath, I take the boldness to make this address to you.

Our Commissioners sent to the King came this night to London.[4] I have spoken with two of them, and can only learn these generals, That there appears a good inclination in the Scots to the rendition of our Towns, and to their march out of the Kingdom. When they bring in their Papers we shall know more. Argyle, and the Chancellor, and Dunfermline are come up. Duke of Hamilton is gone from the King into Scotland. I hear that Montrose's men are *not* disbanded. The King gave a very general answer. Things are not well in Scotland :—would they were in England ! We are full of faction and worse.

I hear for certain that Ormond has concluded a Peace with the Rebels. Sir, I beseech you command the Solicitor to come away to us. His help would be welcome.—Sir, I hope you have not cast me off. Truly I may say, none more affectionately honours nor loves you. You and yours are in my daily prayers. You have done enough to command the uttermost of,

Your faithful and most obedient servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[1] Rushworth, vi. 293 ;—Fairfax's first Letter from Ragland is of 7 August ; 14 August he dates from Usk ; and Ragland is surrendered on the 17th.
[2] Cromwelliana, April 1646, p. 31.
[3] Rushworth, vi. 319-21.
[4] Commons Journals.
* Sloane MSS. 1519, fol. 63.

'P.S.' I beseech you my humble service may be presented to your Lady.

'P.S. 2d.'[1] The money for disbanding Massey's men is gotten, and you will speedily have directions about them from the Commons House.

"Our Commissioners" to Charles at Newcastle who have returned "this night" were: Earls Pembroke and Suffolk, from the Peers; from the Commons, Sir Walter Earle (Weymouth), Sir John Hippesley (Cockermouth), Robert Goodwin (East Grinstead, Sussex), Luke Robinson (Scarborough).[2]

"Duke of Hamilton:" the Parliamentary Army found him in Pendennis Castle,—no, in St. Michael's Mount Castle,—when they took these places in Cornwall lately. The Parliament has let him loose again;—he has begun a course of new diplomacies, which will end still more tragically for him.

Ormond is, on application from the Parliament, ostensibly ordered by his Majesty not to make peace with the outlaw Irish rebels; detestable to all men: but he of course follows his own judgment of the necessities of the case, being now nearly over with it himself, and the King under restraint unable to give any real "orders." The truth was, Ormond's Peace, odious to all English Protestants, had been signed and finished in March last; with this condition among others, That an Army of 10,000 Irish were to come over and help his Majesty: which truth is now beginning to ooze out. A new Ormond Peace:—not materially different I think from the late very sad Glamorgan one; which had been made in secret, through the Earl of Glamorgan in autumn last; and then, when by ill chance it came to light, had needed to be solemnly denied in Winter following and the Earl of Glamorgan to be thrown into prison to save appearances! On the word of an unfortunate King![3] It would be a comfort to understand farther, what the fact soon proves, that this new Peace also will not hold; the Irish Priests and Pope's Nuncios disapproving of it. Even when Oliver writes, an Excommunication or some such Document is coming out, signed "Frater O'Farrel," "Abbas O'Teague," and the like names: poor Ormond going to Kilkenny, to join forces with the Irish rebels, is treacherously set upon, and narrowly escapes death by them.[4]

Concerning "the business of Massey's men," there are some notices in Ludlow.[5] The Commons had ordered Fairfax to disband them, and sent the money, as we see here; whereupon the Lords ordered him, Not. Fairfax obeyed the Commons; apologised to the Lords,—who had to submit, as their habit was. Massey's Brigade was of no particular religion; Massey's Miscellany,—"some of them will require passes to Æthiopia," says ancient wit. But Massey himself was strong for Presbyterianism, for strict Drill-sergeantcy and Anti-heresy of every kind: the Lords thought his Miscellany and he might have been useful.

1 This second Postscript has been squeezed in *above* the other, and is evidently written *after* it.
2 Rushworth, vi. 309, where the proposals are also given.
3 Rushworth, vi. 242, 239-47; Birch's Inquiry concerning Glamorgan, Carte's Ormond: &c Correct details in Godwin, ii. 102-124.
4 Rushworth, vi. 416; Carte's Life of Ormond.
5 Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow (London, 1722), ii. 181.

LETTER XXXIV.

His Excellency, in the following Letter, is Fairfax; John Rushworth, worthy John, we already know! Fairfax has returned to the Bath, still for his health; Ragland being taken, and the War ended.

For John Rushworth, Esquire, Secretary to his Excellency, at the Bath: These.

The House 'of Commons,' 26th August, '1646.'

Mr. Rushworth,

I must needs entreat a favour on the behalf of Major Lilburn; who has a long time wanted employment, and by reason good his necessities may grow upon him.

You should do very well to move the General to take him into favourable thoughts. I know, a reasonable employment will content him. As for his honesty and courage, I need not speak much of 'that,' seeing he is so well known both to the General and yourself.

I desire you answer my expectation herein so far as you may. You shall very much oblige,

Sir,
Your real friend and servant,
Oliver Cromwell.*

This is not "Freeborn John;" the Sectarian Lieutenant-Colonel once in my Lord of Manchester's Army; the Lilburn whom Cromwell spoke for, when Sir Philip Warwick took note of him; the John Lilburn "who could not live without a quarrel; who if he were left alone in the world would have to divide himself in two, and set the John to fight with Lilburn, and the Lilburn with John!" Freeborn John is already a Lieutenant-Colonel by title; was not in the New Model at all; is already deep in quarrels—lying in limbo since August last, for abuse of his old master Prynne.[1] He has quarrelled or is quarrelling with Cromwell too; calls the Assembly of Divines an Assembly of *Dry-vines*;—will have little else but quarrelling henceforth.—This is the brother of Freeborn John; one of his two Brothers. Not Robert, who already is or soon becomes a Colonel in the New Model, and does not "want employment." This is Henry Lilburn: appointed, probably in consequence of this application, Governor of Tynemouth Castle: revolting to the Royalists, his own soldiers slew him there, in 1648. These Lilburns were from Durham County.

LETTER XXXV.

"Delinquents," conquered Royalists, are now getting themselves fined, according to rigorous proportions, by a Parliament Committee, which sits, and will sit long, at Goldsmiths' Hall, making that locality very memorable to Royalist gentlemen.[2]

The Staffordshire Committee have sent a Deputation up to Town. They bring a Petition; very anxious to have 2,000*l.* out of their

* Sloane Mss. 1519, fol. 71:—Signature alone is Oliver's.

[1] Wood, iii. 353.

[2] The proceedings of it, all now in very superior order, still lie in the State-Paper Office.

Staffordshire Delinquents from Goldsmiths' Hall, or even 4,000*l.*,—to pay off their forces, and send them to Ireland ; which lie heavy on the County at present.

For his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, 'General of the Parliament's Army :' These.

SIR, 'London,' 6th October, 1646.

I would be loath to trouble you with anything ; but indeed, the Staffordshire Gentlemen came to me this day, and with more than ordinary impetuosity did press me to give their desires furtherance to you. Their Letter will shew what they entreat of you. Truly, Sir, it may not be amiss to give them what ease may well be afforded, and the sooner the better, especially at this time.[1]

I have no more at present, but to let you know the business of your Army is like to come on to-morrow. You shall have account of that business as soon as I am able to give it. I humbly take leave, and rest,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The Commons cannot grant the prayer of this Petition ;[2] Staffordshire will have to rest as it is for some time. "The business of your Army" did come on "to-morrow ;" and assessments for a new six-months were duly voted for it, and other proper arrangements made.[3]

LETTER XXXVI.

COLONEL IRETON, now Commissary-General Ireton, was wedded to Bridget Cromwell on the 15th of January last. A man "able with his pen and his sword ;" a distinguished man. Once B.A. of Trinity College, Oxford, and Student of the Middle Temple ; then a gentleman trooper in my Lord General Essex's Lifeguard ; now Colonel of Horse, soon Member of Parliament ; rapidly rising. A Nottinghamshire man ; has known the Lieutenant-General ever since the Eastern-Association times. Cornbury, not now conspicuous on the maps, is in the West, near the Devizes, at which latter Town Fairfax and Ireton have just been, disbanding Massey's Brigade. The following Letter will require no commentary.

For my beloved Daughter, Bridget Ireton, at Cornbury, the General's Quarters : These.

DEAR DAUGHTER, London, 25th October, 1646.

I write not to thy Husband ; partly to avoid trouble, for one line of mine begets many of his, which I doubt makes him sit up too late ; partly because I am myself indisposed[4] at this time, having some other considerations.

1 "and the sooner," &c : these words are inserted above the line by way of *caret* and afterthought.

* Sloane MSS. 1519, fol. 72 :—Oliver's own hand.—Note, his signature seems always to be *Oliver* Cromwell, not *O.* Cromwell ; to which practice we conform throughout, though there are exceptions to it.

2 7 December, 1646, Commons Journals, iv. 3.

3 7 October, 1646, Commons Journals, iv. 687.

4 not in the mood at this time, having other matters in view.

Your Friends at Ely are well: your Sister Claypole, I trust in mercy, exercised with some perplexed thoughts. She sees her own vanity and carnal mind: bewailing it: she seeks after (as I hope also) what will satisfy. And thus to be a seeker is to be of the best sect next to a finder; and such an one shall every faithful humble seeker be at the end. Happy seeker, happy finder! Who ever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sense of self, vanity, and badness? Who ever tasted that graciousness of His, and could go less [1] in desire,—less than pressing after full enjoyment? Dear Heart, press on; let not Husband, let not anything cool thy affections after Christ. I hope he [2] will be an occasion to inflame them. That which is best worthy of love in thy Husband is that of the image of Christ he bears. Look on that, and love it best, and all the rest for that. I pray for thee and him; do so for me.

My service and dear affections to the General and Generaless. I hear she is very kind to thee; it adds to all other obligations. I am

Thy dear Father,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Bridget Ireton is now Twenty-two. Her Sister Claypole (Elizabeth Cromwell) is five years younger. They were both wedded last Spring. "Your friends at Ely" will indicate that the Cromwell Family was still resident in that City; though I think, they not long afterwards removed to London. Their first residence here was King-street, Westminster; [3] Oliver for the present lodges in Drury Lane: fashionable quarters both, in those times.

General Fairfax had been in Town only three days before, attending poor Essex's Funeral: a mournful pageant, consisting of "both the Houses, Fairfax and all the Civil and Military Officers then in Town, the Forces of the City, a very great number of coaches and multitudes of people;" with Mr. Vines to preach;—regardless of expense, 5,000*l.* being allowed for it.[4]

LETTER XXXVII.

THE intricate Scotch negotiations have at last ended. The paying of the Scots their first instalment, and getting them to march away in peace, and leave the King to our disposal, is the great affair that has occupied Parliament ever since his Majesty refused the Propositions. Not till Monday the 21st December could it be got "perfected" or "almost perfected." After a busy day spent in the Commons House on that affair,[5] Oliver writes the following Letter to Fairfax. The

[1] *less* is an adjective; to *go*, in such case, signifies to *become*.

[2] thy Husband.

* "A copy of Oliver Cromwell's Letter to his Daughter Ireton, exactly taken from the Original." Harleian MSS. no. 6988, fol. 224 (not mentioned in Harleian Catalogue).—In another Copy sent me, which exactly corresponds, is this Note: "Memo: The above Lett^r of Oliver Cromwell Jn^o Caswell Merch^t of London had from his Mother Linington, who had it from old Mrs. Warner, who liv'd with Oliver Cromwell's Daughter.—And was Copied from the Original Letter, which is in the hands of John Warner Esq^r of Swanzey, by Cha^s Norris, 25th Mar: 1749."

[3] Cromwelliana, p. 60.

[4] Rushworth, vi. 239; Whitlocke, p. 230

[5] Commons Journals, v. 22, 3.

"Major-General" is Skippon. Fairfax, "since he left Town,' is most likely about Nottingham, the head-quarters of his Army, which had been drawing rather Northward, ever since the King appeared among the Scots. Fairfax came to Town 12th November, with great splendour of reception; left it again "18th December."

On the morrow after that, 19th December, 1646, the Londoners presented their Petition, not without tumult; complaining of heavy expenses and other great grievances from the Army; and craving that the same might be, so soon as possible, disbanded, and a good Peace with his Majesty made.[1] The first note of a very loud controversy which arose between the City and the Army, between the Presbyterians and the Independents, on that matter. Indeed the humour of the City seems to be getting high; impatient for "a just peace" now that the King is reduced. On Saturday, 6th December, it was ordered that the Lord Mayor be apprised of tumultuous assemblages which there are, "to the disturbance of the peace;" and be desired to quench them,—if he can.

'*For his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliament's Armies: These.*'

SIR, 'London,' 21st December, 1646.

Having this opportunity by the Major-General to present a few lines unto you, I take the boldness to let you know how our affairs go on since you left Town.

We have had a very long Petition from the City: how it strikes at the Army, and what other aims it has, you will see by the contents of it; as also what is the prevailing temper at this present, and what is to be expected from men. But this is our comfort, God is in Heaven, and He doth what pleaseth Him; His and only His counsel shall stand, whatsoever the designs of men, and the fury of the people be.

We have now, I believe, almost[2] perfected all our business for Scotland. I believe Commissioners will speedily be sent down to see agreements performed; it's intended that Major-General Skippon have authority and instructions from your Excellency to command the Northern Forces, as occasion shall be, and that he have a Commission of Martial Law. Truly I hope that the having the Major-General to command[3] this Party will appear to be a good thing, every day more and more.

Here has been a design to steal away the Duke of York from my Lord of Northumberland; one of his own servants, whom he preferred to wait on the Duke, is guilty of it; the Duke himself confessed so. I believe you will suddenly hear more of it.

I have no more to trouble you 'with;' but praying for you, rest,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

1 King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no.2 90 (cited by Godwin, ii. 269).

2 "almost' is inserted with a *caret*.

3 At this point, the bottom of the page being reached, Oliver takes to the broad margin, and writes the remainder there lengthwise, continuing till there is barely room for his signature, on the outmost verge of the sheet; which, as we remarked already, is a common practice with him in writing Letters:—he is loath always to turn the page; having *no blotting-paper* at that epoch; having only sand to dry his ink with, and a natural indisposition to pause till he finish!

* Sloane MSS. 1519, fol. 78, p. 147.

Skippon, as is well known, carried up the cash 200,000*l.* to Newcastle, successfully in a proper number of waggons; got it all counted there, "bags of 100*l.*, chests of 1,000*l.*" (5th-16th January, 1646-7); after which the Scots marched peaceably away.

The little Duke of York, entertained in a pet-captive fashion at St. James's, did not get away at this time; but managed it, by-and-bye, with help of a certain diligent intriguer and turncoat, called Colonel Bamfield[1]—of whom we may hear farther.

On Thursday, 11th February 1646-7, on the road between Mansfield and Nottingham,—road between Newcastle and Holmby House,—"Sir Thomas Fairfax went and met the King; who stopped his horse: Sir Thomas alighted, and kissed the King's hand; and afterwards mounted, and discoursed with the King as they passed towards Nottingham."[2] The King had left Newcastle on the 3rd of the month; got to Holmby, or Holdenby, on the 13th;—and "there," says the poor *Iter Carolinum*, "during pleasure."

LETTERS XXXVIII., XXXIX.

BEFORE reading these two following Letters, read this Extract from a work still in Manuscript, and not very sure of ever getting printed:

"The Presbyterian 'Platform' of Church Government, as recommended by the Assembly of Divines or 'Dry-Vines,' has at length, after unspeakable debatings, passings and repassings through both Houses, and soul's-travail not a little, about 'ruling-elders,' 'power of the keys,' and such like,—been got *finally* passed, though not without some melancholy shades of Erastianism, or the 'Voluntary Principle,' as the new phrase runs. The Presbyterian Platform is passed by Law; and London and other places, busy 'electing their ruling-elders,' are just about ready to set it actually on foot. And now it is hoped there will be some 'uniformity' as to that high matter.

"Uniformity of free-growing healthy forest-trees is good; uniformity of clipt Dutch dragons is not so good! The question, Which of the two? is by no means settled,—though the Assembly of Divines, and majorities of both Houses, would fain think it so. The General English mind, which, loving good order in all things, loves regularity even at a high price, could be content with this Presbyterian scheme, which we call the Dutch-dragon one; but a deeper portion of the English mind inclines decisively to growing in the forest-tree way,—and indeed will shoot out into very singular excrescences, Quakerisms and what not, in the coming years. Nay already we have Anabaptists, Brownists, Sectaries and Schismatics springing up very rife: already there is a Paul Best, brought before the House of Commons for Socinianism; nay we hear of another distracted individual who seemed to maintain, in confidential argument, that 'God was mere Reason.'[3] There is like to be need of garden-shears, at this rate! The devout House of Commons,

[1] Clarendon, iii. 188.

[2] Whitlocke, p. 242; *Iter Carolinum* (in Somers Tracts, vi. 274): Whitlocke's date, as usual, is inexact.

[3] Whitlocke.

viewing these things with a horror inconceivable in our loose days, knows not well what to do. London City cries, 'Apply the shears!' —the Army answers, 'Apply them *gently*; cut off nothing that is sound!' The question of garden-shears, and how far you are to apply them, is really difficult :—the settling of *it* will lead to very unexpected results. London City knows with pain, that there are 'many persons in the Army who have never yet taken the Covenant;' the Army begins to consider it unlikely that certain of them will ever take it!"

These things premised, we have only to remark farther, that the House of Commons, meanwhile, struck with devout horror, has, with the world generally, spent Wednesday, the 10th of March, 1646-7, as a Day of Fasting and Humiliation for Blasphemies and Heresies.[1] Cromwell's Letter, somewhat remarkable for the grieved mind it indicates, was written next day. Fairfax with the Army is at Saffron Walden in Essex; there is an Order this day[2] that he is to quarter where he sees best. There are many Officers about Town; soliciting payments, attending private businesses: their tendency to Schism, to anabaptistry and Heresy, or at least to undue tolerance for all that, is well known. This Fast-day, it would seem, is regarded as a kind of covert rebuke to them. Fast-day was Wednesday; this is Thursday evening:

LETTER XXXVIII.

For his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliament's Army, 'at Saffron Walden:' These.

SIR, 'London, 11th March, 1646.'

Your Letters about your head-quarters, directed to the Houses,[3] came seasonably, and were to very good purpose. There want not in all places men who have so much malice against the Army as besots them: the late Petition, which suggested a dangerous design upon the Parliament in 'your' coming to those quarters[4] doth sufficiently evidence the same: but they got nothing by it, for the Houses did assoil the Army from all suspicion, and have left you to quarter where you please.[5]

Never were the spirits of men more embittered than now. Surely the Devil hath but a short time. Sir, it's good the heart be fixed against all this. The naked simplicity of Christ, with that wisdom He is pleased to give, and patience, will overcome all this. That God would keep your heart as He has done hitherto, is the prayer of

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.'[6] I desire my most humble service may be presented to my Lady.—Adjutant Allen desires Colonel Baxter, sometime Governor of Reading, may be remembered. I humbly desire Colonel Overton may

1 Whitlocke, p. 243. 2 Commons Journals, v. 110.

3 Ibid. 11 March, 1646 (Letter is dated Saffron Walden, 9 March).

4 Saffron Walden in the Eastern Association. "*Not* to quarter in the Eastern Association,' had the Lords, through Manchester, their Speaker, lately written (Commons Journals, *infra*); but without effect.

5 Commons Journals, v. 110, 11 March, 1646.

6 Written across on the margin, according to custom.

not be out of your remembrance. He is a deserving man, and presents his humble services to you.—Upon the Fast-day, divers soldiers were raised (as I heard), both horse and foot, near 200 in Covent Garden, To prevent us soldiers from cutting the Presbyterians' throats! These are fine tricks to mock God with.*

This flagrant insult to "us soldiers," in Covent Garden and doubtless elsewhere, as if the zealous Presbyterian Preacher were not safe from violence in bewailing Schism,—is very significant. The Lieutenant-General might himself have seen as well as "heard" it,—for he lived hard by, in Drury Lane I think; but was of course at his own Church, bewailing Schism too, though not in so strait-laced a manner.—

Oliver's Sister Anna, Mrs. Sewster, of Wistow, Huntingdonshire, had died in these months, 1st November, 1646.[1] Among her little girls is one, Robina, for whom there is a distinguished Scotch husband in store: far off as yet, an "Ensign in the French Army" as yet, William Lockhart by name; of whom we may hear more.

This Letter lies contiguous to Letter XXIX. in the Sloane Volume: Letter XXIX. is sealed conspicuously with red wax; this Letter as is fit with black. The Cromwell crest, "lion with ring on his foregamb,"—the same big seal,—is on both.

LETTER XXXIX.

COMMONS JOURNALS, 17 March, 1646: "*Ordered*, That the Committee of the Army do write unto the General, and acquaint him that this House takes notice of his care in ordering that none of the Forces under his Command should quarter nearer than Five-and-twenty Miles of this City: That notwithstanding his care and directions therein, the House is informed that some of his Forces are quartered much nearer than that; and To desire him to take course that his former Orders, touching the quartering of his Forces no nearer than Twenty-five Miles, may be observed."

To his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliament's Army: These.

SIR, 'London,' 19th March, 1646.

This enclosed Order I received; but, I suppose, Letters from the Committee of the Army to the effect of this are come to your hands before this time. I think it were very good that the distance of Twenty-five Miles be very strictly observed; and they are to blame that have exceeded the distance, contrary to your former appointment. This Letter I received this evening from Sir William Massam,[2] a Member of the House of Commons; which I thought fit to send you; his House being much within that distance of Twenty-five Miles of London. I have sent the Officers down, as many as I could well light of.

Not having more at present, I rest,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

* Sloane MSS. 1519, fol. 62.
[2] Masham.
[1] See *antea*, p. 16; and Noble, i. 89.
† Sloane MSS. 1519, fol. 74.

The troubles of the Parliament and Army are just beginning. The order for quartering beyond twenty-five miles from London, and many other "orders" were sadly violated in the course of this season. "Sir W. Massam's House," "Otes in Essex," is a place known to us since the beginning of these *Letters*.

The Officers ought really to go down to their quarters in the Eastern Counties; Oliver has sent them off, as many of them as he "could well light of."

The Presbyterian System is now fast getting into action: on the 20th of May, 1647, the Synod of London, with due Prolocutor or Moderator, met in St. Paul's.[1] In Lancashire too the System is fairly on foot; but I think in other English Counties it was somewhat lazy to move, and never came rightly into action, owing to impediments.—Poor old Laud is condemned of treason, and beheaded, years ago; the Scots, after Marston Fight, pressing heavy on him; Prynne too being very ungrateful. That "performance" of the Service to the Hyperborean populations in so exquisite a way, has cost the Artist dear! He died very gently; his last scene much the best, for himself and for us. The two Hothams also, and other traitors, have died.

ARMY MANIFESTO.

OUR next entirely authentic Letter is at six months distance: a hiatus not unfrequent in this Series; but here most especially to be regretted; such a crisis in the affairs of Oliver and of England transacting itself in the interim. The Quarrel between City and Army, which we here see begun; the split of the Parliament into two clearly hostile Parties of Presbyterians and Independents, represented by City and Army; the deadly wrestle of these two Parties, with victory to the latter, and the former flung on its back, and its "Eleven Members" sent beyond Seas: all this transacts itself in the interim, without autograph note or indisputably authentic utterance of Oliver's to elucidate it for us. We part with him labouring to get the Officers sent down to Saffron Walden; sorrowful on the Spring Fast-day in Covent Garden: we find him again at Putney in Autumn; the insulted Party now dominant, and he the most important man in it. One Paper which I find among the many published on that occasion, and judge pretty confidently, by internal evidence, to be of his writing, is here introduced; and there is no other that I know of.

How this Quarrel between City and Army, no agreement with the King being for the present possible, went on waxing; developing itself more and more visibly into a Quarrel between Presbyterianism and Independency; attracting to the respective sides of it the two great Parties in Parliament and in England generally: all this the reader must endeavour to imagine for himself,—very dimly, as matters yet stand. In books, in Narratives old or new, he will find little satisfaction in regard to it. The old Narratives, written all by baffled enemies of Cromwell,[2] are full of mere blind rage, distraction and darkness; the

[1] Rushworth, vi. 489; Whitlocke (p. 249) dates wrong.

[2] Holles's Memoirs; Waller's Vindication of his Character; Clement Walker's History of Independency, &c. &c.

new Narratives, believing only in "Machiavelism," &c., disfigure the matter still more. Common History, old and new, represents Cromwell as having underhand,—in a most skilful and indeed prophetic manner,—fomented or originated all this commotion of the elements; steered his way through it by "hypocrisy," by "master-strokes of duplicity," and such like. As is the habit hitherto of History.

"The fact is," says a Manuscript already cited from, "poor History, contemporaneous and subsequent, has treated this matter in a very sad way. Mistakes, misdates: exaggerations, unveracities, distractions; all manner of misseeings and misnotings in regard to it, abound. How many grave historical statements still circulate in the world, accredited by Bishop Burnet and the like, which on examination you will find melt away into after-dinner rumours,—gathered from ancient red-nosed Presbyterian gentlemen, Harbottle Grimston and Company, sitting over claret under a Blessed Restoration, and talking to the loosely recipient Bishop in a very loose way! Statements generally with some grain of harmless truth, misinterpreted by those red-nosed honourable persons; frothed up into huge bulk by the loquacious Bishop above mentioned, and so set floating on Time's Stream. Not very lovely to us, they, nor the red-noses they proceeded from! I do not cite them here; I have examined most of them; found not one of them fairly believable;—wondered to see how already, in one generation, earnest Puritanism being hung on the gallows or thrown out in St. Margaret's Churchyard, the whole History of it had grown *mythical*, and men were ready to swallow all manner of nonsense concerning it. Ask for dates, ask for proofs: Who saw it, heard it; when was it, where? A misdate, of itself, will do much. So accurate a man as Mr. Godwin, generally very accurate in such matters, makes 'a master-stroke of duplicity' merely by mistake of dating:[1] the thing when Oliver did say it, was a credible truth, and no master-stroke or stroke of any kind!

"'Master-strokes of duplicity;' 'false protestations;' 'fomenting of the Army discontents:' alas, alas! It was not Cromwell that raised these discontents; not he, but the elemental Powers! Neither was it, I think, 'by master-strokes of duplicity' that Cromwell steered himself victoriously across such a devouring chaos; no, but by *continuances* of noble manful simplicity, I rather think,—by meaning one thing before God, and meaning the same before men as a strong man does. By conscientious resolution; by sagacity and silent wariness and promptitude; by religious valour and veracity,—which, however it may fare with *foxes*, are really after all the grand source of clearness for a *man* in this world!"——We here close our Manuscript.

Modern readers ought to believe that there was a real impulse of heavenly Faith at work in this Controversy; that on both sides, more especially on the Army's side, here lay the central element of all; modifying all other elements and passions;—that this Controversy was, in several respects, very different from the common wrestling of Greek with Greek for what are called "Political objects!"—Modern readers, mindful of the French Revolution, will perhaps compare these Presbyterians and Independents to the Gironde and the Mountain. And there

[1] Godwin, ii. 300; citing Walker, p. 31 (should be p. 33).

is an analogy; yet with differences. With a great difference in the situations; with the difference, too, between Englishmen and Frenchmen which is always considerable; and then with the difference between believers in Jesus Christ and believers in Jean Jacques, which is still more considerable!

A few dates, and chief summits of events, are all that can be indicated here, to make our "Manifesto" legible.

From the beginnings of this year 1647 and earlier, there had often been question as to what should be done with the Army. The expense of such an Army, between twenty and thirty thousand men, was great; the need of it, Royalism being now subdued, seemed small; besides, it was known that there were many in it who "had never taken the Covenant," and were never likely to take it. This latter point, at a time when Heresy seemed rising like a hydra,[1] and the Spiritualism of England was developing itself in really strange ways, became very important too,—became gradually most of all important, and the soul of the whole Controversy.

Early in March, after much debating, it had been got settled that there should be Twelve thousand men employed in Ireland,[2] which was now in sad need of soldiers. The rest were in some good way to be disbanded. The "way," however, and whether it might really be a good way, gave rise to considerations.—Without entering into a sea of troubles, we may state here in general that the things this Army demanded were strictly their just right: arrears of pay, "three-and-forty weeks" of hard-earned pay; indemnity for acts done in War; and clear discharge according to contract, not service in Ireland except under known Commanders and conditions,—"our old Commanders," for example. It is also apparent that the Presbyterian party in Parliament, the leaders of whom were, several of them, Colonels of the *Old* Model, did not love this victorious Army; that indeed they disliked, and grew to hate it, useful as it had been to them. Denzil Holles, Sir William Waller, Harley, Stapleton, these men, all strong for Presbyterianism, were old unsuccessful Colonels or Generals under Essex; and for very obvious reasons looked askance on this Army, and wished to be so soon as possible rid of it. The first rumour of a demur or desire on the part of the Army, rumour of some Petition to Fairfax by his Officers as to the "way" of their disbanding, was by these Old-Military Parliament men very angrily repressed; nay, in a moment of fervour, they proceeded to decree that whoever had, or might have, a hand in promoting such Petition in the Army was an "Enemy to the State, and a Disturber of the Public Peace,"—and sent forth the same in a "Declaration of the 30th of March," which became very celebrated afterwards. This unlucky "Declaration," Waller says, was due to Holles, who smuggled it one evening through a thin House. "Enemies to the State, Disturbers of the Peace:" it was a severe and too proud rebuke; felt to be unjust, and looked upon as "a blot of ignominy;" not to be forgotten nor easily forgiven, by the parties it was addressed to. So stood matters at the end of March.

[1] See Edwards's *Gangræna* (London 1646) for many furious details of it.
[2] 6 March, Commons Journals v. 107

At the end of April they stand somewhat thus. Two Parliament Deputations, Sir William Waller at the head of them, have been at Saffron Walden, producing no agreement :[1] five dignitaries of the Army, "Lieutenant-General Hammond, Colonel Hammond, Lieutenant-Colonel Pride," and two others, have been summoned to the bar ;[2] some subalterns given into custody ; Ireton himself "ordered to be examined ;" —and no "satisfaction to the just desires of the Army ;" on the contrary, the "blot of ignominy" fixed deeper on it than before. We can conceive a universal sorrow and anger, and all manner of dim schemes and consultations going on at Saffron Walden and the other Army-quarters, in those days. Here is a scene from Whitlocke, worth looking at, which takes place in the Honourable House itself ; date 30th April, 1647 :[3]

"Debate upon the Petition and Vindication of the Army. Major-General Skippon, in the House, produced a Letter presented to him the day before by some troopers, in behalf of Eight Regiments of the Army of Horse. Wherein they expressed some reasons, Why they could not engage in the service of Ireland under the present Conduct," under the proposed Commandership, by Skippon and Massey : "and complained, Of the many scandals and false suggestions which were of late raised against the Army and their proceedings; That they were taken as enemies ; That they saw designs upon them, and upon many of the Godly Party in the Kingdom ; That they could not engage for Ireland till they were satisfied in their expectations, and their just desires granted.—Three Troopers, Edward Sexby, William Allen, Thomas Sheppard, who brought this Letter, were examined in the House, touching the drawing and subscribing of it ; and, Whether their Officers were engaged in it or not? They affirmed, That it was drawn up at a Rendezvous of several of those Eight Regiments ; and afterwards at several meetings by Agents or Agitators, for each Regiment ; and that few of their Officers knew or took notice of it.

"Those Troopers being demanded, Whether they had not been Cavaliers?—it was attested by Skippon, that they had constantly served the Parliament, and some of them from the beginning of the War. Being asked concerning the meaning of some expressions in the Petition," especially concerning "certain men aiming at a *Sovereignty*,"—"they answered, That the Letter being a joint act of those Regiments, they could not give a punctual answer, being only Agents ; but if they might have the queries in writing, they would send or carry them to those Regiments, and return their own and their answers.—They were ordered to attend the House upon summons."

Three sturdy fellows, fit for management of business ; let the reader note them. They are "Agents" to the Army : a class of functionaries called likewise "Adjutators" and misspelt "Agitators ;" elected by the common men of the Army, to keep the ranks in unison with the Officers in the present crisis of their affairs. This is their first distinct appearance in the eye of History ; in which, during these months, they play a

[1] Waller, pp. 42-85.
[2] Commons Journals, v. 129.
[3] Whitlocke, p. 249 ; Commons Journals *in die* ; and a fuller account in Rushworth, vi. 474. The "Letter" immediately referred to is in Cary's *Memorials* (Selections from the Tanner MSS. ; London, 1842), 1201.

great part. Evidently the settlement with the Army will be a harder task than was supposed.

During these same months some languid negotiation with the King is going on: Scots Commissioners come up to help in treating with him; but as he will not hear of Covenant or Presbytery, there can no result follow. It was an ugly aggravation of the blot of ignominy which the Army smarts under,—the report raised against it, That some of the Leaders had said, "If the King would come to *them*, they would put the crown on his head again."—Cromwell, from his place in Parliament, earnestly watches these occurrences; waits what the great "birth of Providence" in them may be;—"carries himself with much wariness;" is more and more looked up to by the Independent Party for his interest with the Soldiers. One day noticing the "high carriages" of Holles and Company, he whispers Edmund Ludlow who sat by him, "These men will never leave till the Army pull them out by the ears!"[1] Holles and Company, who at present rule in Parliament, pass a New Militia-Ordinance for London; put the Armed Force of London into hands more strictly Presbyterian.[2] There have been two London Petitions against the Army, and two London Petitions covertly in favour of it; the Managers of the latter, we observe, have been put in prison.

May 8th. A new and more promising Deputation, Cromwell at the head of it. "Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, Skippon," proceed again to Saffron Walden; investigate the claims and grievances of the Army;[3] engage, as they had authority to do, that real justice shall be done them; and in a fortnight return with what seems an agreement and settlement; for which Lieutenant-General Cromwell receives the thanks of the House.[4] The House votes what *it* conceives to be justice, "eight weeks of pay" in ready money, bonds for the rest,—and so forth. Congratulations hereupon; a Committee of Lords and Commons are ordered to go down to Saffron Walden to *see* the Army disbanded.

May 28th. On arriving at Saffron Walden, they find that their notions of what is justice and the Army's notions differ widely. "Eight weeks of pay," say the Army; "we want nearer eight times eight!" Disturbances in several of the quarters: at Oxford the men seize the disbanding-money as *part* of payment, and will not disband till they get the whole. A meeting of Adjutators, by authority of Fairfax, convenes at Bury St. Edmund's,—a regular Parliament of soldiers, "each common man paying fourpence to meet the expense:" it is agreed that the Army's quarters shall be "contracted," brought closer together; that on Friday next, 4th of June, there shall be a Rendezvous, or General Assembly of all the Soldiers, there to decide on what they will do.[5]

June 4th and 5th. The Newmarket Rendezvous, "on Kentford Heath," a little east of Newmarket, is held; a kind of Covenant is entered into and other important things are done:—but elsewhere in the interim a thing still more important had been done. On Wednesday, June 2d, Cornet Joyce,—once a London tailor they say, evidently a very

[1] Ludlow, i. 189; see Whitlocke, p. 252.
[2] 4 May, 1647, Commons Journals, v. 160,—"Thirty-one Persons," their names given.
[3] Appendix, No. 7.
[4] May 21, Commons Journals, v. 181.
[5] Rushworth, pp. 496-510.

handy active man,—he, and Five hundred common troopers, a volunteer Party, not expressly commanded by anybody, but doing what they know the whole Army wishes to be done, sally out of Oxford, where things are still somewhat disturbed; proceed to Holmby House; and, after two days of talking, bring "the King's Person" off with them. To the horror and despair of the Parliament Commissioners in attendance there; but clearly to the satisfaction of his Majesty,—who hopes, in this new shuffle and deal, some good card will turn up for him; hopes, with some ground, "the Presbyterians and Independents *may* now be got to extirpate one another." His Majesty rides willingly; the Parliament Commissioners accompany, wringing their hands:—to Hinchinbrook, that same Friday night; where Colonel Montague receives them with all hospitality, entertains them for two days. Colonel Whalley with a strong party, deputed by Fairfax, had met his Majesty; offered to deliver him from Joyce, back to Holmby and the Parliament; but his Majesty positively declined.—Captain Titus, *quasi* Tighthose, very well known afterwards, arrives at St. Stephen's with the news; has 50*l.* voted him "to buy a horse," for his great service; and fills all men with terror and amazement. The Honourable Houses agree to "sit on the Lord's day;" have Stephen Marshall to pray for them;—never were in such a plight before. The Controversy, at this point, has risen from Economical into Political: Army Parliament in the Eastern Counties, against Civil Parliament in Westminster; and "How the Nation shall be settled" between them; whether its growth shall be in the forest-tree fashion, or in the clipt Dutch-dragon fashion?—

Monday, June 7th. All Officers in the House are ordered forthwith to go down to their regiments. Cromwell, without order, not without danger of detention, say some,—has already gone: this same day, "General Fairfax, Lieutenant-General Cromwell and the chief men of the Army," have an interview with the King, "at Childerley House between Huntingdon and Cambridge:" his Majesty will not go back to Holmby; much prefers "the air" of these parts, the air of Newmarket for instance; and will continue with the Army.[1] Parliament Commissioners, with new Votes of Parliament, are coming down; the Army must have a new Rendezvous, to meet them. New Rendezvous at Royston, more properly on Triploe Heath near Cambridge, is appointed for Thursday; and in the interim a "Day of Fasting and Humiliation" is held,—a real Day of Prayer (very inconceivable in these days), For God's enlightenment as to what should now be done.

Here is Whitlocke's account of the celebrated Rendezvous itself,—somewhat abridged from Rushworth, and dim enough; wherein, however, by good eyes a strange old Historical Scene may be discerned. The new Votes of Parliament do not appear still to meet "the just" desires of the Army; meanwhile let all things be done decently and in order.

"The General had ordered a Rendezvous at Royston;" properly on Triploe Heath, as we said; on Thursday, 10th June, 1647: the Force assembled was about Twenty-one thousand men, the remarkablest Army that ever wore steel in this world. "The General and the Commissioners rode to each Regiment. They first acquainted the General's

[1] Rushworth, vi. 549.

Regiment with the Votes of the Parliament ; and Skippon," one of the Commissioners, "spake to them to persuade a compliance. An Officer of the Regiment made answer, That the Regiment did desire that their answer might be returned *after* perusal of the Votes by some select Officers and Agitators, whom the Regiment had chosen ; and said, This was the motion of the Regiment.

"He desired the General and Commissioners to give him leave to ask the whole Regiment if this *was* their answer. Leave being given, they cried, 'All.' Then he put the question, If any man were of a contrary opinion he should say, No ;—and not one man gave his 'No.'—The Agitators in behalf of the soldiers pressed to have the question put" at once, "Whether the Regiment did acquiesce and were satisfied with the Votes?" The Agitators knew well what the answer would have been!— "But in regard the other way was more orderly, and they might after perusal proceed more deliberately, that question was laid aside.

"The like was done in the other Regiments ; and all were very unanimous ; and" always "after the Commissioners had done reading the Votes, and speaking to each Regiment, and had received their answer, all of them cried out, 'Justice, Justice!'—not a very musical sound to the Commissioners.

"A Petition was delivered in the field to the General, in the name of 'many well-affected people in Essex ;' desiring, That the Army might *not* be disbanded; in regard the Commonwealth had many enemies, who watched for such an occasion to destroy the good people."[1]

Such, and still dimmer, is the jotting of dull authentic Bulstrode,—drowning in official oil, and somnolent natural pedantry and fat, one of the remarkablest scenes our History ever had : An Armed Parliament, extra-official, yet not without a kind of sacredness, and an Oliver Cromwell at the head of it; demanding with one voice, as deep as ever spake in England, "Justice, Justice!" under the vault of Heaven.

That same afternoon, the Army moved on to St. Albans, nearer to London ; and from the Rendezvous itself, a joint Letter was despatched to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, which the reader is now at last to see. I judge it, pretty confidently, by evidence of style alone, to be of Cromwell's own writing. It differs totally in this respect from any other of those multitudinous Army-Papers ; which were understood, says Whitlocke, to be drawn up mostly by Ireton, "who had a subtle working brain ;" or by Lambert, who also had got some tincture of Law and other learning, and did not want for brain. They are very able Papers, though now very dull ones. This is in a far different style ; in Oliver's worst style; his style when he writes in haste—and not in haste of the pen merely, for that seems always to have been a most rapid business with him ; but in haste before the matter had matured itself for him, and the real kernels of it got parted from the husks. A style of composition like the structure of a block of oak-root,—as tortuous, unwedgeable, and as strong! Read attentively, this Letter can be understood, can be believed : the tone of it, the "voice" of it, reminds us of what Sir Philip Warwick heard ; the voice of a man risen justly

[1] Whitlocke, p. 255.

into a kind of *chaunt*—very dangerous for the City of London at present.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London: These.

Royston, 10th June, 1647.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND WORTHY FRIENDS,

Having, by our Letters and other Addresses presented by our General to the Honourable House of Commons, endeavoured to give satisfaction of the clearness of our just Demands; and 'having' also, in Papers published by us, remonstrated the grounds of our proceedings in prosecution thereof;—all which being published in print, we are confident 'they have come to your hands, and received at least a charitable construction from you.

The sum of all these our Desires as Soldiers is no other than this: Satisfaction to our undoubted Claims as Soldiers; and reparation upon those who have, to the utmost, improved all opportunities and advantages, by false suggestions, misrepresentations and otherwise, for the destruction of this Army with a perpetual blot of ignominy upon it. Which 'injury' we should not value, if it singly concerned our own particular 'persons;' being ready to deny ourselves in this, as we have done in other cases, for the Kingdom's good: but under this pretence, we find, no less is involved than the overthrow of the privileges both of Parliament and People;—and that rather than they[1] shall fail in their designs, or we receive what in the eyes of all good men, is 'our' just right, the Kingdom is endeavoured to be engaged in a New War. 'In a new War,' and this singly by those who, when the truth of these things shall be made to appear, will be found to be the authors of those 'said' evils that are feared;—and who have no other way to protect *themselves* from question and punishment but by putting the Kingdom into blood, under the pretence of their honour of and their love to the Parliament. As if that were dearer to them than to us; or as if they had given greater proof of their faithfulness to it than we.

But we perceive that, under these veils and pretences, they seek to interest in their design the City of London:—as if that City ought to make good their miscarriages, and should prefer a few self-seeking men before the welfare of the Public. And, indeed, we have found these men so active to accomplish their designs, and to have such apt instruments for their turn in that City, that we have cause to suspect they may engage many therein upon mistakes,—which are easily swallowed, in times of such prejudice against them[2] that have given (we may speak it without vanity) the most public testimony of their good affections to the Public, and to that City in particular.

'As' for the thing we insist upon as Englishmen,—and surely our being Soldiers hath not stript us of that interest, although our malicious enemies would have it so,—we desire a Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom and of the Liberties of the Subject, according to the Votes and Declarations of Parliament, which, *before* we took arms, were, by

[1] The Presbyterian leaders in Parliament, Holles, Stapleton, Harley, Waller, &c.
[2] Oblique for "us."

the Parliament, used as arguments and inducements to invite us and divers of our dear friends out ; some of whom have lost their lives in this War. Which being now, by God's blessing, finished,—we think we have as much right to demand, and desire to see, a happy Settlement, as we have to our money and 'to' the other common interest of Soldiers which we have insisted upon. We find also the ingenuous and honest people, in almost all parts of the Kingdom where we come, full of the sense of ruin and misery if the Army should be disbanded *before* the Peace of the Kingdom, and those other things before mentioned, have a full and perfect Settlement.

We have said before, and profess it now, We desire no alteration of the Civil Government. As little do we desire to interrupt, or in the least to intermeddle with, the settling of the Presbyterial Government. Nor did we seek to open a way for licentious liberty, under pretence of obtaining ease for tender consciences. We profess, as ever in these things, When once the State has made a Settlement, we have nothing to say but to submit or suffer. Only we could wish that every good citizen, and every man who walks peaceably in a blameless conversation, and is beneficial to the Commonwealth, might have liberty and encouragement ; this being according to the true policy of all States, and even to justice itself.

These in brief are our Desires, and the things for which we stand ; beyond which we shall not go. And for the obtaining of these things,[1] we are drawing near your City ;—professing sincerely from our hearts, 'That' we intend not evil towards you ; declaring, with all confidence and assurance, That if you appear not against us in these our just desires, to assist that wicked Party which would embroil us and the Kingdom, neither we nor our Soldiers shall give you the least offence. We come not to do any act to prejudice the being of Parliaments, or to the hurt of this 'Parliament' in order to the present Settlement of the Kingdom. We seek the good of all. And we shall wait here, or remove to a farther distance to abide there, if once we be assured that a speedy Settlement of things is in hand,—until it be accomplished. Which done, we shall be most ready, either all of us, or so many of the Army as the Parliament shall think fit,—to disband, or to go for Ireland.

And although you may suppose that a rich City may seem an enticing bait to poor hungry Soldiers to venture far to gain the wealth thereof,—yet, if not provoked by you, we do profess, Rather than any such evil should fall out, the soldiers shall make their way through our blood to effect it. And we can say this for most of them, for your better assurance, That they so little value their pay in comparison of higher concernments to a Public Good, and rather than they will be unrighted in the matter of their honesty and integrity (which hath suffered by the Men they aim at and desire justice upon), or want the settlement of the Kingdom's Peace, and their 'own' and their fellow-subjects' Liberties, —they will lose all. Which may be a strong assurance to you that it's not your wealth they seek, but the things tending in common to your and their welfare. That they may attain 'these,' you shall do like

[1] Here is the remarkable point !

Fellow-Subjects and Brethren if you solicit the Parliament for them, on their behalf.

If after all this, you, or a considerable part of you, be seduced to take up arms in opposition to, or hindrance of, these our just undertakings, —we hope we have, by this brotherly premonition, to the sincerity of which we call God to witness, freed ourselves from all that ruin which may befal that great and populous City; having thereby washed our hands thereof. We rest,

Your affectionate Friends to serve you,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.	HENRY IRETON.
OLIVER CROMWELL.	ROBERT LILBURN.
ROBERT HAMMOND.	JOHN DESBOROW.
THOMAS HAMMOND.	THOMAS RAINSBOROW.
HARDRESS WALLER.	JOHN LAMBERT.
NATHANIEL RICH.	THOMAS HARRISON.*
THOMAS PRIDE.	

This Letter was read next day in the Commons House,[1]—not without emotion. Most respectful answer went from the Guild-hall "in three coaches with the due number of outriders."

On June 16th, the Army, still at St. Albans, accuses of treason Eleven Members of the Commons House by name, as chief authors of all these troubles; whom the Honourable House is respectfully required to put upon their trial, and prevent from voting in the interim. These are the famed Eleven Members; Holles, Waller, Stapleton, Massey are known to us; the whole List, for benefit of historical readers, we subjoin in a Note.[2] They demurred; withdrew; again returned; in fine, had to "ask leave to retire for six months," on account of their health, we suppose. They retired swiftly in the end; to France; to deep concealment,—to the Tower otherwise.

The history of these six weeks, till they did retire and the Army had its way, we must request the reader to imagine for himself. Long able Papers, drawn by men of subtle brain and strong sincere heart: the Army retiring always to a safe distance when their Demands are agreed to; straightway advancing if otherwise,—which rapidly produces an agreement. A most remarkable Negotiation; conducted with a method, a gravity and decorous regularity beyond example in such cases. The "shops" of London were more than once "shut;" tremor occupying all hearts:—but no harm was done. The Parliament regularly paid the Army; the Army lay coiled round London and the Parliament, now advancing, now receding; saying in the most respectful emblematic way, "Settlement with us and the Godly People, or ——!" —The King, still with the Army, and treated like a King, endeavoured

* Rushworth, vi. 554. [1] Commons Journals, v. 208.

[2] Denzil Holles (Member for Dorchester), Sir Philip Stapleton (Boroughbridge), Sir William Waller (Andover), Sir William Lewis (Petersfield), Sir John Clotworthy (Malden), Recorder Glynn (Westminster), Mr. Anthony Nichols (Bodmin); these seven are old Members, from the beginning of the Parliament; the other Four are "recruiters," elected since 1645; Major-General Massey (Wooton Basset), Colonel Walter Long (Ludgershall), Colonel Edward Harely (Herefordshire), Sir John Maynard (Lestwithiel).

to play his game, "in meetings at Woburn" and elsewhere; but the two Parties could not be brought to extirpate one another for his benefit.

Towards the end of July, matters seem as good as settled: the Holles "Declaration," that "blot of ignominy," being now expunged from the Journals;[1] the Eleven being out; and now at last, the New Militia Ordinance for London (Presbyterian Ordinance brought in by Holles on the 4th of May) being revoked, and matters in that quarter set on their old footing again. The two Parties in Parliament seem pretty equal in numbers; the Presbyterian Party, shorn of its Eleven, is cowed down to the due pitch; and there is now prospect of fair treatment for all the Godly Interest, and such a Settlement with his Majesty as may be the best for that. Towards the end of July, however, London City, torn by factions, but Presbyterian by the great majority, rallies again in a very extraordinary way. Take these glimpses from contemporaneous Whitlocke. and rouse them from their fat somnolency a little.

July 26th. Many young men and Apprentices of London came to the House, in a most rude and tumultuous manner; and presented some particular Desires. Desires, That the Eleven may come back: that the Presbyterian Militia Ordinance be *not* revoked,—that the Revocation of it be revoked. Desire, in short, That there be no peace made with Sectaries, but that the London Militia may have a fair chance to fight them!—Drowsy Whitlocke continues; almost as if he were in Paris in the eighteenth century: "The Apprentices, and many other rude boys and mean fellows among them, came into the House of Commons; and kept the Door open and their hats on; and called out as they stood, 'Vote, Vote!'—and in this arrogant posture, stood till the votes passed in that way, To repeal the Ordinance for change of the Militia, to" &c. "In the evening about 7 o'clock, some of the Common Council came down to the House:" but finding the Parliament and Speaker already *had* been forced, they, astute Common Council-men, ordered their Apprentices to go home again, the work they had set them upon being now finished.[2] This disastrous scene fell out on Monday, 26th July, 1647: the Houses, on the morrow morning, without farther sitting, adjourn till Friday next.

On Friday next,—behold, the Two Speakers, "With the Mace," and many Members of both Houses, have withdrawn; and the Army, lately at Bedford, is on quick march towards London! Alarming pause. "About noon," however, the Remainders of the Two Houses, reinforced by the Eleven who reappear for the last time, proceed to elect new Speakers, "get the City Mace;" order, above all, that there be a vigorous enlistment of forces, under General Massey, General Poyntz, and others. "St. James's Fields" were most busy all Saturday, all Monday; shops all shut; drums beating in all quarters; a most vigorous enlistment going on. Presbyterianism will die with harness on its back. Alas, news come that the Army is at Colnebrook, advancing towards Hounslow; news come that they have rendezvoused at Hounslow, and received the Speakers and fugitive Lords and Commons

[1] Asterisks still in the place of it, Commons Journals, 29th March, 1646-7.
[2] Whitlocke, p. 262.

with shouts. Tuesday, 3rd August, 1647, was such a day as London and the Guildhall never saw before or since! Southwark declares that it will not fight; sends to Fairfax for Peace and a "sweet composure;" comes to the Guildhall in great crowds petitioning for Peace;—at which sight, General Poyntz, pressing through for orders about his enlistments, loses his last drop of human patience; "draws his sword" on the whining multitudes, "slashes several persons, whereof some died." The game is nearly up. Look into the old Guildhall on that old Tuesday night; the palpitation, tremulous expectation; wooden Gog and Magog themselves almost sweating cold with terror:

"General Massey sent out scouts to Brentford; but Ten men of the Army beat Thirty of his; and took a flag from a Party of the City. The City Militia and Common Council sat late; and a great number of people attended at Guildhall. When a scout came in and brought news, That the Army made a halt; or other good intelligence,—they cry, 'One and all!' But if the scouts reported that the Army was advancing nearer them, then they would cry as loud, 'Treat, treat, treat!' So they spent most part of the night. At last they resolved to send the General an humble Letter, beseeching him that there might be a way of composure."[1]

On Friday morning, was a "meeting at the Earl of Holland's House in Kensington" (the Holland House that yet stands), and prostrate submission by the Civic Authorities and Parliamentary Remainders; after which the Army marched "three deep by Hyde Park" into the heart of the City, "with boughs of laurel in their hats;"—and it was all ended. Fair treatment of all the Honest Party; and the Spiritualism of England shall not be forced to grow in the Presbyterian fashion, however it may grow. Here is another entry from somnolent Bulstrode. The army soon changes its head-quarters to Putney;[2] one of its outer posts is Hampton Court, where his Majesty, obstinate still, but somewhat despondent now of getting the two Parties to extirpate one another, is lodged.

Saturday, "*September 18th.* After a Sermon in Putney Church, the General, many great Officers, Field-Officers, inferior Officers and Adjutators, met in the Church; debated the Proposals of the Army" towards a Settlement of this bleeding Nation; "altered some things in them;—and were very full of the Sermon, which had been preached by Mr. Peters."[3]

LETTERS XL.—LII.

THESE Thirteen Letters, touching slightly on public affairs, with one or two glimpses into private, must carry us, without commentary, in a very dim way, across to the next stage in Oliver's History and England's: the Flight of the King from Hampton Court and the Army, soon followed by the actual breaking out of the Second Civil War.

LETTER XL.

WILLIAMS, Archbishop of York, "hasty hot Welsh Williams,"—whom we once saw, seven years ago, as Bishop of Lincoln, getting jostled in

[1] Whitlocke, p. 265. [2] 28 August, Rushworth, vii., 791. [3] Whitlocke, p. 272.

Palaceyard, protesting thereupon, and straightway getting lodged in the Tower,[1]—is to concern us again for one moment. A man once very radiant to men, as obscure as he has now grown : a most high-riding, far-shining Solar Luminary in that epoch ; obscure to no man in England for thirty years last past! A man of restless mercurial vivacity, of endless superficial dexterity and ingenuity, of next to no real wisdom; —very fit to have swift promotions and sudden eclipses in a Stuart Court ; not worthy of much memory otherwise. Of his rapid rises, culminations, miraculous faculties and destinies, to us all useless, indifferent and extinct, let there be silence here, reference to Bishop Hacket and the Futile Ingenuities.[2]

Archbishop Williams,—for he got delivered from the Tower at that time, and recovered favour, and was "enthroned Archbishop at York" while his Majesty was raising his War-standard there,—found, after a while, that there was little good to be got of his Archbishophood ; that his best weapon would be, not the crosier, but the linstock and cannon-rammer, at present : he went to his Welsh estate of Aberconway, and "procuring a Commission from his Majesty," fortified Conway Castle "at his own expense," and invited the neighbouring gentry to lodge their plate and valuables there, as in a place of security. Good ;—for the space of a year or two. But now, some time ago in the death-throes of the late War, while North Wales was bestirring itself as in last-agony for his Majesty's behoof,—there came a certain Colonel Sir John Owen, of whom we shall hear again : he, this Owen, came before Castle Conway with large tumultuary force ; demanded the same in his Majesty's name, to be governed by him Sir John Owen, as essential for his Majesty's occasions at that time. High-sniffing, indignant refusal on the part of Williams : impetuous capture, and forcible possession, on the part of Owen. Hot Williams, blown all to flame hereby, applied to Col. Mitton, the Parliamentary Colonel of those parts ; said to him, "Expel me this intolerable Owen ; Owen out, I will hold this Castle for the Parliament and you,—his Majesty seems nearly done with fighting now." A thing difficult to explain completely to the Royalist mind : Bishop Hacket has his own ados with it ; and in stupid Saunderson[3] and others, it is one loud howl, "Son of the morning, how art thou fallen!"—

Explained or not, "my Lord of York" does hold Conway Castle on those terms, at this date ; is taking a certain charge of North Wales in his busy way ; and has even been corresponding with Cromwell on the subject. They had known one another in old years: Buckden, the Bishop of Lincoln's House, is in the neighbourhood of Huntingdon, where Cromwell, it is understood, used occasionally to wait upon him ; pleading for oppressed Lecturers and the like,—the Bishop having, from political or other biases, a kind of lenity for Puritans.

Cromwell is very brief with him here ; courteous as to an old neighbour rather in eclipse ; but evidently wishing to have no unnecessary business with the Governor of Conway. We see he could on occasion

[1] Antea, p. 89.

[2] Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams (a considerable Folio, London, 1712); Philips's Life of Williams (an Octavo Abridgment of that); &c.

[3] History of Charles I.

jocosely claim "kindred" with him, as himself a "Williams:" and that perhaps is the chief interest of this small Document, which the reader will now abundantly understand.

For the Right Honourable my Lord of York: These:

MY LORD, 'Putney,' 1st September, 1647.

Your Advices will be seriously considered by us. We shall endeavour, to our uttermost, so to settle the affairs of North Wales as, to the best of our understandings, does most conduce to the public good thereof and of the whole. And that without private respect, or to the satisfaction of any humour,—which has been too much practised on the occasion of our Troubles.

The Drover you mention will be secured, as far as we are able, in his affairs, if he come to ask it. Your Kinsman shall be very welcome: I shall study to serve him for Kindred's sake;—among whom let not be forgotten,

My Lord,

Your cousin and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

My Lord of York still lived some year or two in Conway Castle; saw his enemy Sir John Owen in trouble enough; but died before long,—chiefly of broken heart for the fate of his Majesty, thinks Bishop Hacket. A long farewell to him.

LETTER XLI.

THE Marquis of Ormond, a man of distinguished integrity, patience, activity and talent, had done his utmost for the King in Ireland, so long as there remained any shadow of hope there. His last service, as we saw, was to venture secretly on a Peace with the Irish Catholics,—Papists, men of the Massacre of 1641, men of many other massacres, falsities, mad blusterings and confusions, whom all parties considered as sanguinary Rebels, and regarded with abhorrence. Which Peace, we saw farther, Abbas O'Teague and others threatening to produce excommunication on it, the "Council of Kilkenny" broke away from,—not in the handsomest manner. Ormond, in this Spring of 1647, finding himself reduced to "seven barrels of gunpowder" and other extremities, without prospect of help or trustworthy bargain on the Irish side,—agreed to surrender Dublin, and what else he had left rather to the Parliament than to the Rebels; his Majesty, from England, secretly and publicly advising that course. The Treaty was completed: "Colonel Michael Jones," lately Governor of Chester, arrived with some Parliamentary Regiments, with certain Parliamentary Commissioners, on the 7th of June:[1] the surrender was duly effected, and Ormond withdrew to England.

A great English force had been anticipated; but the late quarrel with the Army had rendered that impossible. Jones with such inadequate force as he had, made head against the Rebels; gained "a great victory" over them on the 8th of August, at a place called Dungan Hill, not far from Trim:[2] "the most signal victory we had yet gained;" for which

* Gentleman's Magazine (1798), lix., 877.

[1] Carte's Ormond, i. 603.

[2] Rushworth, vii. 779; Carte, ii. 5.

there was thankfulness enough.—Four days before that Sermon by Hugh Peters, followed by the military conclave in Putney Church, Cromwell had addressed this small Letter of Congratulation to Jones, whom, by the tone of it, he does not seem to have as yet personally known :

For the Honourable Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin, and Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces in Leinster : These.

SIR, 'Putney,' 14th September, 1647.

The mutual interest and agreement we have in the same Cause[1] give me occasion, as to congratulate, so 'likewise' abundantly to rejoice in God's gracious Dispensation unto you and by you. We have, both in England and Ireland, found the immediate presence and assistance of God, in guiding and succeeding our endeavours hitherto ; and therefore ought, as I doubt not both you and we desire, to ascribe the glories of all to Him, and to improve all we receive from Him unto Him alone.

Though, it may be, for the present a cloud may lie over our actions to those who are not acquainted with the grounds of them ; yet we doubt not but God will clear our integrity and innocency from any other ends we aim at but His glory and the Public Good. And as you are an instrument herein, so we shall, as becometh us, upon all occasions, give you your due honour. For my own particular,—wherein I may have your commands to serve you, you shall find none more ready than he that sincerely desires to approve himself,

Your affectionate friend and humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Michael Jones is the name of this Colonel ; there are several Colonel Joneses ; difficult to distinguish. One of them, Colonel *John* Jones, Member for Merionethshire, and known too in Ireland, became afterwards the Brother-in-Law of Cromwell ; and ended tragically as a Regicide in 1661. Colonel Michael gained other signal successes in Ireland ; welcomed Oliver into it in 1649 ; and died there soon after of a fever.

One of the remarkablest circumstances of this new Irish Campaign is, that Colonel Monk, George Monk, is again in it. He was taken prisoner, fresh from Ireland, at Nantwich, three years ago. After lying three years in the Tower, seeing his Majesty's affairs now desperate, he has consented to take the Covenant, embark with the Parliament ; and is now doing good service in Ulster.

LETTER XLII.

For his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax : These.

SIR, Putney, 13th October, 1647.

The case concerning Captain Middleton hears[2] ill ; inasmuch as it is delayed, upon pretences, from coming to a trial. It is not,

[1] Word uncertain to the Copyist ; sense not doubtful.

* Ms. Volume of Letters in Trinity-College Library, Dublin (marked : F. 3. 18), fol. 6a. Autograph ; docketed by Jones himself, of whom the Volume contains other memorials.

[2] sounds.

I humbly conceive, fit that it should stay any longer. The Soldiers complain thereof, and their witnesses have been examined. Captain Middleton, and some others for him, have made stay thereof hitherto.

I beseech your Excellency to give order it may be tried on Friday or Saturday at farthest, if you please; and that so much may be signified to the Advocate.

Sir, I pray excuse my not attendance upon you. I feared 'to' miss the House a day, where it's very necessary for me to be. I hope your Excellency will be at the Head-quarter to-morrow, where, if God be pleased, I shall wait upon you.

I rest,
Your Excellency's most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Captain Middleton and his case have vanished completely out of the records; whether it was tried on Saturday, and how decided, will never now be known. Doubtless Fairfax "signified" somewhat to the Advocate about it, but let us not ask what. "The Advocate" is called "John Mills, Esquire, Judge-Advocate;"[1] whose military Law-labours have mostly become silent now. The former Advocate was Dr. Dorislaus; of whom also a word. Dr. Dorislaus, by birth Dutch; appointed Judge-Advocate at the beginning of Essex's campaignings; known afterwards on the King's Trial; and finally, for that latter service, assassinated at the Hague, one evening, by certain highflying Royalist cutthroats, Scotch several of them. The Portraits represent him as a man of heavy, deep-wrinkled, elephantine countenance, pressed down with the labours of life and law; the good ugly man here found his quietus.

The business in the House, "where it's necessary for me to be" without miss of a sitting, is really important, or at least critical, in these October days: Settlement of Army arrears, duties and arrangements; Tonnage and Poundage; business of the London Violence upon the Parliament (pardoned for the most part); business of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburn, now growing very noisy;—above all things, final Settlement with the King, if that by any method could be possible. The Army-Parliament too still sits; "Council of War" with its Adjutator meeting frequently at Putney.[2] In the House, and out of the House, Lieutenant-General Cromwell is busy enough.

This very day, "Wednesday, 13th October, 1647," we find him deep in debate, "On the *farther* establishment of the Presbyterial Government" (for the law is still loose, the Platform except in London never fairly on foot); and Teller on no fewer than three divisions. *First*, Shall the Presbyterian Government be limited to three years? Cromwell answers *Yea*, in a House of 73; is beaten by a majority of 3. *Second*, Shall there be a limit of time to it? Cromwell again answers *Yea;* beats, this time, by a majority of 14, in a House now of 74 (some individual having dropt in). *Third*, Shall the limit be seven years? Cromwell answers *Yea*; and in a House still of 74 is beaten by 8. It

* Sloane MSS. 1519, fol. 80.
[1] Sprigge, p. 326,
[2] Rushworth, vii. 849, &c.

is finally got settled that the limit of time shall be "to the end of the next Session of Parliament after the end of this Present Session,"—a very vague Period, "this present session" having itself already proved rather long! Note, too, this is not yet a Law; it is only a Proposal to be made to the King, if his Majesty will concur, which seems doubtful. Debating enough!—Saturday last there was a call of the House, and great quantities of absent Members; "*ægrotantes*," a good many of them,—sickness being somewhat prevalent in those days of waiting upon Providence.[1]

LETTER XLIII.

'*For his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliament's Army: These.*'

SIR, Putney, 22d October, 1647.

Hearing the Garrison of Hull is most distracted in the present government, and that the most faithful and honest Officers have no disposition to serve there any longer under the present Governor; and that it is their earnest desires, with all the trusty and faithful inhabitants of the Town, to have Colonel Overton sent to them to be your Excellency's Deputy over them,—I do humbly offer to your Excellency, Whether it might not be convenient that Colonel Overton be speedily sent down; that so that Garrison may be settled in safe hands. And that your Excellency would be pleased to send for Colonel Overton, and confer with him about it. That either the Regiment 'now' in the Town may be so regulated as your Excellency may be confident that the Garrison may be secured by them; or otherwise it may be drawn out, and his own Regiment in the Army be sent down thither with him.—But I conceive, if the Regiment in Hull can be made serviceable to your Excellency, and included in the Establishment, it will be better to continue it there, than to bury a Regiment of your Army in the Garrison.

Sir, the expedient will be very necessary, in regard of the present distractions here. This I thought fit to offer to your Excellency's consideration. I shall humbly take leave to subscribe myself

Your Excellency's

Humble 'and faithful servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.'*

After Hotham's defection and execution, the Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, who had valiantly defended the place, was appointed Governor of Hull; which office had subsequently been conferred on the Generalissimo Sir Thomas, his Son; and was continued to him, on the readjustment of all Garrisons in the spring of this same year.[2] Sir Thomas therefore was express Governor of Hull at this time. Who the Substitute or Deputy under him was, I do not know. Some Presbyterian man; unfit for the stringent times that had arrived, when no algebraic formula, but only direct vision of the relations of things would suffice a man.

[1] Commons Journals, v. 329, *ib.* 332.

* Sloane MSS. 1519, fol. 82:—Signature, and all after "humble," is torn off. The Letter is not an autograph; it has been dictated, apparently in great haste.

[2] 12 March, 1646-7 (Commons Journals, v. 111).

Colonel Overton was actually appointed Governor of Hull: there is a long Letter from the Hull people about Colonel Overton's laying free billet upon them, a Complaint to Fairfax on the subject, next year.[1] He continued long in that capacity; zealously loyal to Cromwell and his cause,[2] till the Protectorship came on. His troubles afterwards, and confused destinies, may again concern us a little.

This Letter is written only three weeks before the King took his flight from Hampton Court. One spark illuminating (very faintly) that huge dark world, big with such results, in the Army's quarters about Putney, and elsewhere!

LETTER XLIV.

THE immeasurable Negotiations with the King, "Proposals of the Army," "Proposals of the Adjutators of the Army," still occupying tons of printed paper, the subject of intense debatings and considerations in Westminster, in Putney Church, and in every house and hut of England, for many months past,—suddenly contract themselves for us, like a universe of gaseous vapour, into one small point: the issue of them all is failure. The Army Council, the Army Adjutators, and serious England at large, were in earnest about one thing; the King was not in earnest, except about another thing; there could be no bargain with the King.

Cromwell and the Chief Officers have for some time past ceased frequenting his Majesty or Hampton Court; such visits being looked upon askance by a party in the Army: they have left the matter to Parliament; only Colonel Whalley, with due guard, and Parliament Commissioners, keep watch "for the security of his Majesty." In the Army, his Majesty's real purpose becoming now apparent, there has arisen a very terrible "Levelling Party;" a class of men demanding punishment not only of Delinquents, and Deceptive Persons who have involved this Nation in blood, but of the "Chief Delinquent:" minor Delinquents getting punished, how should the Chief Delinquent go free? A class of men dreadfully in earnest;—to whom a King's Cloak is no impenetrable screen; who within the King's Cloak discern that there is a Man accountable to a God! The Chief Officers, except when officially called, kept distant: hints have fallen that his Majesty is not out of danger.—In the Commons Journals this is what we read:

Friday, 12th November, 1647. "A Letter from Lieutenant-General Cromwell, of 11th November, twelve at night, was read; signifying the escape of the King; who went away about 9 o'clock yesterday."[3]

Cromwell, we suppose, lodging in head-quarters about Putney, had been roused on Thursday Night by express That the King was gone; had hastened off to Hampton Court; and there about "twelve at night" despatched a Letter to Speaker Lenthall. The Letter, which I have some confused recollection of having, somewhere in the Pamphletary

[1] 4 March, 1647-8 (Rushworth, vii. 1020).

[2] Sir James Turner's Memoirs. Milton State-Papers (London, 1743), pp. 10, 24, 161,—where the Editor calls him Colonel *Richard* Overton: his name was Robert: "Richard Overton" is a "Leveller," unconnected with him; "*Colonel* Richard Overton" is a non-existence.

[3] Commons Journals, v. 356.

Chaos, seen in full, refuses to disclose itself at present except as a Fragment :

'*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons : These.*'

'Hampton Court, Twelve at night,
11th November, 1647.'

'SIR,' * * * * Majesty * * withdrawn himself * * at nine o'clock.

The manner is variously reported ; and we will say little of it at present, but That his Majesty was expected at supper, when the Commissioners and Colonel Whalley missed him ; upon which they entered the Room :—they found his Majesty had left his cloak behind him in the Gallery in the Private Way. He passed by the backstairs and vault towards the Water-side.

He left some Letters upon the table in his withdrawing-room, of his own handwriting ; whereof one was to the Commissioners of Parliament attending him, to be communicated to both Houses, 'and is here enclosed.'

* * *

'OLIVER CROMWELL.'*

We do not give his Majesty's Letter "here enclosed : " it is that well-known one where he speaks, in very royal style, still every inch a King, Of the restraints and slights put upon him,—men's obedience to their King seeming much abated of late. So soon as *they* return to a just temper, "I shall instantly break through this cloud of retirement, and show myself ready to be *Pater Patriæ*,"—as I have hitherto done.

LETTER XLV.

THE Ports are all ordered to be shut ; embargo laid on ships. Read in the Commons Journals again : '*Saturday, 13th November.* Colonel Whalley was called in ; and made a particular Relation of all the circumstances concerning the King's going away from Hampton Court. He did likewise deliver-in a Letter directed unto him from Lieutenant-General Cromwell, concerning some rumours and reports of some design of danger to the person and life of the King : The which was read. *Ordered*, That Colonel Whalley do put in writing the said Relation, and set his hand to it ; and That he do leave a Copy of the said Letter from Lieutenant-General Cromwell." [1]

Colonel Whalley's Relation exists : and a much fuller Relation and pair of Relations concerning this Flight and what preceded and followed it, as viewed from the Royalist side, by two parties to the business, exist : [2] none of which shall concern us here. Lieutenant-General Cromwell's Letter to Whalley also exists ; a short insignificant Note ; here it is, fished from the Dust-Abysses, which refuse to disclose the other,

* Rushworth, vii. 871. [1] Commons Journals, v. 358.

[2] Berkley's Memoirs (printed, London, 1699) : Ashburnham's Narrative (printed, London, 1830) ;—which require to be sifted, and contrasted with each other and with third parties, by whoever is still curious on this matter ; each of these Narratives being properly a Pleading, intended to clear the Writer of all blame, in the first place.

Whalley is "Cousin Whalley," as we may remember; Aunt Frances's and the Squire of Kerton's Son,—a Nottinghamshire man.[1]

'*For my beloved Cousin, Colonel Whalley, at Hampton Court: These.*'

DEAR COS. WHALLEY, 'Putney, November, 1647.'

There are rumours abroad of some intended attempt on his Majesty's person. Therefore I pray have a care of your guards. If any such thing should be done, it would be accounted a most horrid act. * * *

Yours,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

See, among the Old Pamphlets, Letters to the like effect from Royalist Parties: also a Letter of thanks from the King to Whalley;—ending with a desire, "to send the black-grey bitch to the Duke of Richmond," on the part of his Majesty: Letters from &c., Letters to &c., in great quantities.[2] For us here this brief notice of one Letter shall suffice.

"*Monday, 15th November*, 1647. Letter from Colonel Robert Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, *Cowes, 13° Novembris*, signifying that the King is come into the Isle of Wight."[3] The King, after a night and a day of riding, saw not well whither else to go. He delivered himself to Robert Hammond;[4] came into the Isle of Wight. Robert Hammond is ordered to keep him strictly within Carisbrook Castle and the adjoining grounds, in a vigilant though altogether respectful manner.

This same "Monday" when Hammond's Letter arrives in London is the day of the mutinous Rendezvous "in Corkbush Field, between Hertford and Ware;"[5] where Cromwell and the General Officers had to front the Levelling Principle, in a most dangerous manner, and trample it out or be trampled out by it on the spot. Eleven Mutineers are ordered from the ranks; tried by Court Martial on the Field; three of them condemned to be shot;—throw dice for their life, and one *is* shot, there and then. The name of him is Arnald; long memorable among the Levellers. A very dangerous Review service!—Head-quarters now change to Windsor.

LETTER XLVI.

ROBERT HAMMOND, Governor of the Isle of Wight, who has for the present become so important to England, is a young man "of good parts and principles:" a Colonel of Foot; served formerly as Captain under Massey in Gloucester,—where, in October 1644, he had the misfortune to kill a brother Officer, one Major Gray, in sudden duel, "for giving him the lie;" he was tried, but acquitted, the provocation being great. He has since risen to be Colonel, and become well known. Originally of Chertsey, Surrey; his Grandfather, and perhaps his Father, a Physician there. His Uncle, Thomas Hammond, is now Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance; a man whom, with this Robert,

[1] See *antea*, p. 21, Note.
[2] Parliamentary History, xvi. 324-30.
[3] Berkley's and Ashburnham's Narratives.
[4] King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 337, sec. 15, p. 2.
[5] Commons Journals, *in die*. (v. 359).
[6] Rushworth, vii. 875.

we saw busy in the Army Troubles last year. The Lieutenant-General, Thomas Hammond, persists in his democratic course; patron at this time of the Adjutator speculations; sits afterwards as a King's-Judge.

In strong contrast with whom is another Uncle, Dr. Henry Hammond, a pattern-flower of loyalty, one of his Majesty's favourite chaplains. It was Uncle Thomas that first got this young Robert a Commission in the Army: but Uncle Henry had, in late months, introduced him to his Majesty at Hampton Court, as an ingenuous youth, repentant, or at least sympathetic and not without loyalty. Which circumstance, it is supposed, had turned the King's thoughts, in that bewildered Flight of his, towards Colonel Robert and the Isle of Wight.

Colonel Robert, it would seem, had rather disliked the high course things were sometimes threatening to take, in the Putney Council of War; and had been glad to get out of it for a quiet Governorship at a distance. But it now turns out, he has got into still deeper difficulties thereby. His "temptation" when the King announced himself as in the neighbourhood, had been great: Shall he obey the King in this crisis; conduct the King whitherward his Majesty wishes? Or be true to his trust and the Parliament? He "grew suddenly pale;"—he decided as we saw.

The Isle of Wight, holding so important a deposit, is put under the Derby-House Committee, old "Committee of Both Kingdoms," some additions being made thereto, and some exclusions. Oliver is of it, and Philip Lord Wharton, among others. Lord Wharton, a conspicuous Puritan and intimate of Oliver's; of whom we shall afterwards have occasion to say somewhat.

This Committee of Derby House was, of course, in continual communication with Robert Hammond. Certain of their Letters to him had, after various fortune, come into the hands of the Honourable Mr. Yorke (Lord Hardwicke); and were lying in his house, when it and they were, in 1752, accidently burnt. A Dr. Joseph Litherland had, by good luck, taken copies; Thomas Birch, lest fire should again intervene, printed the Collection,—a very thin Octavo, London, 1764. He has given some introductory Account of Robert Hammond; copying, as we do mainly here,—from Wood's *Athenæ*;[1] and has committed—as who does not?—several errors. His Annotations are sedulous but ineffectual. What of the Letters are from Oliver we extract with thanks.

A former Letter, of which Oliver was "the penner," is now lost. "Our brethren" in the following Letter are the Scots, now all *excluded* from Derby-House Committee of Both Kingdoms. The "Recorder" is Glyn, one of the vanished Eleven, Stapleton being another; for both of whom it has been necessary to appoint substitutes in the said Committee.

For Colonel Robert Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight: These, for the Service of the Kingdom. Haste: Poste Haste.

'London,' 3d January, 1647.

DEAR ROBIN, (My Lord Wharton's, near ten at night.)

Now, blessed be God, I can write and thou receive freely. I never in my life saw more deep sense, and less will to shew it

[1] iii. 500.

unchristianly, than in that which thou didst write to us when we were at Windsor, and thou in the midst of thy temptation,—which indeed, by what we understood of it, was a great one, and occasioned[1] the greater by the Letter the General sent thee; of which thou wast not mistaken when thou didst challenge me to be the penner.

How good has God been to dispose all to mercy! And although it was trouble for the present, yet glory has come out of it; for which we praise the Lord with thee and for thee. And truly thy carriage has been such as occasions much honour to the name of God and to religion. Go on in the strength of the Lord; and the Lord be still with thee.

But, dear Robin, this business hath been, I trust, a mighty providence to this poor Kingdom and to us all. The House of Commons is very sensible of the King's dealings, and of our brethren's,[2] in this late transaction. You should do well, if you have anything that may discover juggling, to search it out, and let us know it. It may be of admirable use at this time; because we shall, I hope, instantly go upon business in relation to them,[3] tending to prevent danger.

The House of Commons has this day voted as follows: 1st, They will make no more addresses to the King; 2nd, None shall apply to him without leave of the Two Houses, upon pain of being guilty of high treason; 3rd, They will receive nothing from the King, nor shall any other bring anything to them from him, nor receive anything from the King; *lastly*, the Members of both Houses who were of the Committee of Both Kingdoms are established in all that power in themselves, for England and Ireland, which they 'formerly' had to act with England and Scotland; and Sir John Evelyn of Wilts is added in the room of Mr. Recorder; and Nathaniel Fiennes in the room of Sir Philip Stapleton, and my Lord of Kent in the room of the Earl of Essex.[4] I think it good you take notice of this, the sooner the better.

Let us know how it is with you in point of strength, and what you need from us. Some of us think the King well with you, and that it concerns us to keep that Island in great security, because of the French, &c: and if so,[5] where can the King be better? If you have more force 'sent,' you will be sure of full provision for them.

The Lord bless thee. Pray for

Thy dear friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

In these same days noisy Lilburn has accused Cromwell of meaning or having meant to make his own bargain with the King, and be Earl of Essex and a great man. Noisy John thinks all great men, especially all Lords, ought to be brought low. The Commons have him at their bar in this month.[6]

LETTER XLVII.

HERE, by will of the Destinies preserving certain bits of paper and

[1] rendered. [2] the Scots. [3] the Scots.

[4] Essex is dead; Stapleton, one of the Eleven who went to France, is dead; Recorder Glyn, another of them, is in the Tower. For the "Votes," see Commons Journals, v. 415 (3 January, 1647-8).

[5] if we do secure and fortify it.

* Birch's Hammond Letters, p. 23. Given also in Harris, p. 497.

[6] 19 January, Commons Journals, v. 437.

destroying others, there introduces itself a little piece of Domesticity; a small family transaction, curiously enough peering through by its own peculiar rent, amid these great world-transactions: Marriage-treaty for Richard Cromwell the Lieutenant-General's eldest son.

What Richard has been doing hitherto no Biographer knows. In spite of Noble, I incline to think he too had been in the Army; in October last there are two sons mentioned expressly as being officers there: "One of his Sons, Captain of the General's Lifeguard; his other Son, Captain of a troop in Colonel Harrison's Regiment,"—so greedy is he of the Public Money to his own family![1] Richard is now heir-apparent; our poor Boy Oliver therefore, "Cornet Oliver," we know not in the least where, must have died. "It went to my heart like a dagger; indeed it did!" The phrase of the Pamphlet itself, we observe, is "his other Son," not "*one* of his other Sons," as if there were now but two left. If Richard was ever in the Army, which these probabilities may dimly intimate, the Lifeguard, a place for persons of consequence, was the likeliest for him. The Captain in Harrison's Regiment will in that case be Henry.—The Cromwell family, as we laboriously guess and gather, has about this time removed to London. Richard, if ever in the Lifeguard, has now quitted it: an idle fellow, who could never relish soldiering in such an Army; he now wishes to retire to Arcadian felicity and wedded life in the country.

The "Mr. M." of this letter is Richard Mayor, Esquire, of Hursley, Hants,[2] the young lady's father. Hursley, not far from Winchester, is still a manorhouse, but no representative of Richard Mayor's has now place there or elsewhere. The treaty, after difficulties, did take effect. Mayor, written also Major and Maijor, a pious, prudent man, becomes better known to Oliver, to the world and to us in the sequel. Richard Norton, member for Hants since 1645, is his neighbour; an old fellow-soldier under Manchester, Fellow-Colonel in the Eastern Association, seemingly very familiar with Oliver, he is applied to on this delicate occasion.

For my noble friend, Colonel Richard Norton: These.

DEAR NORTON, 'London,' 25th February, 1647.

I have sent my Son over to thee, being willing to answer Providence; and although I had an offer of a very great proposition, from a father, of his daughter, yet I rather incline to this in my thoughts; because, though the other be very far greater, yet I see different ties, and not that assurance of godliness,—though indeed of fairness. I confess that which is told me concerning the estate of Mr. M. is more than I can look for, as things now stand.

If God please to bring it about, the consideration of piety in the Parents, and such hopes of the Gentlewoman in that respect, make the business to me a great mercy; concerning which I desire to wait upon God.

I am confident of thy love; and desire things may be carried with

[1] 5 October, 1647 (Royalist Newspaper, citing a Pamphlet of Lilburn's), Cromwelliana, p. 36.
[2] Noble, ii. 436-4

privacy. The Lord do His will: that's best;—to which submitting, I rest,

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

What other Father it was that made "the offer of a very great proposition to Oliver," in the shape of his Daughter as Wife to Oliver's Son, must remain totally uncertain for the present; perhaps some glimpse of it may turn up by and by. There were difficulties which Oliver did not entirely see through; there was not that assurance of "godliness" in the house, though there was of "fairness" and natural integrity; in short, Oliver will prefer Mayor, at least will try him,—and wishes it carried with privacy.

The Commons, now dealing with Delinquents, do not forget to reward good Servants, to "conciliate the Grandees," as splenetic Walker calls it. For above two years past, ever since the War ended, there has been talk and debate about settling £2,500 a year on Lieutenant-General Cromwell; but difficulties have arisen. First they tried Basing-House Lands, the Marquis of Winchester's whom Cromwell had demolished; but the Marquis's affairs were in disorder; it was gradually found the Marquis had for most part only a Life-rent there:—only "Abbotston and Itchin" in that quarter could be realised. Order thereupon to settle "Lands of Papists and Delinquents" to the requisite amount, wheresoever convenient. To settle especially what Lands the Marquis of Worcester had in that "County of Southampton;" which was done,—though still with insufficient result.[1] Then came the Army Quarrels, and an end of such business. But now in the Commons Journals, 7th March, the very day of Oliver's next Letter, this is what we read:[2] "An Ordinance for passing unto Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, Lieutenant-General, certain Lands and Manors in the Counties of Gloucester, Monmouth, and Glamorgan, late the Earl of Worcester's, was this day read the third time and upon the question, passed; and ordered to be sent unto the Lords for their concurrence." Oliver himself, as we shall find, has been dangerously sick. This is what Clement Walker, the splenetic Presbyterian, "an elderly gentleman of low stature, in a grey suit, with a little stick in his hand," reports upon the matter of the Grant:

"The 7th of March, an Ordinance to settle £2,500 a-year of Land, out of the Marquis of Worcester's Estate,"—old Marquis of Worcester at Ragland, father of my Lord Glamorgan, who in his turn became Marquis of Worcester and wrote the Century of Inventions,—£2,500 a-year out of

* Harris, p. 501. Copy of this, and of the next Two Letters to Norton, by Birch, in Ayscough MSS. 4162, f. 56, &c.

[1] Commons Journals, iv. 416 (23 January, 1645-6, the Marquis of *Worcester's* Hampshire Lands.) Ib. 426, a week afterwards: "Abberston and Itchell," meaning Abbotston and Itchin, Marquis of *Winchester's* there. See also Letter of Oliver St. John to Cromwell in *Thurloe*, i. 75.—Commons Journals, (v. 36) about a year afterwards, 7 January 1646-7: "remainder of the £2,500" from Marquis of Winchester's Lands in general; which in a fortnight more is found to be impossible: whereupon "Lands of Delinquents and Papists," as in the Text. None of these Hampshire Lands, except Abbotston and Itchin, are named. Noble says, "Fawley Park" in the same County; which is possible enough.

[2] v 482.

this old Marquis's Estate "upon Lieutenant-General Cromwell! I have heard some gentlemen that know the Manor of Chepstow and the other Lands affirm" that in reality they are worth £5,000 or even £6,000 a-year; which is far from the fact, my little elderly friend! "You see," continues he, "though they have not made King Charles 'a Glorious King,' as they sometimes undertook, they have settled a Crown-Revenue upon Oliver, and have made *him* as glorious a King as ever John of Leyden was!"[1]—A very splenetic old gentleman in grey;—verging towards Pride's Purge, and lodgement in the Tower, I think! He is from the West; known long since in Gloucester Siege; Member now for Wells;—but terminates in the Tower, with ink, and abundant *gall* in it, to write the History of Independency there.

LETTER XLVIII.

For his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliament's Armies, at Windsor: These.

SIR, 'London, 7th March, 1647.

It hath pleased God to raise me out of a dangerous sickness; and I do most willingly acknowledge that the Lord hath, in this visitation, exercised the bowels of a Father towards me. I received in myself the sentence of death, that I might learn to trust in Him that raiseth from the dead, and have no confidence in the flesh. It's a blessed thing to die daily. For what is there in this world to be accounted of! The best men according to the flesh, and things, are lighter than vanity. I find this only good, To love the Lord and His poor despised people, to do for them, and be ready to suffer with them: and he that is found worthy of this hath obtained great favour from the Lord; and he that is established in this shall (being confirmed to Christ and the rest of the Body[2]) participate in the glory of a Resurrection which will answer all.[3]

Sir, I must thankfully confess your favour in your last Letter. I see I am not forgotten; and truly, to be kept in your remembrance is very great satisfaction to me; for I can say in the simplicity of my heart, I put a high and true value upon your love,—which when I forget I shall cease to be a grateful and an honest man.

I most humbly beg my service may be presented to your Lady, to whom I wish all happiness, and establishment in the truth. Sir, my prayers are for you, as becomes

Your Excellency's
Most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' Sir, Mr. Rushworth will write to you about the Quartering, and the Letter lately sent; and therefore I forbear.*

FREE OFFER.

FROM the Committee of the Lords and Commons sitting at Derby House, Sir John Evelyn reports a certain offer from Lieutenant-General Cromwell; which is read in the words following:

1 History of Independency (London, 1648) Part i. 83 and 55. 2 Christ's body, his Church
3 Turns now to the margin of the sheet, lengthwise. * Sloane MSS. 1519, fol. 79.

'*To the Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons for the Affairs of Ireland, sitting at Derby House: The Offer of Lieutenant-General Cromwell for the Service of Ireland.*'

21° Martii, 1647.

The two Houses of Parliament having lately bestowed £1,680 *per annum* upon me and my heirs, out of the Earl of Worcester's Estate; the necessity of affairs requiring assistance, I do hereby offer One thousand pounds annually to be paid out of the rents of the said lands; that is to say, £500 out of the next Michaelmas rent, and so on, by the half year, for the space of five years, if the War in Ireland shall so long continue, or that I live so long; to be employed for the service of Ireland, as the Parliament shall please to appoint; provided the said yearly rent of £1,680 become not to be suspended by war or other accident.

And whereas there is an arrear of Pay due unto me whilst I was Lieutenant-General unto the Earl of Manchester, of about £1,500, audited and stated; as also a great arrear due for about Two Years' being Governor of the Isle of Ely: I do hereby discharge the State from all or any claim to be made by me thereunto.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"*Ordered*, That the House doth accept the Free Offer of Lieutenant-General Cromwell, testifying his zeal and good affection." My splenetic little gentleman in grey, with the little stick in his hand, takes no notice of this; which modifies materially what the Chepstow Connoisseurs and "their five or six thousand a-year" reported lately!

LETTER XLIX.

HERE is Norton and the Marriage again. Here are news out of Scotland that the Malignant Party, the Duke of Hamilton's Faction, are taking the lead there; and about getting up an Army to attack us, and deliver the King from Sectaries:[1] Reverend Stephen Marshall reports the news. Let us read:

For my noble friend, Colonel Richard Norton: These:

DEAR DICK, Farnham, 28th March, 1648.

It had been a favour indeed to have met you here at Farnham. But I hear you are a man of great business; therefore I say no more:—if it be a favour to the House of Commons to enjoy you, what is it to me! But, in good earnest, when will you and your Brother Russel be a little honest, and attend your charge there? Surely some expect it; especially the good fellows who chose you!—

I have met with Mr. Mayor; we spent two or three hours together last night. I perceive the gentleman is very wise and honest; and indeed much to be valued. Some things of common fame[2] did a little stick: I gladly heard his doubts, and gave such answer as was next at hand,—I believe, to some satisfaction. Nevertheless I exceedingly liked the gentleman's plainness and free dealing with me. I know God

* Commons Journals, v. 513.

[1] Rushworth, vii.. 1040, &c.

[2] Against myself—"favour for Sectaries," and so forth.

has been above all ill reports, and will in His own time vindicate me ; I have no cause to complain. I see nothing but that this particular business between him and me may go on. The Lord's will be done.

For news out of the North there is little ; only the Malignant Party is prevailing in the Parliament of Scotland. They are earnest for a war ; the Ministers[1] oppose as yet. Mr. Marshall is returned, who says so. And so do many of our Letters. Their great Committee of Danger have two Malignants for one right. It's said they have voted an Army of 40,000 in Parliament ; so say some of Yesterday's Letters. But I account my news ill bestowed, because upon an idle person.

I shall take speedy course in the business concerning my Tenants ; for which, thanks. My service to your Lady. I am really

Your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Had Cromwell come out to Farnham on military business? Kent is in a ticklish state ; it broke out some weeks hence in open insurrection,[2]—as did many other places, when once the "Scotch Army of 40,000" became a certainty.

"The business concerning my Tenants" will indicate that in Hampshire, within ken of Norton, in Fawley Park, in Itchin, Abbotston, or elsewhere, "my Tenants" are felling wood, cutting copses, or otherwise not behaving to perfection : but they shall be looked to.

For the rest, Norton really ought to attend his duties in Parliament ! In earnest "an idle fellow," as Oliver in sport calls him. Given to Presbyterian notions; was purged out by Pride; dwindled subsequently into Royalism. "Brother Russel" means only brother Member. He is the Frank Russel of the Letter on Marston Moor. Now Sir Francis ; and sits for Cambridgeshire. A comrade of Norton's ; seemingly now in his neighbourhood, possibly on a visit to him.

The attendance on the House in these months is extremely thin ; the divisions range from 200 to as low as 70. Nothing going on but Delinquents' fines, and abstruse negotiations with the Isle of Wight, languid Members prefer the country till some result arrive.

LETTER L.

HERE is a new phasis of the Wedding-treaty ; which, as seems, "doth now a little stick." Prudent Mr. Mayor insists on his advantages ; nor is the Lieutenant-General behindhand. What "lands" all these of Oliver's are, in Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Hampshire, no Biographer now knows. Portions of the Parliamentary Grants above alluded to ; perhaps "Purchases by Debentures," some of them. Soldiers could seldom get their Pay in money ; with their "Debentures" they had to purchase Forfeited Lands ;—a somewhat uncertain investment of an uncertain currency.

The Mr. Robinson mentioned in this Letter is a pious Preacher at Southampton.[3] "My two little Wenches" are Mary and Frances: Mary aged now near twelve ; Frances ten.[4]

[1] Clergy.
[2] 24 or 25 May, 1648 (Rushworth, vii., 1128).
[3] Harris, p. 504.
[4] See *antea*, p. 56.
* Harris, p. 502.

'*For my noble friend, Colonel Richard Norton: These:*'

DEAR NORTON, 'London,' 3d April, 1648.

I could not in my last give you a perfect account of what passed between me and Mr. Mayor; because we were to have a conclusion of our speed that morning after I wrote my Letter to you.[1] Which we had; and having had a full view of one another's minds, we parted with this: That both would consider with our relations, and according to satisfactions given there, acquaint one another with our minds.

I cannot tell better how to do, 'in order' to give or receive satisfaction, than by you; who, as I remember, in your last, said That, if things did stick between us, you would use your endeavour towards a close.

The things insisted upon were these, as I take it: Mr. Mayor desired 400*l. per annum* of Inheritance, lying in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, to be presently settled,[2] and to be for maintenance; wherein I desired to be advised by my Wife. I offered the Land in Hampshire for present maintenance; which I dare say, with copses and ordinary fells,[3] will be, *communibus annis*, 500*l. per annum*: 'and' besides 'this,' 500*l. per annum* in Tenants' hands holding but for one life; and about 300*l. per annum*, some for two lives, some for three lives.—But as to this, if the latter offer be not liked of, I shall be willing a farther conference be held in 'regard to' the first.

In point of jointure I shall give satisfaction. And as to the settlement of lands given me by the Parliament, satisfaction to be given in like manner, according as we discoursed. 'And' in what else was demanded of me, I am willing, so far as I remember any demand was, to give satisfaction. Only, I having been informed by Mr. Robinson that Mr. Mayor did, upon a former match, offer to settle the Manor wherein he lived, and to give 2,000*l.* in money, I did insist upon that; and do desire it may not be with difficulty. The money I shall need for my two little Wenches; and thereby I shall free my Son from being charged with them. Mr. Mayor parts with nothing at present but that money; except the board 'of the young Pair,' which I should not be unwilling to give them, to enjoy the comfort of their society;—which it's reason he smart for, if he will rob me altogether of them.

Truly the land to be settled,—both what the Parliament gives me, and my own,—is very little less than 3,000*l. per annum*, all things considered, if I be rightly informed. And a Lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, having searched all the Marquis of Worcester's writings, which were taken at Ragland and sent for by the Parliament, and this gentleman appointed by the Committee to search the said writings,—assures me there is no scruple concerning the title. And it so fell out that this Gentleman who searched was my own Lawyer, a very godly able man, and my dear friend; which I reckon no small mercy. He is also possessed of the writings for me.[4]

I thought fit to give you this account; desiring you to make such use

[1] Letter XXXIII. [2] on the Future Pair. [3] fellings.
[4] holds these Ragland Documents on my behalf.

of it as God shall direct you: and I doubt not but you will do the part of a friend between two friends. I account myself one; and I have heard you say Mr. Mayor was entirely so to you. What the good pleasure of God is I shall wait; there alone is rest. Present my service to your Lady, to Mr. Mayor, &c. I rest,

Your affectionate servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' I desire you to carry this business with all privacy. I beseech you to do so, as you love me. Let me entreat you not to lose a day herein, that I may know Mr. Mayor's mind; for I think I may be at leisure for a week to attend this business, to give and take satisfaction; from which perhaps I may be shut up afterwards by employment.[1] I know thou art an idle fellow: but prithee neglect me not now; delay may be very inconvenient to me; I much rely upon you. Let me hear from you in two or three days. I confess the principal consideration as to me, is the absolute settlement 'by Mr. Mayor' of the Manor where he lives; which he would not do but conditionally, in case they have a son, and but 3,000*l.* in case they have no son. But as to this, I hope farther reason may work him to more.*

Of "my two little Wenches," Mary, we may repeat, became Lady Fauconberg; Frances was wedded to the Honourable Mr. Rich; then to Sir John Russel. Elizabeth and Bridget are already Mrs. Claypole and Mrs. Ireton. Elizabeth, the younger, was first married. They were all married very young; Elizabeth, at her wedding, was little turned of sixteen

LETTER LI.

For Colonel R. Hammond.

DEAR ROBIN, 'London,' 6th April, 1648.

Your business is done in the House: your 10*l.* by the week is made 20*l.*; 1000*l.* given you; and Order to Mr. Lisle to draw up an Ordinance for 500*l.* per annum to be settled upon you and your heirs. This was done with smoothness; your friends were not wanting to you. I know thy burden; this is an addition to it: the Lord direct and sustain thee.

Intelligence came to the hands of a very considerable Person, That the King attempted to get out of his window; and that he had a cord of silk with him whereby to slip down, but his breast was so big the bar would not give him passage. This was done in one of the dark nights about a fortnight ago. A Gentleman with you led him the way, and slipped down. The Guard, that night, had some quantity of wine with them. The same party assures that there is aquafortis gone down from London, to remove that obstacle which hindered; and that the same design is to be put in execution in the next dark nights. He saith that Captain Titus, and some others about the King are not to be trusted. He is a very considerable Person of the Parliament who gave this intelligence, and desired it should be speeded to you.

[1] Went to Wales in May. * Harris, p. 502.

The Gentleman that came out of the window was Master Firebrace; the Gentlemen doubted are Cresset, Burrowes, and Titus; the time when this attempt of escape was, the 20th of March,

Your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Henry Firebrace is known to Birch, and his *Narrative* is known. "He became Clerk of the Kitchen to Charles II."—The old Books are full of King's Plots for escape, by aquafortis and otherwise.[1] His Majesty could make no agreement with the Parliament, and began now to smell War in the wind. His presence in this or the other locality might have been of clear advantage. But Hammond was too watchful. Titus, with or without his new horse, attends upon his Majesty; James Harrington also (afterwards author of *Oceana*); and "the Honourable Thomas Herbert," who has left a pleasing *Narrative* concerning that affair. These, though appointed by the Parliament, are all somewhat in favour with the King. Hammond's Uncle the Chaplain, as *too* favourable, was ordered out of the Island about Christmas last.

LETTER LII.

"THE Gentleman I mentioned to you," who is now travelling towards Dover with this hopeful Note in his pocket, must remain forever anonymous. Of Kenrick I have incidentally heard, at Worcester Fight or elsewhere; but of "the Gentleman" nowhere ever. A Shadow, sunk deep, with all his business, in the Land of Shadows; yet still indisputably visible there: that is the miracle of him!

'*To Colonel Kenrick, Lieutenant of Dover Castle: These.*'

SIR, 'London,' 18th April, 1648.

This is the Gentleman I mentioned to you. I am persuaded you may be confident of his fidelity to you in the things you will employ him in.

I conceive he is fit for any Civil employment; having been bred towards the Law, and having besides very good parts. He hath been a Captain-Lieutenant; and therefore I hope you will put such a value on him, in 'the' Civil way, as one that hath borne such a place shall be thought by you worthy of. Whereby you will much oblige,

Your affectionate servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' I expect to hear from you about your defects in the Castle, that so you may be timely supplied.†

"Defects in the Castle," and in all Castles, were good to be amended speedily,—in such predicaments as we are now again on the eve of.

PRAYER-MEETING.

THE Scotch Army of Forty-thousand, "to deliver the King from Sectaries," is not a fable but a fact. Scotland is distracted by dim disas-

* Birch, p. 41. The Original in cipher.
[1] Lilly's Life; Wood sec. Hammond, &c. &c.
† Gentleman's Magazine (1791), lxi. 520: without comment or indication of any kind.

trous factions, very uncertain what it will do with the King when he *is* delivered; but in the meanwhile Hamilton has got a majority in the Scotch Parliament; and drums are beating in that country: the "Army of Forty-thousand, certainly coming," hangs over England like a flaming comet, England itself being all very combustible too. In few weeks hence, discontented Wales, the Presbyterian Colonels declaring now for Royalism, will be in a blaze; large sections of England, all England very ready to follow, will shortly after be in a blaze.

The small Governing Party in England, during those early months of 1648, are in a position which might fill the bravest mind with misgivings. Elements of destruction everywhere under and around them; their lot either to conquer, or ignominiously to die. A King not to be bargained with; kept in Carisbrook, the centre of all factious hopes, of world-wide intrigues: that is one element. A great Royalist Party, subdued with difficulty, and ready at all moments to rise again: that is another. A great Presbyterian Party, at the head of which is London City, "the Purse-bearer of the Cause," highly dissatisfied at the course things had taken, and looking desperately round for new combinations and a new struggle: reckon that for a third element. Add lastly a headlong Mutineer, Republican, or Levelling Party; and consider that there is a working House of Commons which counts about Seventy, divided in pretty equal halves too,—the rest waiting what will come of it. Come of *it*, and of the Scotch Army advancing towards it!—

Cromwell, it appears, deeply sensible of all this, does in these weeks make strenuous repeated attempts towards at least a union among the friends of the Cause themselves, whose aim is one, whose peril is one. But to little effect. Ludlow, with visible satisfaction, reports how ill the Lieutenant-General sped when he brought the Army Grandees and Parliament Grandees "to a Dinner" at his own house "in King Street," and urged a cordial agreement: they would not draw together at all.[1] Parliament would not agree with Army; hardly Parliament with itself: as little, still less, would Parliament and City agree. At a Common Council in the City, prior or posterior to this Dinner, his success, as angry little Walker intimates, was the same. "Saturday, 8th April, 1648," having prepared the ground beforehand, Cromwell with another leader or two, attended a Common Council; spake, as we may fancy, of the common dangers, of the gulfs now yawning on every side: "but the City," chuckles my little gentleman in grey, with a very shrill kind of laughter in the throat of him, "were now wiser than our First Parents; and rejected the Serpent and his subtleties."[2] In fact, the City wishes well to Hamilton and his Forty-thousand Scots; the City has, for some time, needed regiments quartered in it, to keep down open Royalist-Presbyterian insurrection. It was precisely on the morrow after this visit of Cromwell's that there rose, from small cause, huge Apprentice-riot in the City: discomfiture of Trainbands, seizure of arms, seizure of City Gates, Ludgate, Newgate, loud wide cry of "God and King Charles!"—riot not to be appeased but by "desperate charge of cavalry," after it had lasted forty hours.[3] Such are the aspects of affairs, near and far.

[1] Ludlow, i. 238. [2] History of Independency, part i. 85. [3] Rushworth, vii. 1051.

Before quitting Part Third, I will request the reader to undertake a small piece of very dull reading; in which however, if he look till it become credible and intelligible to him, a strange thing, much elucidative of the heart of this matter, will disclose itself. At Windsor, one of these days, unknown now which, there is a meeting of Army Leaders. Adjutant-General Allen, a most authentic earnest man, whom we shall know better afterwards, reports what they did. Entirely amazing to us. These are the longest heads and the strongest hearts in England; and this is the thing they are doing; this is the way they, for their part, begin despatch of business. The reader, if he is an earnest man, may look at it with very many thoughts, for which there is no word at present.

"In the year Forty-seven, you may remember," says Adjutant Allen, "we in the Army were engaged in actions of a very high nature; leading us to very untrodden paths,—both in our Contests with the then Parliament, as also Conferences with the King. In which great works, —wanting a spirit of faith, and also the fear of the Lord, and also being unduly surprised with the fear of man, which always brings a snare, we, to make haste, as we thought, out of such perplexities, measuring our way by a wisdom of our own, fell into Treaties with the King and his Party: which proved such a snare to us, and led into such labyrinths by the end of that year, that the very things we thought to avoid, by the means we used of our own devising, were all, with many more of a far worse and more perplexing nature, brought back upon us. To the overwhelming of our spirits, weakening our hands and hearts; filling us with divisions, confusions, tumults, and every evil work; and thereby endangering the ruin of that blessed Cause, we had, with such success, been prospered in till that time.

"For now the King and his Party, seeing us not answer their ends, began to provide for themselves, by a Treaty with the then Parliament, set on foot about the beginning of Forty-eight. The Parliament also was, at the same time, highly displeased with us for what we had done, both as to the King and themselves. The good people likewise, even our most cordial friends in the Nation, beholding our turning aside from that path of *simplicity* we had formerly walked in, and been blessed in, and thereby much endeared to their hearts,—began now to fear, and withdraw their affections from us, in this *politic* path which we had stepped into, and walked into our hurt, the year before. And as a farther fruit of the wages of our backsliding hearts, we were also filled with a spirit of great jealousy and divisions, amongst ourselves; having left that Wisdom of the Word, which is first pure and then peaceable; so that we were now fit for little but to tear and rend one another, and thereby prepare ourselves, and the work in our hands, to be ruined by our common enemies. Enemies that were ready to say, as many others of like spirit in this day do,[1] of the like sad occasions amongst us, 'Lo this is the day we looked for.' The King and his Party prepare accordingly to ruin all; by sudden Insurrections in most parts of the Nation:

[1] 1659; Allen's Pamphlet is writen as a Monition and Example to Fleetwood and the others now in a similar peril, but with no Oliver now among them.

the Scot, concurring with the same designs, comes in with a potent Army under Duke Hamilton. We in the Army, in a low, weak, divided, perplexed condition in all respects, as aforesaid :—some of us judging it a duty to lay down our arms, to quit our stations, and put ourselves into the capacities of private men,—since what we had done, and what was yet in our hearts to do, tending as we judged to the good of these poor Nations, was not accepted by them.

"Some also even encouraged themselves and us to such a thing, by urging for such a practice the example of our Lord Jesus ; who, when he had borne an eminent testimony to the pleasure of his Father in an active way, sealed it at last by his sufferings ; which was presented to us as our pattern for imitation. Others of us, however, were different-minded ; thinking something of another nature might yet be farther our duty ;—and these therefore were, by joint advice, by a good hand of the Lord, led to this result ; viz., To go solemnly to search out our own iniquities, and humble our souls before the Lord in the sense of the same ; which, we were persuaded, had provoked the Lord against us, to bring such sad perplexities upon us at that day. Out of which we saw no way else to extricate ourselves.

"Accordingly we did agree to meet at Windsor Castle about the beginning of Forty-eight. And there we spent one day together in prayer; inquiring into the causes of that sad dispensation,'—let all men consider it ; "coming to no farther result that day ; but that it was still our duty to seek. And on the morrow we met again in the morning ; where many spake from the Word, and prayed ; and the then Lieutenant-General Cromwell,"—unintelligible to Posterity, but extremely intelligible to himself, to these men, and to the Maker of him and them,—"did press very earnestly on all there present, to a thorough consideration of our actions as an Army, and of our ways particularly as private Christians : to see if any iniquity could be found in them ; and what it was ; that if possible we might find it out, and so remove the cause of such sad rebukes as were upon us (by *reason* of our iniquities, as we judged) at that time. And the way more particularly the Lord led us to herein was this : To look back and consider what time it was when with joint satisfaction we could last say to the best of our judgments, The presence of the Lord *was* amongst us, and rebukes and judgments were not as then upon us. Which time the Lord led us jointly to find out and agree in ; and having done so, to proceed, as we then judged it our duty, to search into all our public actions as an Army, afterwards. Duly weighing (as the Lord helped us) each of them, with their grounds, rules, and ends, as near as we could. And so we concluded this second day, with agreeing to meet again on the morrow. Which accordingly we did upon the same occasion, reassuming the consideration of our debates the day before, and reviewing our actions again.

"By which means we were by a gracious hand of the Lord, led to find out the very steps (as we were all then jointly convinced) by which we had departed from the Lord, and provoked Him to depart from us. Which we found to be those cursed carnal Conferences our own conceited wisdom, our fears, and want of faith had prompted us, the year before, to entertain with the King and his Party. And at this time, and on

this occasion, did the then Major Goffe (as I remember was his title) make use of that good word, *Proverbs* First and Twenty-third, *Turn you at my reproof: behold I will pour out my Spirit unto you, I will make known my words unto you.* Which, we having found out our sin, he urged as our duty from those words. And the Lord so accompanied by His Spirit, that it had a kindly effect, like a word of His, upon most of our hearts that were then present; which begot in us a great sense, a shame and loathing of ourselves for our iniquities, and a justifying of the Lord as righteous in His proceedings against us.

"And in this path the Lord led us, not only to see our sin, but also our duty; and this so unanimously set with weight upon each heart, that none was able hardly to speak a word to each other for bitter weeping,"—does the modern reader mark it; this weeping, and who they are that weep? Weeping "partly in the sense and shame of our iniquities; of our unbelief, base fear of men, and carnal consultations (as the fruit thereof) with our own wisdoms, and not with the Word of the Lord,—which only is a way of wisdom, strength, and safety, and all besides it are ways of snares. And yet we were also helped, with fear and trembling, to rejoice in the Lord; whose faithfulness and loving-kindness, we were made to see, yet failed us not;—who remembered us still, even in our low estate, because His mercy endures for ever. Who no sooner brought us to His feet, acknowledging Him in that way of His (viz., searching for, being ashamed of, and willing to turn from, our iniquities), but He did direct our steps; and presently we were led and helped to a clear agreement amongst ourselves, not any dissenting, That it was the duty of our day, with the forces we had, to go out and fight against those potent enemies, which that year in all places appeared against us." Courage! "With an humble confidence, in the name of the Lord only, that we should destroy them. And we were also enabled then, after serious seeking His face, to come to a very clear and joint resolution, on many grounds at large there debated amongst us, That it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed, and mischief he had done to his utmost, against the Lord's Cause and People in these poor Nations." Mark that also!

"And how the Lord led and prospered us in all our undertakings that year, in this way; cutting His work short, in righteousness; making it a year of mercy, equal if not transcendent to any since these Wars began; and making it worthy of remembrance by every gracious soul, who was wise to observe the Lord, and the operations of His hands,—I wish may never be forgotten." Let Fleetwood, if he have the same heart, go and do likewise.[1]

Abysses, black chaotic whirlwinds:—does the reader look upon it all as Madness? Madness lies close by; as Madness does to the Highest Wisdom, in man's life always: but this is not mad! This dark element, it is the mother of the lightnings and the splendours; it is very sane this!—

[1] A faithful Memorial of that remarkable meeting of many Officers of the Army in England at Windsor Castle, in the Year 1648, &c. &c. (in Somers Tracts, vi. 499-501.)

PART IV.

SECOND CIVIL WAR.

1648.

LETTERS LIII—LVI.

ABOUT the beginning of May 1648, the general Presbyterian-Royalist discontent announces itself by tumults in Kent, tumults at Colchester, tumults and rumours of tumult far and near; portending on all sides, that a new Civil War is at hand. The Scotch Army of Forty-thousand is certainly voted; certainly the King is still prisoner at Carisbrook; factious men have yet made no bargain with him: certainly there will and should be a new War? So reasons Presbyterian Royalism everywhere. Headlong discontented Wales in this matter took the lead.

Wales has been full of confused discontent all Spring; this or the other confused Colonel Poyer, full of brandy and Presbyterian texts of Scripture, refusing to disband till his arrears be better paid, or indeed till the King be better treated. To whom other confused Welsh Colonels, as Colonel Powel, Major-General Laughern, join themselves. There have been tumults at Cardiff, tumults here and also there; open shooting and fighting. Drunken Colonel Poyer, a good while ago, in March last, seized Pembroke; flatly refuses to obey the Parliament's Order when Colonel Flemming presents the same.—Poor Flemming, whom we saw some time ago soliciting promotion:[1] he here, attempting to defeat some insurrectionary party of this Poyer's "at a Pass" (name of the Pass not given), is himself defeated, forced into a Church, and killed.[2] Drunken Poyer, in Pembroke strong Castle, defies the Parliament and the world: new Colonels, Parliamentary and Presbyterian-Royalist, are hastening towards him, for and against. Wales, smoking with confused discontent all Spring, has now, by influence of the flaming Scotch comet or Army of Forty-thousand, burst into a general blaze. "The gentry are all for the King; the common people understand nothing, and follow the gentry." Chepstow Castle too has been taken "by a stratagem." The country is all up or rising: "the smiths have all fled, cutting their bellows before they went;" impossible to get a horse shod,—never saw such a country![3] On the whole, Cromwell will have to go. Cromwell, leave being asked of Fairfax, is on the 1st of May ordered to go; marches on Wednesday the 3rd. Let him march swiftly!

Horton, one of the Parliamentary Colonels, has already, while Cromwell is on march, somewhat tamed the Welsh humour, by a good beating at St. Fagan's: St. Fagan's Fight, near Cardiff, on the 8th of May, where Laughern, hastening towards Poyer and Pembroke, is broken in pieces. Cromwell marches by Monmouth, by Chepstow (11th May); takes Chepstow Town; attacks the Castle, Castle will not surrender,—he leaves Colonel Ewer to do the Castle; who, after four weeks, does it. Cromwell, by Swansea and Carmarthen, advances towards Pembroke; quelling disturbance, rallying force, as he goes;

[1] Letter XXXII. p. 157. [2] Rushworth, vii. 1097. [3] Rushworth, vii. 1097.

arrives at Pembroke in some ten days more; and, for want of artillery, is like to have a tedious siege of it.[1]

LETTER LIII.

HERE is his first Letter from before the place: a rugged rapid despatch, with some graphic touches in it, and rather more of hope than the issue realised. Guns of due quality are not to be had. In the beginning of June,[2] "Hugh Peters" went across to Milford Haven, and from the Lion, a Parliament Ship riding there, got "two drakes, two demi-culverins, and two whole culverins," and safely conveyed them to the Leaguer; with which new implements an instantaneous essay was made, and a "storming" thereupon followed, but without success.—Of "the Prince," Prince Charles and his revolted ships, of the "victory in Kent," and what made it needful, we shall have to speak anon.

'To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons: These.

SIR, Leaguer before Pembroke, 14th June, 1648.

All that you can expect from hence is a relation of the state of this Garrison of Pembroke. Which is briefly thus:

They begin to be in extreme want of provision, so as in all probability they cannot live a fortnight without being starved. But we hear that they mutinied about three days since; cried out, "Shall we be ruined for two or three men's pleasure? Better it were we should throw them over the walls." It's certainly reported to us that within four or six days they'll cut Poyer's throat, and come all away to us. Poyer told them, Saturday last, that if relief did not come by Monday night, they should no more believe him; nay, they should hang him.

We have not got our Guns and Ammunition from Wallingford as yet; but, however, we have scraped up a few, which stand us in very good stead. Last night, we got two little guns planted, which, in Twenty-four hours, will take away their Mills; and then, as Poyer himself confesses, they are all undone. We made an attempt to storm him, about ten days since; but our ladders were too short, and the breach so as men could not get over. We lost a few men; but I am confident the Enemy lost more. Captain Flower, of Colonel Dean's Regiment, was wounded; and Major Grigg's Lieutenant and Ensign slain; Captain Burges lies wounded, and very sick. I question not, but within a fortnight we shall have the Town; 'and' Poyer hath engaged himself to the Officers of the Town, Not to keep the *Castle* longer than the Town can hold out. Neither indeed can he; for we can take away his water in two days, by beating down a staircase, which goes into a cellar where he hath a well. They allow the men half-a-pound of beef, and as much bread a-day but it is almost spent.

We much rejoice at what the Lord hath done for you in Kent. Upo...

[1] Abundant details lie scattered in Rushworth, vii.: Poyer and Pembroke Castle, in March, p. 1033; Flemming killed (1 May), p. 1097; Chepstow surprised ("beginning of May"), p. 1109, —retaken (29 May), p. 1130; St. Fagan's Fight (8 May). p. 1110; Cromwell's march, pp. 1121-8

[2] Cromwelliana, p. 40

our thanksgiving[1] for that victory, which was both from Sea and Leaguer, Poyer told his men, that it was the Prince 'Charles and his revolted Ships,' coming with relief. The other night, they mutinied in the Town. Last night we fired divers houses; which 'fire' runs up the Town still: it much frights them. Confident I am, we shall have it in Fourteen days, by starving. I am,

Sir,

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Precisely in about "Fourteen days" a new attempt was made,[2] not without some promising results, but again ineffectual. "The guns are not come from Bristol, for want of wind;" and against hunger and short scaling-ladders Poyer is stubborn. Three days after this letter to Lenthall some three weeks since the siege began, here is another to Major Saunders.

LETTER LIV.

OF this Major, afterwards Colonel, Thomas Saunders, now lying at Brecknock, there need little be said beyond what the Letter itself says. He is "of Derbyshire," it seems; sat afterwards as a King's-Judge, or at least was nominated to sit; continued true to the cause, in a dim way, till the very Restoration; and withdrew then into total darkness.

This Letter is endorsed in Saunders's own hand, "The Lord General's order for taking Sir Trevor Williams, and Mr. Morgan Sheriff of Monmouthshire." Of which two Welsh individuals, except that Williams had been appointed Commander-in-chief of the Parliament's forces in Monmouthshire some time ago, and Morgan High Sheriff there,[3] both of whom had now revolted, we know nothing, and need know nothing. The Letter has come under cover enclosing another Letter of an official sort, to one "Mr. Rumsey" (a total stranger to me); and is superscribed, *For Yourself.*

'*To Major Thomas Saunders, At Brecknock: These*:'

SIR, 'Before Pembroke,' 17th June, 1648.

I send you this enclosed by itself, because it's of greater moment. The other you may communicate to Mr. Rumsey, as far as you think fit and I have written. I would not have him or other honest men be discouraged that I think it not fit, at present, to enter into contests; it will be good to yield a little, for public advantage: and truly that is my end; wherein I desire you to satisfy them.

I have sent, as my Letter mentions, to have you remove out of Brecknockshire; indeed, into that part of Glamorganshire which lieth next Monmouthshire. For this end; We have plain discoveries that Sir Trevor Williams, of Llangibby,[4] about two miles from Usk in the County of Monmouth, was very deep in the plot of betraying Chepstow Castle; so that we are out of doubt of his guiltiness thereof. I do

[1] By cannon-volleys.
* Rushworth, vii. 1159: read in the House, 20 June, 1648 (Commons Journals, v. 608.)
[2] Rushworth, vii. 1175.
[3] 10 January, 1645-6, Williams; 17 November, 1647, Morgan: Commons Journals, *in diebus*
[4] He writes 'Langevie;" "Munmouth" too.

hereby authorise you to seize him; as also the High Sheriff of Monmouth, Mr. Morgan, who was in the same plot.

But, because Sir Trevor Williams is the more dangerous man by far, I would have you seize him first, and the other will easily be had. To the end you may not be frustrated and that you be not deceived, I think fit to give you some characters of the man, and some intimations how things stand. He is a man, as I am informed, full of craft and subtlety; very bold and resolute; hath a House at Llangibby well stored with arms, and very strong; his neighbours about him very Malignant, and much for him,—who are apt to rescue him if apprehended, much more to discover anything which may prevent it. He is full of jealousy; partly out of guilt, but much more because he doubts some that were in the business have discovered him, which indeed they have, —and also because he knows that his Servant is brought hither, and a Minister to be examined here, who are able to discover the whole plot.

If you should march directly into that Country and near him, it's odds he either fortify his House, or give you the slip: so also, if you should go to his House, and not find him there; or if you attempt to take him, and miss to effect it; or if you make any known inquiry after him,—it will be discovered.

Wherefore, 'as' to the first, you have a fair pretence of going out of Brecknockshire to quarter about Newport and Caerleon, which is not above four or five miles from his House. You may send to Colonel Herbert, whose House lieth in Monmouthshire; who will certainly acquaint you where he is. You are also to send to Captain Nicholas, who is at Chepstow, to require him to assist you, if he 'Williams' should get into his House and stand upon his guard. Samuel Jones, who is Quartermaster to Colonel Herbert's troop, will be very assisting to you, if you send to him to meet you at your quarters; both by letting you know where he is, and also in all matters of intelligence. If there shall be need, Captain Burge's troop, now quartered in Glamorganshire, shall be directed to receive orders from you.

You perceive by all this that we are, it may be, a little too much solicitous in this business:—it's our fault; and indeed such a temper causeth us often to overact business. Wherefore, without more ado, we leave it to you; and you to the guidance of God herein; and rest,

Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' If you seize him, bring—and let him be brought with a strong guard,—to me. If Captain Nicholas should light on him at Chepstow, do you strengthen him with a strong guard to bring him. If you seize his person, disarm his House; but let not his arms be embezzled. If you need Captain Burges's troop, it quarters between Newport and Chepstow.*

Saunders, by his manner of endorsing this Letter, seems to intimate that he took his two men; that he keeps the Letter by way of voucher. Sir Trevor Williams by and by[1] compounds as a Delinquent,—retires

* Harris, p. 495; and Forster, iv., 239.

[1] Commons Journals.

then into "Langevie House" in a diminished state, and disappears from History. Of Sheriff Morgan, except that a new Sheriff is soon appointed, we have no farther notice whatever.

LETTER LV.

SINCE Cromwell quitted London, there have arisen wide commotions in that central region too; the hope of the Scotch Army and the certainty of this War in Wales excite all unruly things and persons. At Pembroke lately we heard the cannons fire, both from Leaguer and Ships, for a "victory in Kent:" concerning which, and its origins and issues, take the following indications.

May 16th. Came a celebrated "Surrey Petition:" highflying armed cavalcade of Freeholders from Surrey, with a Petition craving in very high language that Peace be made with his Majesty: they quarrelled with the Parliament's Guard in Westminster Hall, drew swords, had swords drawn upon them; "the Miller of Wandsworth was run through with a halbert," he and others; and the Petitioners went home in a slashed and highly indignant condition. Thereupon, *May 24th*, armed meeting of Kentishmen on Blackheath; armed meeting of Essex-men; several armed meetings, all in communication with the City Presbyterians: Fairfax, ill of the gout, has to mount,—in extremity of haste, as a man that will quench fire among smoking flax.

June 1st. Fairfax, at his utmost speed, smites fiercely against the centre of this Insurrection; drives it from post to post; drives it into Maidstone "about 7 in the evening," "with as hard fighting as I ever saw;" tramples it out there. The centre-flame once trampled out, the other flames, or armed meetings, hover hither and thither; gather at length, in few days, all at Colchester in Essex; where Fairfax is now besieging them, with a very obstinate and fierce resistance from them. This is the victory in Kent, these are the "glorious successes God has vouchsafed you," which Oliver alludes to in this Letter.

We are only to notice farther that Lambert is in the North; waiting, in very inadequate strength, to see the Scots arrive. Oliver in this Letter signifies that he has reinforced him with some "horse and dragoons," sent by "West Chester," which we now call Chester, where "Colonel Dukinfield" is Governor. The Scots are indubitably coming: Sir Marmaduke Langdale (whom Oliver, we may remark, encountered in the King's left wing at *Naseby Fight*) has raised new Yorkshiremen, has seized Berwick, seized Carlisle, and joined the Scots; it is becoming an openly Royalist affair.

Very desirable, of course, that Oliver had done with Pembroke, and were fairly joined with Lambert. But Pembroke is strong; Poyer is stubborn, hopes to surrender "on conditions;" Oliver, equally stubborn, though sadly short of artillery and means, will have him "at mercy of the Parliament," so signal a rebel as him. Fairfax's Father, the Lord Ferdinando, died in March last;[1] so that the General's title is now changed:

[1] 13 March, 1647-8 (Rushworth, vii. 1030).

To his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, General of the Parliament's Army; These:

MY LORD, Before Pembroke, 28th June, 1648.

I have some few days since despatched horse and dragoons for the North. I sent them by the way of West Chester; thinking it fit to do so in regard of this enclosed Letter which I received from Colonel Dukinfield;—requiring them to give him assistance in the way. And if it should prove that a present help would not serve the turn, then I ordered Captain Pennyfeather's troop to remain with the Governor 'Dukinfield;' and the rest immediately to march towards Leeds,—and to send to the Committee of York, or to him that commands the forces in those parts, for directions whither they should come, and how they shall be disposed of.

The number I sent are six troops: four of horse, and two of dragoons; whereof three are Colonel Scroop's,—and Captain Pennyfeather's troop, and the other two dragoons. I could not, by the judgment of the Colonels here, spare more, nor send them sooner without manifest hazard to these parts. Here is, as I have formerly acquainted your Excellency, a very desperate Enemy; who, being put out of all hope of mercy, are resolved to endure to the uttermost extremity; being very many 'of them' gentlemen of quality, and men thoroughly resolved. They have made some notable sallies upon Lieutenant-Colonel Reade's quarter,[1] to his loss. We are forced to keep divers posts, or else they would have relief, or their horse break away. Our foot about them are Four-and-twenty hundred; we always necessitated to have some in garrisons.

The Country, since we sat down before this place, have made two or three insurrections; and are ready to do it every day: so that,—what with looking to them, and disposing our horse to that end, and to get us in provisions, without which we should starve, this country being so miserably exhausted and so poor, and we no money to buy victuals,—indeed, whatever may be thought, it's a mercy we have been able to keep our men together in the midst of such necessity, the sustenance of the foot for most part being but bread and water. Our guns, through the unhappy accident at Berkley, not yet come to us;—and indeed it was a very unhappy thing they were brought thither; the wind having been always so cross, that since they were recovered from sinking, they could not 'come to us;' and this place not being to be had without fit instruments for battering, except by starving.[2] And truly I believe the Enemy's straits do increase upon them very fast, and that within a few days an end will be put to this business;—which surely might have been before, if we had received things wherewith to have done it. But it will be done in the best time.[3]

I rejoice much to hear of the blessing of God upon your Excellency's endeavours. I pray God that this Nation, and those that are over us,

[1] Reade had been intrusted with the Siege of Tenby; that had ended June 2 (Commons Journals, v. 588); and Reade is now assisting at Pembroke.

[2] "Without *either* fit instruments for battering *except* by starving." Great haste, and considerable stumbling in the grammar of this last sentence! After "starving," a mere comma: and so on.

[3] God's time is the best.

and your Excellency and all we that are under you, 'may discern' what the mind of God may be in all this, and what our duty is. Surely it is not that the poor Godly People of this Kingdom should still be made the object of wrath and anger; nor that our God would have our necks under a yoke of bondage. For these things that have lately come to pass have been the wonderful works of God; breaking the rod of the oppressor, as in the day of Midian,—not with garments much rolled in blood, but by the terror of the Lord; who will yet save His people and confound His enemies, as on that day. The Lord multiply His grace upon you, and bless you, and keep your heart upright; and then, though you be not conformable to the men of this world, nor to their wisdom, yet you shall be precious in the eyes of God, and he will be to you a horn and a shield.—

My Lord, I do not know that I have had a Letter from any of your Army, of the glorious successes God has vouchsafed you. I pray pardon the complaint made. I long to 'be' with you. I take leave; and rest,

My Lord,
Your most humble and faithful servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' Sir, I desire you that Colonel Lehunt may have a Commission to command a Troop of horse, the greatest part whereof came from the Enemy to us; and that you would be pleased to send blank Commissions for his inferior officers,—with what speed may be.*

In Rushworth, under date March 24th, is announced that "Sir W. Constable has taken care to send ordnance and ammunition from Gloucester, for the service before Pembroke."[1] "The unhappy accident at Berkley," I believe, is the stranding of the "Frigate," or Shallop, that carried them. Guns are not to be had of due quality for battering Pembroke. In the meantime, several bodies of "horse" are mentioned as deserting, or taking quarter and service on the Parliament side.[2] It is over these that Lehunt is to be appointed Colonel; and to Fairfax as General-in-chief "of all the Parliament's Forces raised or to be raised," it belongs to give him and his subordinates the due commissions.

July 5th. Young Villiers Duke of Buckingham, son of the assassinated Duke; he with his Brother Francis, with the Earl of Holland, and others who will pay dear for it, started up about Kingston on Thames with another open Insurrectionary Armament; guided chiefly by Dutch Dalbier, once Cromwell's instructor, but now gone over to the other side. Fairfax and the Army being all about Colchester in busy Siege, there seemed a good opportunity here. They rode towards Riegate, these Kingston Insurgents, several hundred strong: but a Parliament Party "under Major Gibbons" drives them back; following close, comes to action with them between "Nonsuch Park and Kingston," where the poor Lord Francis, Brother of the Duke, fell mortally

* Sloane MSS. 1519, f. 90. [1] vii. 1036. [2] Rushworth, Cromwelliana.

wounded; drives them across the river "into Hertfordshire;" into the lion's jaws. For Fairfax sent a Party out from Colchester; overtook them at St. Neot's; and captured, killed, or entirely dissipated them.[1] Dutch Dalbier was hacked in pieces, "so angry were the soldiers at him." The Earl of Holland stood his trial afterwards; and lost his head. The Duke of Buckingham got off;—might almost as well have died with poor Brother Francis here, for any good he afterwards did. Two pretty youths, as their Vandyke Portraits in Hampton Court still testify; one of whom lived to become much uglier!

July 8th. Duke Hamilton, with the actual Scotch Army, is "at Annan" on the Western Border, ready to step across to England. Not quite Forty-thousand; yet really about half that number, tolerably effective. Langdale, with a Vanguard of Three-thousand Yorkshiremen, is to be guide; Munro, with a body of horse that had long served in Ulster, is to bring up the rear. The great Duke dates from Annan, 8th July, 1648.[2] Poor old Annan; never such an Army gathered, since the Scotch James went to wreck in Solway Moss, above a hundred years ago![3] Scotland is in a disastrous, distracted condition; overridden by a Hamilton majority in Parliament. Poor Scotland will, with exertion, deliver its "King from the power of Sectaries;" and is dreadfully uncertain what it will do with him when delivered! Perhaps Oliver will save it the trouble.

July 11th. Oliver at last is loose from Pembroke; as the following brief letter will witness:

LETTER LVI.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons: These.

SIR, 'Pembroke,' 11th July, 1648.

The Town and Castle of Pembroke were surrendered to me this day, being the Eleventh of July; upon the Propositions which I send you here enclosed.[4] What Arms, Ammunition, Victual, Ordnance or other Necessaries of War are in 'the' Town, I have not to certify you,—the Commissioners I sent-in to receive the same not being yet returned, nor like suddenly to be; and I was unwilling to defer the giving you an account of this mercy for a day.

The Persons Excepted are such as have formerly served you in a very good Cause; but, being now apostatised, I did rather make election of them than of those who have always been for the King;—judging their iniquity double; because they had sinned against so much light, and against so many evidences of Divine Providence going along with, and prospering, a just Cause, in the management of which they themselves had a share.

I rest,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[1] Rushworth, vii. 1178, 82. [2] Ibid. vii. 1184. [3] James V. A.D. 1542.
[4] Given in Rushworth, vii. 1190.
* Copy in Tanner MSS. lxii. 159: printed, correctly, in *Grey* on the Third Volume of Neal's Puritans (Appendix, p. 129) from another source.

Drunken Colonel Poyer, Major-General Laughern, and certain others, "persons excepted," have had to surrender "at mercy;" a great many more on terms; and the Welsh War is ended. Cromwell hurries northward: by Gloucester, Warwick; gets "3,000 pairs of shoes" at Leicester; leaves his prisoners at Nottingham (with Mrs. Hutchinson and her Colonel, in the Castle there); joins Lambert among the Hills of Yorkshire,[1] where his presence is much needed now.

July 27th. In these tumultuous months the Fleet, too, as we heard at Pembroke once,[2] has partially revolted; "set Colonel Admiral Rainsborough ashore," in the end of May last. The Earl of Warwick, hastily sent thither, has brought part of it to order again; other part of it has fled to Holland, to the young Prince of Wales. The Young Prince goes hopefully on board, steers for the coast of England; emits his summons and manifesto from Yarmouth roads, on the 27th of this month. Getting nothing at Yarmouth, he appears next week in the Downs; orders London to join him, or at least to lend him 20,000*l.*[3]

It all depends on Hamilton and Cromwell now. His Majesty from Carisbrook Castle, the revolted Mariners, the London Presbyterians, the Besieged in Colchester, and all men are waiting anxiously what they now will make of it when they meet.

LETTERS LVII.—LX.

PRESTON BATTLE.

THE Battle of Preston or Battle-and-Rout of Preston lasts three days; and extends over many miles of wet Lancashire country,—from "Langridge Chapel a little on the east of Preston," southward to Warrington Bridge, and northward also as far as you like to follow. A wide-spread, most confused transaction; the essence of which is, That Cromwell, descending the valley of the Ribble, with a much smaller but prompt and compact force, finds Hamilton flowing southward at Preston in very loose order; dashes in upon him, cuts him in two, drives him north *and* south, into as miserable ruin as his worst enemy could wish.

There are four accounts of this Affair by eye-witnesses, still accessible: Cromwell's account in these Two Letters; a Captain Hodgson's rough, brief recollections written afterwards; and on the other side, Sir Marmaduke Langdale's Letter in vindication of his conduct there; and lastly the deliberate Narrative of Sir James Turner ("alias Dugald Dalgetty," say some). As the Affair was so momentous, one of the most critical in all these Wars, and as the details of it are still so accessible, we will illustrate Cromwell's own account by some excerpts from the others. Combining all which, and considering well, some image of this rude old tragedy and triumph may rise upon the reader.

Captain Hodgson, an honest-hearted, pudding-headed Yorkshire Puritan, now with Lambert in the Hill country, hovering on the left flank of Hamilton and his Scots, saw Cromwell's face at Ripon, much to

[1] At Barnard Castle, on the 27th July, "his horse" joined (Rushworth, vii. 1211); he himself not till a fortnight after, at Wetherby farther south.

[2] Antea, p. 203.

[3] Rushworth, vii.; 29 May, p. 1131; 8 June, 11 June, pp. 1145, 1151; 27 July, pp. 1207, 1215, &c.

the Captain's satisfaction. "The Scots," says he, "marched towards Kendal; we towards Ripon, where Oliver met us with horse and foot. We were then between Eight and Nine thousand: a fine smart Army, fit for action. We marched up to Skipton; the Forlorn of the Enemy's horse," Sir Marmaduke's, "was come to Gargrave; having made havoc of the country,—it seems, intending never to come there again." "Stout Henry Cromwell," he gave them a check at Gargrave;[1] and better still is coming.

Here, however, let us introduce Sir James Turner, a stout pedant and soldier-of-fortune, original *Dugald Dalgetty* of the Novels, who is now marching with the Scots, and happily has a turn of taking Notes. The reader will then have a certain ubiquity, and approach Preston on both sides. Of the Scotch Officers, we may remark, Middleton and the Earl of Calendar have already fought in England for the Parliament: Baillie, once beaten by Montrose, has been in many wars, foreign and domestic; he is lefthand cousin to the Reverend Mr. Robert, who heard the Apprentices in Palaceyard bellowing "Justice on Strafford!" long since, in a loud and hideous manner. Neither of the Lesleys is here, on this occasion; they abide at home with the oppressed minority. The Duke, it will be seen, marches in extremely loose order; vanguard and rear-guard very far apart,—and a Cromwell attending him on flank!

"At Hornby," says the learned Sir James alias Dugald, "a day's march beyond Kendal, it was advised, Whether we should march to Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Western Counties; or if we should go into Yorkshire, and so put ourselves in the straight road to London, with a resolution to fight all who would oppose us? Calendar was indifferent; Middleton was for Yorkshire; Baillie for Lancashire. When my opinion was asked, I was for Yorkshire; and for this reason only, That I understood Lancashire was a close country, full of ditches and hedges; which was a great advantage the English would have over our raw and undisciplined musketeers; the Parliament's Army consisting of disciplined and well-trained soldiers, and excellent firemen; while on the other hand, Yorkshire was a more open country and full of heaths, where we might both make use of our horse, and come sooner to push of pike" with our foot. "My Lord Duke was for Lancashire way; and it seems he had hopes that some forces would join with him in his march that way. I have indeed heard him say, that he thought Manchester his own if he came near it. Whatever the matter was, I never saw him tenacious in anything during the time of his command but in that. We chose to go that way which led us to our ruin.

"Our march was much retarded by most rainy and tempestuous weather, the elements fighting against us; and by staying for country horses to carry our little ammunition. The vanguard is constantly given to Sir Marmaduke, upon condition that he should constantly furnish guides; pioneers for clearing the ways; and, which was more than both these, have good and certain intelligence of all the Enemy's motions. But whether it was by our fault or his neglect, want of intelligence helped to ruin us; for,"—in fact we were marching in extremely loose order; left

[1] Hodgson's Memoirs (with Slingsby's Memoirs, Edinburgh, 1808; a dull authentic Book, left full of blunders, of darkness natural and adscititious, by the Editor), pp. 114, 5.

hand not aware what the right was doing ; van and rear some twenty or thirty miles apart ;—far too loose for men that had a Cromwell on their flank!

On the night of Wednesday, 16th August, 1648, my Lord Duke has got to Preston with the main body of his foot; his horse lying very wide, —ahead of him at Wigan, arear of him, one knows not where, he himself hardly knows where. Sir Marmaduke guards him on the left, "on Preston Moor, about Langridge Chapel," some four miles up the Ribble, —and knows not in the least what storm is coming. For Cromwell, this same night, has got across the hills to Clitheroe and farther ; this same Wednesday night he lies "at Stonyhurst," where now the College of Stonyhurst is,—"a Papist's house, one Sherburne's ;" and to-morrow morning there will be news of Cromwell.

"That night," says Hodgson, "we pitched our camp at Stanyares Hall, a Papist's house, one Sherburne's ; and the next morning a Forlorn of horse and foot was drawn out. And at Langridge Chapel our horse" came upon Sir Marmaduke ; "drawn up very formidably. One Major Poundall" (Pownell, you pudding-head !) "and myself commanded the Forlorn of foot. And here being drawn up by the Moorside (a mere scantling of us, as yet, not half the number we should have been), the General Cromwell comes to us, orders us To march. We not having half of our men come up, desired a little patience ; he gives out the word, 'March !'"—not having any patience, he, at this moment ! And so the Battle of Preston, the first day of it, is begun. Here is the General's own Report of the business at night. Poor Langdale did not know at first, and poor Hamilton did not know all day, that it was Cromwell who was now upon them.[1] Sir Marmaduke complains bitterly that he was not supported ; that they did not even send him powder, —marched away the body of their force as if this matter had been nothing ; "merely some flying party, Ashton and the Lancashire Presbyterians," Cromwell writes in haste, late at night.

LETTER LVII.

For the Honourable Committee of Lancashire sitting at Manchester. (I desire the Commander of the Forces there to open this Letter if it come not to their hands.)

GENTLEMEN, 'Preston,' 17th August, 1648.

It hath pleased God, this day, to show His great power by making the Army successful against the common Enemy.

We lay last night at Mr. Sherburn's of Stonyhurst, nine miles from Preston, which was within three miles of the Scots quarters. We advanced betimes next morning towards Preston, with a desire to engage the Enemy ; and by that time our Forlorn had engaged the Enemy, we were about four miles from Preston, and thereupon we advanced with the whole Army : and the Enemy being drawn out on a Moor betwixt us and the Town, the Armies on both sides engaged ; and after a very sharp dispute, continuing for three or four hours, it pleased God to enable us to give them a defeat ; which I hope we shall improve, by

[1] Sir Marmaduke's Letter.

God's assistance, to their utter ruin: and in this service your countrymen have not the least[1] share.

We cannot be particular, having not time to take account of the slain and prisoners; but we can assure you we have many prisoners, and many of those of quality; and many slain; and the Army so dissipated 'as I say.' The principal part whereof, with Duke Hamilton, is on south side Ribble and Darwen Bridge, and we lying with the greatest part of the Army close to them; nothing hindering the ruin of that part of the Enemy's Army but the night. It shall be our care that they shall not pass over any ford beneath the Bridge,[2] to go Northward, or to come betwixt us and Whalley.

We understand Colonel-General Ashton's are at Whalley: we have seven troops of horse or dragoons that we believe lie at Clitheroe. This night I have sent order to them expressly to march to Whalley, to join to those companies; that so we may endeavour the ruin of this Enemy. You perceive by this Letter how things stand. By this means the Enemy is broken: and most of their Horse having gone Northwards, and we having sent a considerable party at the very heel of them; and the Enemy having lost almost all his ammunition, and near four thousand arms, so that the greatest part of the Foot are naked;—therefore, in order to perfecting this work, we desire you to raise your County; and to improve your forces to the total ruin of that Enemy, which way soever they go: and if[3] you shall accordingly do your part, doubt not of their total ruin.

We thought fit to speed this to you; to the end you may not be troubled if they shall march towards you, but improve your interest as aforesaid, that you may give glory to God for this unspeakable mercy. This is all at present from

Your very humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Commons Journals, *Monday*, 21° *Augusti* 1648: "The Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Cromwell, from Preston of 17° *Augusti* 1648, to the Committee of Lancashire sitting at Manchester, enclosed in a Letter from a Member of this House from Manchester, of 19° *Augusti*, 1648, were this day read. *Ordered*, That it is referred to the Committee at Derby House to send away a copy of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's Letter to the General" Fairfax "and the Lord Admiral," Warwick, to encourage them in their part of the work. —The enclosing "Letter from the Member of this House at Manchester," short and insignificant, about "dispensations," "providences," &c., is also given in the old Pamphlets, and in this Chetham Book now before us. He signs himself "W. L.;" probably William Langton, the new Member for Preston.

[1] means "the not least."

[2] There is such a ford, rideable if tide and rain permit.

[3] "that" in the Original.—The punctuation and grammar of these sentences might have been improved; but their breathless impetuosity, directness, sincere singleness of purpose, intent on the despatch of business only, would have been obscured in the process.

* Lancashire during the Civil War (a Collection of Tracts republished by the *Chetham Society*, Manchester, 1844), p. 257. The Letter is in many old Pamphlets of the time. Langdale's Letter is also given in this Chetham Book, p. 267.

LETTER LVIII.

CROMWELL, on this Thursday Night, does not yet know all the havoc he has made. Listen to stout Sir James from the other side ; and pity poor men embarked in a hollow Cause, with a Duke of Hamilton for General !

"Beside Preston in Lancashire," says the stout Knight, "Cromwell falls on Sir Marmaduke's flank. The English" of Sir Marmaduke "imagined it was one Colonel Ashton, a powerful Presbyterian, who had got together 3,000 men to oppose us, because we came out of Scotland without the General Assembly's permission. Mark the quarrel. While Sir Marmaduke disputes the matter, Baillie, by the Duke's order, marches to Ribble Bridge, and passes it with all the foot except two brigades." Never dreaming that Cromwell is upon us ! "This was two miles from Preston. By my Lord Duke's command, I had sent some ammunition and commanded-men to Sir Marmaduke's assistance : but to no purpose ; for Cromwell prevailed ; so that our English first retired, and then fled. It must be remembered that, the night before this sad encounter, Earl Calendar and Middleton were gone to Wigan, eight miles from thence, with a considerable part of the cavalry. Calendar was come back, and was with the Duke," while the action took place ; "and so was I : but upon the rout of Sir Marmaduke's people, Calendar got away to Ribble, where he arrived safely by a miracle, as I think ; for the Enemy was between the Bridge and us, and had killed or taken most part of our two brigades of foot," which was all that Baillie had left here.

"The Duke with his guard of horse, Sir Marmaduke with many officers, among others myself, got into Preston Town ; with intention to pass a ford below it, though at that time not rideable. At the entry of the Town, the enemy pursued us hard. The Duke faced about, and put two troops of them to a retreat ; but so soon as we turned from them, they again turned upon us. The Duke facing the second time, charged them, which succeeded well. Being pursued the third time, my Lord Duke cried To charge once more for King Charles ! One trooper refusing, he beat him with his sword. At that charge we put the enemy so far behind us, that he could not so soon overtake us again. Then Sir Marmaduke and I entreated the Duke to hasten to his Army :—and truly here he showed as much personal valour as any man could be capable of. We swam the Ribble River ; and so got to the place where Lieutenant-General Baillie had advantageously lodged the foot, on the top of a Hill, among very fencible enclosures.

"After Calendar came to the infantry, he had sent 600 musketeers to defend Ribble Bridge. Very unadvisedly ; for the way Cromwell had to it was a descent from a hill that commanded all the champaign ; which was about an English quarter of a mile in length between the Bridge and that Hill where *our* foot were lodged. So that our musketeers, having no shelter, were forced to receive all the musket-shot of Cromwell's infantry, which was secure within thick hedges ; and after the loss of many men, were forced to run back to our foot. Here Claud Hamilton, the Duke's Lieutenant-Colonel, had his arm broke with a musket-bullet.

"The Bridge of Ribble being lost, the Duke called all the Colonels together on horseback to advise what was next to be done. We had no choice but one of two: Either stay, and maintain our ground till Middleton (who was sent for) came back with his cavalry; Or else march away that night, and find him out. Calendar would needs speak first; whereas by the custom of war he should have told his opinion last,—and it was, To march away that night so soon as it was dark. This was seconded by all the rest, except by Lieutenant-General Baillie and myself. But all the arguments we used,—as the impossibility of a safe retreat, from an enemy so powerful of horse; in so very foul weather, and extremely deep ways; our soldiers exceedingly wet, weary, and hungry; the inevitable loss of all our ammunition,—could not move my Lord Duke by his authority to contradict the shameful resolution taken by the major part of his officers.

"After that drumless march was resolved upon, and but few horse appointed to stay in rear of the foot, I inquired, What should become of our unfortunate Ammunition, since forward with us we could not get it? It was not thought fit to blow it up that night, lest thereby the enemy should know of our retreat, or rather flight. I was of that opinion too; but for another reason: for we could not have blown it up then, without a visible mischief to ourselves, being so near it. It was ordered it should be done, three hours after our departure, by a train: but that being neglected, Cromwell got it all.

"Next morning we appeared at Wigan Moor; half our number less than we were;—most of the faint and weary soldiers having lagged behind; whom we never saw again. Lieutenant-General Middleton had missed us," such excellent order was in this Army; "for he came by *another* way to Ribble Bridge. It was to be wished he had still stayed with us. He, not finding us there, followed our track: but was himself hotly pursued by Cromwell's horse; with whom he skirmished the whole way till he came within a mile of us. He lost some men, and several were hurt, among others Colonel Urrey[1] got a dangerous shot on the left side of his head; whereof, though he was afterwards taken prisoner, he recovered. In this retreat of Middleton's, which he managed well, Cromwell lost one of the gallantest officers he had, Major Thornhaugh; who was run into the breast with a lance, whereof he died.

"After Lieutenant-General Middleton's coming, we began to think of fighting in that Moor: but that was found impossible,—in regard it was nothing large, and was environed with enclosures which commanded it, and these we could not maintain long, for want of that ammunition which we had left behind us. And therefore we marched forward with intention to gain Warrington, ten miles from the Moor we were in; and there we conceived we might face about, having the command of a Town, a River, and a Bridge. Yet I conceive there were but few of us could have foreseen we might be beaten, *before* we were masters of any of them.

"It was towards evening and in the latter end of August," Friday 18th of the month, "when our horse began to march. Some regiments of them were left with the rear of the foot: Middleton stayed with

[1] Sir John Hurry, the famous Turncoat, of whom afterwards.

these; my Lord Duke and Calendar were before.—As I marched with the last brigade of foot through the Town of Wigan, I was alarmed, That our horse behind me were beaten, and running several ways, and that the enemy was in my rear. I faced about with that brigade; and in the Market-place, serried the pikes together, shoulder to shoulder, to entertain any that might charge: and sent orders to the rest of the brigades before, To continue their march, and follow Lieutenant-General Baillie who was before them. It was then night, but the moon shone bright. A regiment of horse of our own appeared first, riding very disorderly. I got them to stop, till I commanded my pikes to open, and give way for them to ride or run away, since they would not stay. But now my pikemen, being demented (as I think we were all), would not hear me: and two of them ran full tilt at me,"—poor Dalgetty! "One of their pikes, which was intended for my belly, I griped with my left hand; the other ran me nearly two inches into the inner side of my right thigh; all of them crying, of me and those horse, 'They are Cromwell's men!' This was an unseasonable wound; for it made me, after that night, unserviceable. This made me forget all rules of modesty, prudence, and discretion,"—my choler being up, and my blood flowing! "I rode to the horse, and desired them to charge through these foot. They fearing the hazard of the pikes, stood: I then made a cry come from behind them, That the enemy was upon them. This encouraged them to charge my foot, so fiercely that the pikemen threw down their pikes, and got into houses. All the horse galloped away, and as I was told afterwards, rode not through but *over* our whole foot; treading them down; and in this confusion Colonel Lockhart was trod down from his horse, with great danger of his life.

"Though the Enemy was near, yet I beat drums to gather my men together. Shortly after came Middleton with some horse. I told him what a disaster I had met with, and what a greater I expected. He told me he would ride before, and make the horse halt. I marched however all that night till it was fair day; and then Baillie, who had rested a little, entreated me to go into some house and repose on a chair; for I had slept none in two nights, and eaten as little. I alighted; but the constant alarms of the Enemy's approach made me resolve to ride forward to Warrington, which was but a mile; and indeed I may say I slept all that way, notwithstanding my wound."

While the wounded Dalgetty rides forward, let me borrow another glimpse from a different source;[1] of bitter struggle still going on a little to the rear of him. "At a place called Redbank," near Winwick Church, two miles from Warrington, "the Scots made a stand with a body of pikes, and lined the hedges with muskets: who so rudely entertained the pursuing Enemy, that they were compelled to stop until the coming up of Colonel Pride's regiment of foot, who after a sharp dispute put those same brave fellows to the run. They were commanded by a little spark in a blue bonnet, who performed the part of an excellent commander, and was killed on the spot." Does any one know this little spark in the blue bonnet? No one. His very mother

[1] Heath's Chronicle. p, 383.

has long ceased to weep for him now. Let him have burial, and a passing sigh from us!—Dugald Turner continues:

"I expected to have found either the Duke or Calendar, or both of them, at Warrington: but I did not; and indeed I have often been told that Calendar carried away the Duke with him, much against his mind. Here did the Lieutenant-General of the foot meet with an Order, whereby he is required 'To make as good conditions for himself and those under him as he could; for the horse would not come back to him, being resolved to preserve themselves for a better time.' Baillie was surprised with this: and looking upon that action which he was ordered to do, as full of dishonour, he lost much of that patience of which naturally he was master; and beseeched any that would to shoot him through the head,"—poor Baillie! "At length having something composed himself, and being much solicited by the officers that were by him, he wrote to Cromwell.—I then told him, That so long as there was a resolution to fight, I would not go a foot from him; but now that they were to deliver themselves prisoners, I would preserve my liberty as long as I could: and so took my leave of him, carrying my wounded thigh away with me. I met immediately with Middleton; who sadly condoled the irrecoverable losses of the last two days. Within two hours after, Baillie and all the officers and soldiers that were left of the foot were Cromwell's prisoners. I got my wound dressed that morning by my own surgeon; and took from him those things I thought necessary for me; not knowing when I might see him again;—as indeed I never saw him after."[1]

This was now the Saturday morning when Turner rode away, "carrying his wounded thigh with him;" and got up to Hamilton and the vanguard of horse; who rode, aimless or as good as aimless henceforth, till he and they were captured at Uttoxeter or in the neighbourhood. Monro with the *rear*guard of horse, "always a day's march behind," hearing now what had befallen, instantly drew bridle; paused uncertain; then, in a marauding manner, rode back towards their own country.

Of which disastrous doings let us now read Cromwell's victorious account, drawn up with more deliberation on the morrow after. "This Gentleman," who brings up the Letter, is Major Berry; "once a Clerk in the Shropshire Iron-works;" now a very rising man. "He had lived with me," says Richard Baxter, "as guest in my own house;" he has now high destinies before him—which at last sink lower than ever.[2]

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons: These.

SIR, 'Warrington,' 20th August, 1648.

I have sent up this Gentleman to give you an account of the great and good hand of God towards you, in the late victory obtained against the Enemy in these parts.

After the conjunction of that Party which I brought with me out of Wales with the Northern Forces about Knaresborough and Wetherby,—hearing that the Enemy was advanced with their Army into Lanca-

[1] Memoirs of his own Life and Times, by Sir James Turner (Edinburgh, 1829), pp. 63-7.
[2] Baxter's Life, pp. 57, 97, 58, 72.

shire, we marched the next day, being the 13th of this instant August, to Otley (having cast off our Train, and sent it to Knaresborough, because of the difficulty of marching therewith through Craven, and to the end we might with more expedition attend the Enemy's motion): and on the 14th to Skipton; the 15th to Gisburne; the 16th to Hodder Bridge over Ribble;[1] where we held a council of war. At which we had in consideration, Whether we should march to Whalley that night, and so on, to interpose between the Enemy and his further progress into Lancashire and so southward,—which we had some advertisement the Enemy intended, and 'we are' since confirmed that they intended for London itself: Or whether to march immediately over the said Bridge, there being no other betwixt that and Preston, and there engage the Enemy,—who we did believe would stand his ground, because we had information that the Irish Forces under Monro lately come out of Ireland, which consisted of twelve hundred horse and fifteen hundred foot, were on their march towards Lancashire to join them.

It was thought that to engage the Enemy to fight was our business; and the reason aforesaid giving us hopes that our marching on the North side of Ribble would effect it, it was resolved we should march over the Bridge; which accordingly we did; and that night quartered the whole Army in the field by Stonyhurst Hall being Mr. Sherburn's house, a place nine miles distant from Preston. Very early the next morning we marched towards Preston: having intelligence that the Enemy was drawing together thereabouts from all his out-quarters, we drew out a Forlorn of about two hundred horse and four hundred foot, the horse commanded by Major Smithson, the foot by Major Pownel. Our Forlorn of horse marched, within a mile, 'to' where the Enemy was drawn up,—in the enclosed grounds by Preston, on that side next us; and there, upon a Moor, about half a mile distant from the Enemy's Army, met with their Scouts and Outguard; and did behave themselves with that valour and courage as made their Guards (which consisted both of horse and foot) to quit their ground; and took divers prisoners; holding this dispute with them until our Forlorn of foot came up for their justification; and by these we had opportunity to bring up our whole Army.

So soon as our foot and horse were come up, we resolved that night to engage them if we could; and, therefore, advancing with our Forlorn, and putting the rest of our Army into as good a posture as the ground would bear, (which was totally inconvenient for our horse, being all enclosure and miry ground), we pressed upon them. The regiments of foot were ordered as followeth. There being a Lane, very deep and ill, up to the Enemy's Army, and leading to the Town, we commanded two regiments of horse, the first whereof was Colonel Harrison's and next was my own, to charge up that Lane; and on either side of them advanced the 'Main'-battle,—which were Lieutenant-Colonel Read's,

[1] Over Hodder rather, which is the chief tributary of the Ribble in those upland parts, and little inferior to the main stream in size. Ribble from the Northeast, Hodder from the North, then a few miles farther, Calder from the South; after which Ribble pursues its old direction; draining an extensive hill-tract by means of frequent inconsiderable brooks, and receiving no notable stream on either side till, far down, the Darwen from the East and South falls in near Preston, and the united waters, now a respectable River, rush swiftly into the Irish Sea.

Colonel Dean's and Colonel Pride's on the right; Colonel Bright's and my Lord General's on the left; and Colonel Ashton with the Lancashire regiments in reserve. We ordered Colonel Thornhaugh's and Colonel Twistleton's regiments of horse on the right; and one regiment in reserve for the Lane; and the remaining horse on the left:—so that, at last, we came to a Hedge-dispute; the greatest of the impression from the Enemy being upon our left wing, and upon the 'Main'-battle on both sides the Lane, and upon our horse in the Lane: in all which places the Enemy were forced from their ground, after four hours dispute;—until we came to the Town; into which four troops of my own regiment first entered, and, being well seconded by Colonel Harrison's regiment, charged the Enemy in the Town, and cleared the streets.

There came no band of your foot to fight that day but did it with incredible valour and resolution; among which Colonel Bright's, my Lord General's, Lieutenant-Colonel Read's and Colonel Ashton's had the greatest work; they often coming to push of pike and to close firing, and always making the Enemy to recoil. And, indeed, I must needs say, God was as much seen in the valour of the officers and soldiers of these before-mentioned as in any action that hath been performed; the Enemy making, though he was still worsted, very stiff and sturdy resistance. Colonel Dean's and Colonel Pride's, outwinging the Enemy, could not come to so much share of the action; the Enemy shogging[1] down towards the Bridge; and keeping almost all in reserve that so he might bring fresh hands often to fight. Which we not knowing, and lest we should be outwinged, 'we' placed those two regiments to enlarge our right wing; this was the cause they had not at that time so great a share in that action.

At last the Enemy was put into disorder; many men slain, many prisoners taken; the Duke, with most of the Scots horse and foot, retreated over the Bridge; where,—after a very hot dispute betwixt the Lancashire regiments, part of my Lord General's, and them, being often at push of pike,—they were beaten from the Bridge; and our horse and foot, following them, killed many and took divers prisoners; and we possessed the Bridge over Darwen 'also,' and a few houses there; the Enemy being driven up within musket-shot of us where we lay that night,[2]—we not being able to attempt farther upon the Enemy, the night preventing us. In this posture did the Enemy and we lie most part of that night. Upon entering the Town, many of the Enemy's horse fled towards Lancaster; in the chase of whom went divers of our horse, who pursued them near ten miles, and had execution of them, and took about five hundred horse and many prisoners. We possessed in this Fight very much of the Enemy's ammunition; I believe they lost four or five thousand arms. The number of slain we judge to be about a thousand; the prisoners we took were about four thousand.

In the night the Duke was drawing off his Army towards Wigan; we were so wearied with the dispute that we did not so well attend the

[1] *Shog* is from the same root as *shock*; "shogging," a word of Oliver's in such cases, signifies moving by pulses, intermittently. Ribble Bridge lay on the Scotch right; Dean and Pride, therefore, who fought on the English right, got gradually less and less to do.

[2] The Darwen between us and them.

Enemy's going off as might have been ; by means whereof the Enemy was gotten at least three miles with his rear, before ours got to them. I ordered Colonel Thornhaugh to command two or three regiments of horse to follow the Enemy, if it were possible to make him stand till we could bring up the Army. The Enemy marched away seven or eight thousand foot and about four thousand horse ; we followed him with about three thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons : and, in this prosecution, that worthy Gentleman, Colonel Thornhaugh, pressing too boldly, was slain, being run into the body and thigh and head by the Enemy's lancers.[1] And give me leave to say, he was a man as faithful and gallant in your service as any ; and one who often heretofore lost blood in your quarrel, and now his last. He hath left some behind him to inherit a Father's honour ; and a sad Widow ; —both now the interest of the Commonwealth.

Our horse still prosecuted the Enemy ; killing and taking divers all the way. At last the Enemy drew up within three miles of Wigan ; and by that time our Army was come up, they drew off again, and recovered Wigan before we could attempt any thing upon them. We lay that night in the field close by the Enemy ; being very dirty and weary, and having marched twelve miles of such ground as I never rode in all my life, the day being very wet. We had some skirmishing, that night, with the Enemy, near the Town ; where we took General Van Druske and a Colonel, and killed some principal Officers, and took about a hundred prisoners ; where I also received a Letter from Duke Hamilton, for civil usage towards his kinsman Colonel Hamilton,[2] whom he left wounded there. We took also Colonel Hurry and Lieutenant-Colonel Innes sometimes in your service. The next morning the Enemy marched towards Warrington, and we at the heels of them. The Town of Wigan, a great and poor Town, and very Malignant, were plundered almost to their skins by them.

We could not engage the Enemy until we came within three miles of Warrington ; and there the Enemy made a stand, at a place near Winwick. We held them in some dispute till our Army came up ; they maintaining the Pass with great resolution for many hours ; ours and theirs coming to push of pike and very close charges,—which forced us to give ground ; but our men with the blessing of God, quickly recovered it, and charging very home upon them, beat them from their standing ; where we killed about a thousand of them, and took, as we believe, about two thousand prisoners ; and prosecuted them home to Warrington Town ; where they possessed the Bridge, which had a strong barricado and a work upon it, formerly made very defensive. As soon as we came thither, I received a message from General Baillie, desiring some

[1] "Run through with a lancier in Chorley, he wanting his arms," says Hodgson. For "arms," read "armour," corslet, &c. This is the Colonel Thornhaugh so often mentioned, praised and mourned for, by Mrs. Hutchinson.

[2] Claud Hamilton ; see Turner *supra*. Who "Van Druske" is, none knows. "Colonel Hurry" is the ever-changing Sir John Hurry, sometimes called Urry and Hurrey, who whisks like a most rapid actor of all work, ever on a new side, ever charging in the van, through this Civil-War Drama. The notablest feat he ever did was leading Prince Rupert on that marauding party, from Oxford to High Wycombe, on the return from which Hampden met his death (Clarendon, ii. 351). Hurry had been on the Parliament-side before. He was taken, at last, when Montrose was taken ; and hanged out of the way. Of Innes ("Ennis") I know nothing at present.

capitulation. To which I yielded. Considering the strength of the Pass, and that I could not go over the River 'Mersey' within ten miles of Warrington with the Army, I gave him these terms: That he should surrender himself and all his officers and soldiers prisoners of war, with all his arms and ammunition and horses, to me; I giving quarter for life, and promising civil usage. Which accordingly is done: and the Commissioners deputed by me have received, and are receiving, all the arms and ammunition; which will be, as they tell me, about Four thousand complete arms; and as many prisoners: and thus you have their Infantry totally ruined. What Colonels and Officers are with General Baillie, I have not yet received the list.

The Duke is marching with his remaining Horse, which are about three thousand, towards Nantwich; where the Gentlemen of the County have taken about five hundred of them; of which they sent me word this day. The country will scarce suffer any of my men to pass, except they have my hand-'writing;' telling them, They are Scots. They bring in and kill divers of them, as they light upon them. Most of the Nobility of Scotland are with the Duke. If I had a thousand horse that could but trot thirty miles, I should not doubt but to give a very good account of them: but truly we are so harassed and haggled out in this business, that we are not able to do more than walk 'at' an easy pace after them.—I have sent post to my Lord Grey, to Sir Henry Cholmely and Sir Edward Rhodes to gather all together, with speed, for their prosecution; as likewise to acquaint the Governor of Stafford therewith.

I hear Monro is about Cumberland with the horse that ran away,[1] and his 'own' Irish horse and foot, which are a considerable body. I have left Colonel Ashton's three regiments of foot, with seven troops of horse (six of Lancashire and one of Cumberland), at Preston; and ordered Colonel Scroop with five troops of horse and two troops of dragoons, 'and' with two regiments of foot (Colonel Lascelle's and Colonel Wastell's), to embody with them; and have ordered them to put their prisoners to the sword if the Scots shall presume to advance upon them, because they cannot bring them off with security.[2]

Thus you have a Narrative of the particulars of the success which God hath given you: which I could hardly at this time have done, considering the multiplicity of business; but truly, when I was once engaged in it, I could hardly tell how to say less, there being so much of God in it; and I am not willing to say more, lest there should seem to be any of man. Only give me leave to add one word, shewing the disparity of forces on both sides; that so you may see, and all the world acknowledge, the great hand of God in this business. The Scots Army could not be less than twelve thousand effective foot, well armed, and five thousand horse: Langdale not less than two thousand five hundred foot, and fifteen hundred horse: in all Twenty-one Thousand; and truly very few of their foot but were as well armed if not better than yours,

[1] Northward from Preston on the evening of the 17th, the Battle-day.

[2] It is to be hoped the Scots under Monro will not presume to advance, for the prisoners here in Preston are about four-thousand! These are not Baillie's Warrington men "who surrendered on quarter for life." These are "at discretion."

and at divers disputes did fight two or three hours before they would quit their ground. Yours were about two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons of your old Army; about four thousand foot of your old Army; also about sixteen hundred Lancashire foot, and about five hundred Lancashire horse: in all, about Eight Thousand Six Hundred. You see by computation about two thousand of the Enemy slain; betwixt eight and nine thousand prisoners; besides what are lurking in hedges and private places, which the Country daily bring in or destroy. Where Langdale and his broken forces are, I know not; but they are exceedingly shattered.

Surely, Sir, this is nothing but the hand of God; and wherever anything in this world is exalted, or exalts itself, God will pull it down; for this is the day wherein He alone will be exalted. It is not fit for me to give advice, nor to say a word what use you should make of this;—more than to pray you, and all that acknowledge God, That they would exalt Him,—and not hate His people, who are as the apple of His eye, and for whom even Kings shall be reproved; and that you would take courage to do the work of the Lord, in fulfilling the end of your Magistracy, in seeking the peace and welfare of this Land,—that all that will live peaceably may have countenance from you, and they that are incapable and will not leave troubling the Land may speedily be destroyed out of the Land. And if you take courage in this, God will bless you; and good men will stand by you; and God will have glory, and the Land will have happiness by you in despite of all your enemies. Which shall be the prayer of

Your most humble and faithful servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

Postscript. We have not, in all this, lost a considerable Officer but Colonel Thornhaugh; and not many soldiers, considering the service: but many are wounded, and our horse much wearied. I humbly crave that some course may be taken to dispose of the Prisoners. The trouble, and extreme charge of the Country where they lie, is more than the danger of their escape. I think they would not go home if they might, without a convoy; they are so fearful of the Country, from whom they have deserved so ill. Ten men will keep a thousand from running away.*

Commons Journals, Wednesday, 23d August, 1648: "*Ordered*, That the sum of Two-hundred Pounds be bestowed upon Major Berry, and the sum of One-hundred Pounds upon Edward Sexby, who brought the very good news of the very great Success obtained, by the great mercy of God, against the whole Scots Army in Lancashire, and That the said respective sums shall be"—in short, paid directly. Of Major Berry, Richard Baxter's friend, we have already heard. Captain Edward Sexby, here known to us for the first time—did we not once see him in another character? One of the Three Troopers with a Letter, in the Honourable House, in the times of the Army Troubles.[1] He will again turn up, little to his advantage, by and by. A Day of universal Thanksgiving for this "wonderful great Success" is likewise ordered;

* Chetham-Society Book, *ut supra*, pp. 259-267. [1] Antea, p. 170.; and Ludlow, i. 189.

and a printed schedule of items to be thankful for, is despatched, "to the number of 10,000," into all places.[1]

LETTER LIX.

LET the following hasty Letter, of the same date with that more deliberate one to Lenthall, followed by another as hasty, terminate the Preston Business. Letters of hot Haste, of Hue-and-Cry; two remaining out of many such, written "to all the Countries," in that posture of affairs;—the fruit of which we shall soon see. Colonels "Cholmely, White, Hatcher, Rhodes," Country Colonels of more or less celebrity, need not detain us at present.

For the Honourable the Committee at York: These.

'GENTLEMEN,' Warrington, 20th August, 1648.

We have quite tired our horses in pursuit of the Enemy: we have killed, taken and disabled all their Foot; and left them only some Horse, with whom the Duke is fled into Delamere Forest, having neither Foot nor Dragooners. They have taken Five-hundred of them,—I mean the Country Forces 'have,' as they send me word this day.

They[2] are so tired, and in such confusion, that if my Horse could but trot after them, I could take them all. But we are so weary, we can scarce be able to do more than walk after them. I beseech you therefore, let Sir Henry Cholmely, Sir Edward Rhodes, Colonel Hatcher, and Colonel White, and all the Countries about you, be sent to rise with you and follow them. For they are the miserablest party that ever was: I durst engage myself, with Five-hundred fresh Horse, and Five-hundred nimble Foot, to destroy them all. My horse are miserably beaten out;—and I have Ten-thousand of them Prisoners.

We have killed we know not what; but a very great number; having done execution upon them above thirty miles together,—besides what we killed in the two great Fights, the one at Preston, the other at Warrington 'or Winwick Pass.' The Enemy was Twenty-four thousand horse and foot; whereof Eighteen-thousand horse and Six-thousand foot: and our number about Six-thousand foot and Three-thousand horse at the utmost.

This is a glorious Day:—God help England to answer His mercies!—I have no more; but beseech you in all your parts to gather into bodies, and pursue. I rest,

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' The greatest part, by far, of the Nobility of Scotland are with Duke Hamilton.*

LETTER LX.

For the Honourable the Committee at York: These.

GENTLEMEN, Wigan, 23d August, 1648.

I have intelligence even now come to my hands, That Duke Hamilton with a wearied Body of Horse is drawing towards

[1] Commons Journals, v. 685.
[2] The Scots. * Copy in the possession of W. Beaumont, Esq., Warrington.

Pontefract: where probably he may lodge himself, and rest his Horse; —as not daring to continue in those Countries whence we have driven him; the Country-people rising in such numbers, and stopping his passage at every bridge.

Major-General Lambert, with a very considerable force, pursues him at the heels. I desire you that you would get together what force you can, to put a stop to any further designs they may have; and so be ready to join with Major-General Lambert, if there shall be need. I am marching Northward with the greatest part of the Army; where I shall be glad to hear from you. I rest,

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

I could wish you would draw out whatever force you have; either to be in his rear or to impede his march. For I am persuaded if he, or the greatest part of those that are with him be taken, it would make an end of the Business of Scotland.*

This Letter, carelessly printed in the old Newspaper, is without address; but we learn that it "came to my hands this present afternoon," "at York," 26th August, 1648;—whither also truer rumours, truer news, as to Hamilton and his affairs, are on the road.

On Friday 25th, at Uttoxeter in Staffordshire, the poor Duke of Hamilton, begirt with enemies, distracted with mutinies and internal discords, surrenders and ceases; "very ill, and unable to march." "My Lord Duke and Calendar," says Dalgetty, "fell out and were at very high words at supper, where I was," the night before; "each blaming the other for the misfortune and miscarriage of our affairs:" a sad employment! Dalgetty himself went prisoner to Hull; lay long with Colonel Robert Overton, an acquaintance of ours there. "As we rode from Uttoxeter, we made a stand at the Duke's window; and he, looking out with some kind words, we took our eternal farewell of him,"—never saw him more. He died on the scaffold for this business; being Earl of Cambridge, and an *English* Peer as well as Scotch:—the unhappiest of men; one of those "very able men" who, with all their "ability," have never succeeded in any interprise whatever!—

Colchester Siege, one of the most desperate defences, being now plainly without object, terminates on Monday next.[1] Surrender, "on quarter" for the inferior parties, "at discretion" for the superior. Two of the latter, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, gallant Officers both, are sentenced and shot on the place. "By Ireton's instigation," say some: yes, or without any special instigation; merely by the nature of the case! They who, contrary to Law and Treaty, have again involved this Nation in blood, do they deserve nothing?—Two more, Goring and Lord Capel, stood trial at Westminster; of whom Lord Capel lost his head. He was "the first man that rose to complain of Grievances" in November, 1640; being then Mr. Capel, and Member for Hertfordshire.

* Newspaper, *Packets of Letters from Scotland and the North*, no. 24 (London, printed by Robert Ibbitson in Smithfield, 29 August, 1648).

[1] 28 Aug., Rushworth, vii.. 1242.

The Prince with his Fleet in the Downs, too, so soon as these Lancashire tidings reached him, made off for Holland; "entered the Hague in thirty coaches," and gave up his military pursuits. The Second Civil War, its back once broken here at Preston, rapidly dies everywhere; is already as good as dead.

In Scotland itself there is no farther resistance. The oppressed Kirk Party rise rather, and almost thank the conquerors. "Sir George Monro," says Turner, "following constantly a whole day's march in the rear of us," finding himself, by this unhappy Battle, cut asunder from my Lord Duke, and brought into contact with Cromwell instead,—"marched straight back to Scotland and joined with Earl Lanark's forces," my Lord Duke's Brother. "*Straight* back," as we shall find, is not the word for this march.

"But so soon as the news of our Defeat came to Scotland," continues Turner, "Argyle and the Kirk Party rose in arms; every mother's son; and this was called the '*Whiggamore* Raid:'" 1648,—first appearance of the Whig Party on the page of History, I think! "David Leslie was at their head, and old Leven," the Fieldmarshal of 1639, "in the Castle of Edinburgh; who *cannonaded* the Royal" Hamilton "troops whenever they came in view of him!"[1]

Cromwell proceeds northward, goes at last to Edinburgh itself, to compose this strange state of matters.

LETTERS LXI.—LXXI.

MONRO with the rearward of Hamilton's beaten Army did not march "*straight* back" to Scotland as Turner told us, but very obliquely back; lingering for several weeks on the South side of the Border; collecting remnants of English, Scotch, and even Irish Malignants, not without hopes of making a new Army from them,—cruelly spoiling those Northern Counties in the interim. Cromwell, waiting first till Lambert with the force sent in pursuit of Hamilton can rejoin the main Army, moves Northward, to deal with these broken parties, and with broken Scotland generally. The following Ten Letters bring him as far as Edinburgh: whither let us now attend him with such lights as they yield.

LETTER LXI.

OLIVER ST. JOHN, a private friend, and always officially an important man, always on the Committee of Both Kingdoms, Derby-House Committee, or whatever the governing Authority might be,—finds here a private note for himself; one part of which is very strange to us. Does the reader look with any intelligence into that poor old prophetic, symbolic Deathbed-scene at Preston? Any intelligence of Prophecy and Symbol, in general; of the symbolic Man-child *Mahershalal-hashbaz* at Jerusalem, or the handful of Cut Grass at Preston;—of the opening Portals of Eternity, and what last departing gleams there are in the Soul of the pure and just?—Mahershalal-hashbaz ("Hasten-to-the-spoil," so called), and the bundle of Cut Grass are grown somewhat strange to us! Read; and having sneered duly,—consider:

[1] Turner, *ubi supra*; Guthry's Memoirs (Glasgow, 1748), p. 285.

For my worthy Friend, Oliver St. John, Esquire, Solicitor-General: These, at Lincoln's Inn:

DEAR SIR, Knaresborough, 1st September, '1648.'

I can say nothing; but surely the Lord our God is a great and glorious God. He only is worthy to be feared and trusted, and His appearances particularly to be waited for. He will not fail His People. Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord!—

Remember my love to my dear brother H. Vane: I pray he make not too little, nor I too much, of outward dispensations:—God preserve us all, that we, in simplicity of our spirits, may patiently attend upon them. Let us all be not careful what men will make of these actings. They, will they, nill they, shall fulfil the good pleasure of God; and we—shall serve our generations. Our rest we expect elsewhere; that will be durable. Care we not for to-morrow, nor for anything. This Scripture has been of great stay to me: read *Isaiah* Eighth, 10, 11, 14;—read all the Chapter.[1]

I am informed from good hands, that a poor godly man died in Preston, the day before the Fight; and being sick near the hour of his death, he desired the woman that cooked to him, To fetch him a handful of Grass. She did so; and when he received it, he asked Whether it would wither or not, now it was cut? The woman said, "Yea." He replied, "So should this Army of the Scots do, and come to nothing, so soon as ours did but appear," or words to this effect; and so immediately died. — —

My service to Mr. W. P., Sir J. E., and the rest of our good friends. I hope I do often remember you. Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

My service to Frank Russel and Sir Gilbert Pickering.*

"Sir J. E.," when he received this salutation, was palpable enough; but has now melted away to the Outline of a Shadow! I guess him to be Sir John Evelyn of Wilts; and, with greater confidence, "Mr. W. P." to be William Pierpoint, Earl of Kingston's Son, a man of superior faculty, of various destiny and business, "called in the Family traditions, *Wise William*;" Ancestor of the Dukes of Kingston; and much a friend of Oliver, as we shall transiently see.

LETTER LXII.

ANOTHER private Letter: to my Lord Wharton; to congratulate him on some "particular mercy," seemingly the birth of an heir, and to pour out his sense of these great general mercies. This Philip Lord Wharton is of the Committee of Derby House, the Executive in those months;

[1] Yes, the indignant symbolic "Chapter" about Mahershalal-hashbaz, and the vain desires of the wicked, is all worth reading; here are the Three Verses referred to, more especially: "Take counsel together," ye unjust, "and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand. For God is with us.—Sanctify the Lord of Hosts; and let Him be your fear, and let Him be your dread. And He shall be for a sanctuary:—but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the Houses of Israel; for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem! And many among them shall stumble and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken." This last verse, we find, is often in the thoughts of Oliver.

* Ayscough MSS. 4107, f. 94; a Copy by Birch.

it is probable[1] Cromwell had been sending despatches to them, and had hastily enclosed this in the Packet.

Philip Lord Wharton seems to have been a zealous Puritan, much concerned with Preachers, Chaplains, &c., in his domestic establishment; and full of Parliamentary and Politico-religious business in public. He had a regiment of his own raising at Edgehill Fight; but it was one of those that ran away; whereupon the unhappy Colonel took refuge "in a saw-pit,"—says Royalism confidently, crowing over it without end.[2] A quarrel between him and Sir Henry Midmay, Member for Malden, about Sir Henry's saying, "He Wharton had made his peace at Oxford," in November, 1643, is noted in the Commons Journals, iii. 300. It was to him, about the time of this Cromwell Letter, that one Osborne, a distracted King's flunkey, had written, accusing Major Rolf, a soldier under Hammond, of attempting to poison Charles in the Isle of Wight.[3]—This Philip's patrimonial estate, *Wharton*, still a Manor-house of somebody, lies among the Hills on the southwest side of Westmoreland; near the sources of the Eden, the Swale rising on the other watershed not far off. He seems, however, to have dwelt at Upper Winchington, Bucks, "a seat near Great Wycomb." He lived to be a Privy Councillor to William of Orange.[4] He died in 1696. Take this other anecdote, once a very famous one:

"James Stewart of Blantyre in Scotland, son of a Treasurer Stewart, and himself a great favourite of King James, was a gallant youth; came up to London with great hopes: but a discord falling out between him and young Lord Wharton, they went out to single combat each against the other, and at the first thrust each of them killed the other, and they fell dead in one another's arms on the place."[5] The "place" was Islington fields; the date 8th November, 1609. The tragedy gave rise to much ballad-singing and other rumour.[6] Our Philip is that slain Wharton's Son.

This Letter has been preserved by Thurloe: four blank spaces ornamented with due asterisks occur in it,—Editor Birch does not inform us whether from tearing off the Seal, or why. In these blank spaces the conjectural sense, which I distinguish here as usual by commas, is occasionally somewhat questionable.

For the Right Honourable the Lord Wharton: These.

MY LORD, 'Near Knaresborough,' 2d September, 1648.

You know how untoward I am at this business of writing; yet a word. I beseech the Lord make us sensible of this great mercy here, which surely was much more than 'the sense of it' the House expresseth.[7] I trust 'to have, through' the goodness of our God, time and opportunity to speak of it to you face to face. When we think of our God, what are we! Oh, His mercy to the whole society

[1] Commons Journals, vi. 6, 5 September.
[2] Wood's Athenæ, iii. 177, and in all manner of Pamphlets elsewhere.
[3] Wood, iii. 501; Pamphlets; Commons Journals, &c.
[4] Wood, iv. 407, 542,; Fasti, i. 335; Nicolas's Synopsis of the Peerage.
[5] Scotstarvet's Staggering State (Edinburgh, 1754, a very curious little Book), p. 32.
[6] Bibliotheca Topographica, no. xlix.
[7] The House calls it "a wonderful great mercy and success," this Preston victory (Commons Journal, v. 680);—and then passes on to other matters, not quite adequately conscious that its life had been saved hereby! What fire was blazing, and how high in Wales, and then in Lancashire, is known only in perfection to those that trampled it out.

of saints,—despised, jeered saints! Let them mock on. Would we were all saints! The best of us are, God knows, poor weak saints;—yet saints; if not sheep, yet lambs; and must be fed. We have daily bread,[1] and shall have it, in despite of all enemies. There's enough in our Father's house, and He dispenseth it.[2] I think through these outward mercies, as we call them, Faith, Patience, Love, Hope are exercised and perfected,—yea, Christ formed, and grows to a perfect man within us. I know not well how to distinguish; the difference is only in the subject, 'not in the object;' to a worldly man they are outward, to a saint Christian;—but I dispute not.

My Lord, I rejoice in your particular mercy. I hope that it is so to you. If so, it shall not hurt you; not make you plot or shift for the young Baron to make him great. You will say, "He is God's to dispose of, and guide for," and there you will leave him.

My love to the dear little Lady, better 'to me' than the child. The Lord bless you both. My love and service to all Friends high and low; if you will, to my Lord and Lady Mulgrave and Will Hill. I am truly, Your faithful friend and humblest servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

During these very days, perhaps it was exactly two days after, "on Monday last," if that mean 4th September,[3]—Monro, lying about Appleby, has a party of horse "sent into the Bishoprick!" firing "divers houses" thereabouts, and not forgetting to plunder "the Lord Wharton's tenants" by the road: Cromwell penetrating towards Berwick, yet still at a good distance, scatters this and other predatory parties rapidly enough to Appleby,—as it were by the very wind of him; like a coming mastiff smelt in the gale by vermin. They are swifter than he, and get to Scotland, by their dexterity and quick scent, unscathed. "Across to Kelso" about September 8th.[4]

Mulgrave in those years is a young Edmund Sheffield, of whom except that he came afterwards to sit in the Council of State, and died a few days before the Protector, History knows not much.—"Will Hill" is perhaps William Hill, a Puritan Merchant in London, ruined out of "a large estate" by lending for the public service; who, this Summer, and still in this very month, is dunning the Lords and Commons, the Lords with rather more effect, to try if they cannot give him some kind of payment, or shadow of an attempt at payment,—he having long lain in jail for want of his money. A zealous religious, and now destitute and insolvent man; known to Oliver;—and suggests himself along with the Mulgraves by the contrast of "Friends high and low." Poor Hill did, after infinite struggling, get some kind of snack at the Bishops' Lands by and by.[5]

The "young Baron" now born is father (I suppose); he or his brother is father, of the far-famed high-gifted half-delirious Duke of Wharton.

[1] Spiritual food, encouragement of merciful Providence, from day to day.

[2] There follows here in the Birch edition: "As our eyes" [seven stars] "behinde, then wee can" [seven stars] "we for him;" words totally unintelligible; and not worth guessing at, the original not being here, but only Birch's questionable reading of it.

* Thurloe, i. 99.

[3] Cromwelliana, p. 45.

[4] Rushworth, vii. 1250, 3, 9, 60.

[5] Commons Journals, vi. 29, 243.

On the 8th of September, Cromwell is at Durham,[1] scaring the Monro fraternity before him; and publishes the following

DECLARATION.

WHEREAS the Scottish Army, under the command of James Duke of Hamilton, which lately invaded this Nation of England, is, by the blessing of God upon the Parliament's Forces, defeated and overthrown; and some thousands of their soldiers and officers are now prisoners in our hands; so that, by reason of their great number, and want of sufficient guards and watches to keep them so carefully as need requires (the Army being employed upon other duty and service of the Kingdom), divers may escape away; and many, both since and upon the pursuit, do lie in private places in the country:

I thought it very just and necessary to give notice to all, and accordingly do declare, That if any Scottishmen, officers or soldiers, lately members of the said Scottish Army, and taken or escaped in or since the late Fight and pursuit, shall be found straggling in the countries, or running away from the places assigned them to remain in till the pleasure of the Parliament, or of his Excellency the Lord General be known,—It will be accounted a very good and acceptable service to the Country and Kingdom of England, for any person or persons to take and apprehend all such Scottishmen; and to carry them to any Officer having the charge of such prisoners; or, in defect of such Officer, to the Committee or Governor of the next Garrison for the Parliament within the County where they shall be so taken; there to be secured and kept in prison, as shall be found most convenient.

And the said Committee, Officer, or Governor respectively, are desired to secure such of the said prisoners as shall be so apprehended and brought unto them, accordingly. And if any of the said Scottish officers or soldiers shall make any resistance, and refuse to be taken or render themselves, all such persons well-affected to the service of the Parliament and Kingdom of England, may and are desired to fall upon, fight with, and slay such refusers: but if the said prisoners shall continue and remain within the places and guards assigned for the keeping of them, That then no violence, wrong, nor injury be offered to them by any means.

Provided also, and special care is to be taken, That no Scottishman residing within this Kingdom, and not having been a member of the said Army, and also, That none such of the said Scottish prisoners as shall have liberty given them, and sufficient passes to go to any place appointed, may be interrupted or troubled hereby.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

'Durham,' 8th September, 1648.

LETTER LXIII.

FAIRFAX is still at Colchester, arranging the "ransoms," and confused wrecks of the Siege there; Cromwell has now reached Berwick,[2] at least his outposts have,—all the Monroes now fairly across the Tweed. "Lieutenant-Colonel Cowell," I conclude, was mortally wounded at

[1] Commons Journals, vii. 1260.
[2] Rushworth, vii. 1256.

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 46).

Preston Battle; and here has the poor Widow been, soliciting and lamenting.

For his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, General of all the Parliament's Armies: These.

MY LORD, 'Berwick,' 11th September, 1648.

Since we lost Lieutenant-Colonel Cowell, his Wife came to me near Northallerton, much lamenting her loss, and the sad condition she and her children were left in.

He was an honest worthy man. He spent himself in your and the Kingdom's service. He being a great Trader in London, deserted it to serve the Kingdom. He lost much money to the State; and I believe few outdid him. He hath a great arrear due to him. He left a Wife and three small children but meanly provided for. Upon his deathbed, he commended this desire to me, That I should befriend his to the Parliament or to your Excellency. His Wife will attend you for Letters to the Parliament; which I beseech you to take into a tender consideration.

I beseech you to pardon this boldness to,
Your Excellency's most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

On the 19th June, 1649, "Widow Cowell" is ordered to be paid her Husband's Arrears by the Committee at Haberdashers' Hall.[1] One hopes she received payment, poor woman! "Upon his deathbed her Husband commended this desire to *me*."

In the very hours while this Letter is a-writing, "Monday, 11 September, 1648," Monro, now joined with the Earl of Lanark, presents himself at Edinburgh: but the Whiggamore Raid, all the force of the West country, 6,000 strong, is already there; "draws out on the crags be-east the Town," old Leven in the Castle ready to fire withal; and will not let him enter. Lanark and Monro move west to Stirling; meet Argyle and the Whiggamores, make some Treaty or Armistice, and admit *them* to be the real "Committee of Estates," the Hamilton Faction having ended.[2] Here are Two Letters of one date, directly on the back of these occurrences.

LETTER LXIV.

For the Governor of Berwick: These.

SIR, Alnwick, 15th September, 1648.

Being come thus near, I thought fit to demand the Town of Berwick to be delivered into my hands, to the use of the Parliament and Kingdom of England, to whom of right it belongeth.

I need not use any arguments to convince you of the justice hereof. The witness that God hath borne against your Army, in their Invasion of those who desired to sit in peace by you, doth at once manifest His dislike of the injury done [illegible] a Nation that meant you no harm, but hath

* Lansdowne MSS. 1236, fol. 85. [1] Commons Journals, vi. 237. [2] Guthry, pp. 288-97.

been all along desirous to keep amity and brotherly affection and agreement with you.

If you deny me in this, we must make a second appeal to God, putting ourselves upon Him, in endeavouring to obtain our rights, and let Him be judge between us. And if our aim be anything beyond what we profess, He will requite it. If further trouble ensue upon your denial, we trust He will make our innocency to appear.

I expect your answer to this summons, this day, and rest,

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Ludovic Lesley, the Scotch Governor of Berwick, returns "a dilatory answer" not necessary for us to read. Here is a more important message.

LETTER LXV.

For the Right Honourable the Lord Marquis of Argyle, and the rest of the well-affected Lords, Gentlemen, Ministers, and People now in arms in the Kingdom of Scotland: Present.

'Near Berwick,'

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, 16th September, 1648.

Being (in prosecution of the common Enemy) advanced, with the Army under my command, to the borders of Scotland, I thought fit, to prevent any misapprehension or prejudice that might be raised thereupon, to send your Lordships these Gentlemen, Colonel Bright, Scoutmaster-General Rowe, and Mr. Stapylton, to acquaint you with the reasons thereof: concerning which I desire your Lordships to give them credence. I remain,

My Lords,

Your very humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

Colonel Bright and Scoutmaster Rowe are persons that often occur, though somewhat undistinguishably, in the Old Pamphlets. Bright, in the end of this month, was sent over, "from Berwick" apparently, to take possession of Carlisle now ready to surrender to us.[1] "Scoutmaster" is the Chief of the Corps of "Guides," as soldiers now call them. As to Stapylton or Stapleton, we have to remark that, besides Sir Philip Stapleton, the noted Member for Boroughbridge, and one of the Eleven, who is now banished and dead, there is a Bryan Stapleton now Member for Aldborough: he in January last[2] was Commissioner to Scotland; but this present Stapylton is still another. Apparently, one Robert Stapylton; a favourite Chaplain of Cromwell's; an Army-Preacher, a man of weight and eminence in that character. From his following in the rear of the Colonel and the Scoutmaster, instead of taking precedence in the Lieutenant-General's Letter as an M.P. would have done, we may infer that this Reverend Robert Stapylton is the Cromwell Messenger,—sent to speak a word to the Clergy in particular.

Scoutmaster Rowe, William Rowe, appears with an enlarged sphere of influence, presiding over the Cromwell spy-world, in a very diligent,

* Lords Journals (in Parliamentary History, xvii. 485). † Thurloe, i. 100.
[1] Cromwelliana, p. 48. [2] Commons Journals, v. 442; Whitlocke, p. 290.

expert and almost respectable manner, some years afterwards, in the *Milton State-Papers*. His counsel might be useful with Argyle; his experienced eye, at any rate, might take a glance at the Scottish Country, with advantage to an invading General.

Of the Reverend Mr. Stapylton's proceedings on this occasion we have no notice: but he will occur afterwards in these Letters; and two years hence, on Cromwell's second visit to those Northern parts, we find this recorded: "Last Lord's Day," 29th September, 1650, "Mr. Stapylton preached in the High Church" of Edinburgh, while we were mining the Castle!—"forenoon and afternoon, before his Excellency with his Officers; where was a great concourse of people; many Scots expressing much affection at the doctrine, in their usual way of groans."[1] In their usual way of groans, while Mr. Stapylton held forth: consider that!—Mr. Robert, "at 10 o'clock at night on the 3d September" next year, writes, "from the other side of Severn," a copious despatch concerning the Battle of Worcester,[2] and then disappears from History.

The following Letter, of the same date, was brought by the same Messengers for the Committee of Estates.

LETTER LXVI.

For the Right Honourable the Committee of Estates for the Kingdom of Scotland: These.

'Near Berwick,'
16th September, 1648.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Being upon my approach to the borders of the Kingdom of Scotland, I thought fit to acquaint you of the reason thereof.

It is well known how injuriously the Kingdom of England was lately invaded by the Army under Duke Hamilton; contrary to the Covenant and 'to' our leagues of amity, and against all the engagements of love and brotherhood between the two Nations. And notwithstanding the pretence of your late Declaration,[3] published to take with the people of this Kingdom, the Commons of England in Parliament Assembled declared the said Army so entering, Enemies to the Kingdom; and those of England who should adhere to them, Traitors. And having[4] received command to march with a considerable part of their Army, to oppose so great a violation of faith and justice,—what a witness God, being appealed to,[5] hath borne, upon the engagement of the two Armies, against the unrighteousness of man, not only yourselves, but this Kingdom, yea and a great part of the known world will, I trust, acknowledge. How dangerous a thing is it to wage an unjust war; much more, to appeal to God the Righteous Judge therein! We trust He will persuade you better by this manifest token of His displeasure; lest His hand be stretched out yet more against you, and your poor People also, if they will be deceived.

That which I am to demand of you is, The restitution of the Garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle into my hands, for the use of the Parliament

[1] Cromwelliana, p. 92. [2] Ibid. p. 113. [3] To be found in Rushworth; read it not!
[4] The grammar requires "I having," but the physiognomy of the sentence requires nothing.
[5] on Preston Moor.

and Kingdom of England. If you deny me herein, I must make our appeal to God; and call upon Him for assistance, in what way He shall direct us;—wherein we are, and shall be, so far from seeking the harm of the well-affected people of the Kingdom of Scotland, that we profess as before the Lord, That (what difference an Army, necessitated in a hostile way to recover the ancient rights and inheritance of the Kingdom under which they serve, can make[1]) we shall use our endeavour to the utmost that the trouble may fall upon the contrivers and authors of this breach, and not upon the poor innocent people, who have been led and compelled into this action, as many poor souls now prisoners to us confess.

We thought ourselves bound in duty thus to expostulate with you, and thus to profess; to the end we may bear our integrity out before the world, and may have comfort in God, whatever the event be. Desiring your answer, I rest,

Your Lordships' humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The troubles of Scotland are coming thick. The "Engagers," those that "engaged" with Hamilton are to be condemned; then, before long, come "Resolutioners" and "Protestors;" and in the wreck of the Hamilton-Argyle discussions, and general cunctations,—all men desiring to say Yes *and* No instead of Yes *or* No,—Royalism and Presbyterianism alike are disastrously sinking.

The Lordships, here addressed as "Committee of Estates," can make no answer, for they do not now exist as *Committee* of Estates; Argyle and Company are now assuming that character: the shifting of the dresses, which occasions some complexity in those Old Letters, is just going on. From Argyle and Company, however, who see in Cromwell their one sure stay, there are already on the road conciliatory, congratulatory messages, by Lairds and Mayors, "from Falkirk," where the Whiggamore Raid and Lanark are making their Armistice or Treaty. Whereupon follows, with suitably vague Superscription, for Argyle and Company.

LETTER LXVII.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Loudon, Chancellor of the Kingdom of Scotland:

To be communicated to the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Burgesses now in arms,[2] who dissented in Parliament from the late Engagement against the Kingdom of England.

RIGHT HONOURABLE, Cheswick,[3] 18th September, 1648.

We received yours from Falkirk of the 15th September instant. We have had also a sight of your Instructions given

[1] Means: "so far as an Army, necessitated to vindicate its country by War, can make a discrimination." The "ancient rights and inheritance" are the right to choose our own King or No-King, and so forth.

* Thurloe, i. 100.

[2] "The Whiggamore Raid," as Turner calls it, now making a Treaty with Lanark, Monro, and the other Assignees of the bankrupt Hamilton concern. Expressly addressed, in the next Letter, as "Committee of Estates," *they* now.

[3] Cheswick, still a Manorhouse "of the Family of Strangeways," lies three or four miles south of Berwick, on the great road to Newcastle and London.

to the Laird of Greenhead and Major Strahan; as also other two Papers concerning the Treaty between your Lordships and the Enemy; wherein your care of the interest of the Kingdom of England, for the delivery of the Towns[1] unjustly taken from them, and 'your' desire to preserve the unity of both Nations, appears. By which also we understand the posture you are in to oppose the enemies of the welfare and the peace of both Kingdoms; for which we bless God for His goodness to you; and rejoice to see the power of the Kingdom of Scotland in a hopeful way to be invested in the hands of those who, we trust, are taught of God to seek His honour, and the comfort of His people.

And give us leave to say, as before the Lord, who knows the secrets of all hearts, That, as we think one especial end of Providence in permitting the enemies of God and Goodness in both Kingdoms to rise to that height, and exercise such tyranny over His people, was to show the necessity of Unity amongst those of both Nations, so we hope and pray that the late glorious dispensation, in giving so happy success against your and our Enemies in our victories, may be the foundation of Union of the People of God in love and amity. Unto that end we shall, God assisting, to the utmost of our power endeavour to perform what may be behind on our part: and when we shall, through any wilfulness, fail therein, let this profession rise up in judgment against us, as having been made in hypocrisy,—a severe avenger of which God hath lately appeared, in His most righteous witnessing against the Army under Duke Hamilton, invading us under specious pretences of piety and justice. We may humbly say, we rejoice with more trembling[2] than to dare to do such a wicked thing.

Upon our advance to Alnwick, we thought fit to send a good body of our horse to the borders of Scotland, and thereby a summons to the Garrison of Berwick:[3] to which having received a dilatory answer, I desired a safe-convoy for Colonel Bright and the Scoutmaster-General of this Army to go to the Committee of Estates in Scotland; who, I hope, will have the opportunity to be with your Lordships before this come to your hands,—and, according as they are instructed, will let your Lordships in some measure, as well as we could in so much ignorance of your condition, know our affections to you. And understanding things more fully by yours, we now thought fit to make you this 'present' return.

The command we received, upon the defeat of Duke Hamilton, was, To prosecute this business until the Enemy were put out of a condition or hope of growing into a new Army, and the Garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle were reduced. Four regiments of our horse and some dragoons, who had followed the Enemy into the south parts,[4] being now come up; and this country not able to bear us, the cattle and old corn thereof having been wasted by Monro and the forces with him; the Governor of Berwick also daily victualling his Garrison from Scotland

1 Berwick and Carlisle, which by agreement in 1646-7 were not to be garrisoned except by consent of *both* Kingdoms.
2 "Join trembling with your mirth" (Second Psalm).
3 Letter LXIV.
4 Uttoxeter and thereabouts.

side; and the Enemy, yet in so considerable a posture as by these Gentlemen and your Papers we understand,—still prosecuting their former design, having gotten the advantage of Stirling Bridge, and so much of Scotland at their backs to enable them thereunto; and your Lordships' condition not being such, at present, as may compel them to submit to the honest and necessary things you have proposed to them for the good of both the Kingdoms: we have thought fit, out of the sense of duty to the commands laid upon us by those who have sent us, and to the end we might be in a posture more ready to give you assistance, and not be wanting to what we have made so large professions of, —to advance into Scotland with the Army.[1] And we trust, by the blessing of God, the common Enemy will thereby the sooner be brought to a submission to you. And we thereby shall do what becomes us in order to the obtaining of our Garrisons; engaging ourselves that, so soon as we shall know from you that the Enemy will yield to the things you have proposed to them, and we have our Garrisons delivered to us, we shall forthwith depart out of your Kingdom; and in the meantime be 'even' more tender towards the Kingdom of Scotland, in the point of charge, than if we were in our own Kingdom.

If we shall receive from you any desire of a more speedy advance, we shall readily yield compliance therewith;—desiring also to hear from you how affairs stand. This being the result of a Council of War, I present it to you as the expression of their affections and of my own; who am,

My Lords,
Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Cheswick, where Oliver now has his head-quarter, lies, as we said, some three or four miles south of Berwick, on the English side of Tweed. Part of his forces crossed the River, I find, next day; a stray regiment had without order gone across the day before.—The "Laird of Greenhead," Sir Andrew Ker, is known in the old Scotch Books; still better, Major Strahan, who makes a figure on his own footing by and by. The Anti-Hamilton or Whiggamore Party are all inclined to Cromwell; inclined, and yet averse; wishing to say "Yes *and* No:" if that were possible!—

The answer to this Letter immediately follows in *Thurloe;* but it is not worth giving. The intricate longwindedness of mere Loudons, Argyles and the like, on such subjects at this time of day, is not tolerable to either gods or men. "We, Loudon, Argyle, and Company, are very sensible how righteously 'God who judgeth the Earth' has dealt with Hamilton and his followers; an intolerable, unconscionable race of men, tending towards mere ruin of religion, and 'grievously oppressive' to us. We hope all things from you, respectable Lieutenant-General. We have sent influential persons to order the giving up of Berwick and Carlisle instantly; and hope these Garrisons will obey them. We rest,—Humbly devoted,—Argyle, Loudon, and Company."

[1] Neither does the sentence end even here! It is dreadfully bad composition; yet contains a vigorous clear sense in it.

* Thurloe, i. 101.

Influential Persons: "Friday last, the 22d September, the Marquis of Argyle, the Lord Elcho, Sir John Scot and others came as Commissioners from the Honest Party in Scotland to the Laird of Mordington's House at Mordington, to the Lieutenant-General's quarters, two miles within Scotland. That night the Marquis of Argyle sent a trumpet to Berwick,"[1]—Berwick made delays, needed to send to the Earl of Lanark first. Lanark, it is to be hoped, will consent. Meanwhile the Lieutenant-General opens his parallels, diligently prepares to besiege, if necessary. Among these influential Persons, a quick reader notices "Sir John Scot,"—and rejoices to recognise him, in that dim transient way, for the "Director of the Chancery," and Laird of *Scotstarvet* in Fife, himself in rather a *staggering state*[2] at present, worthy old gentleman!

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS we are marching with the Parliament's Army into the Kingdom of Scotland, in pursuance of the remaining part of the Enemy who lately invaded the Kingdom of England, and for the recovery of the Garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle:

These are to declare, That if any Officer or Soldier under my command shall take or demand any money; or shall violently take any horses, goods or victual, without order; or shall abuse the people in any sort,—he shall be tried by a Council of War; and the said person so offending shall be punished, according to the Articles of War made for the government of the Army in the Kingdom of England, which punishment is death.

Each Colonel, or other chief Officer in every regiment, is to transcribe a copy of this: and to cause the same to be delivered to each Captain in his regiment: and every said Captain of each respective troop and company is to publish the same to his troop or company; and to take a strict course that nothing be done contrary hereunto.

Given under my hand, this 20th September, 1648.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER LXVIII.

For the Right Honourable the Committee of Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland, at Edinburgh: These.

RIGHT HONOURABLE, Norham, 21st September, 1648.

We perceive that there was, upon our advance to the Borders, the last Lord's Day,[3] a very disorderly carriage by some horse; who, without order, did steal over the Tweed, and plundered some places in the Kingdom of Scotland: and since that, some stragglers have been alike faulty; to the wrong of the inhabitants, and to our very great grief of heart.

I have been as diligent as I can to find out the men that have done

1 Rushworth, vii. 1282.

2 *Scott of Scotstarvet's Staggering State of Scots Statesmen* is the strange Title of his strange little Book: not a Satire at all, but a Homily on Life's Nothingness, enforced by examples; gives in brief compass, not without a rude Laconic geniality, the cream of Scotch Biographic History in that age, and unconsciously a curious self-portrait of the Writer withal.

* Newspapers in Cromwelliana, p. 46.

3 21 September, 1648, is Thursday; last Sunday is 17th.

the wrong, and I am still in the discovery thereof; and I trust there shall be nothing wanting on my part that may testify how much we abhor such things: and to the best of my information I cannot find the least guilt of the fact[1] to lie upon the regiments of this Army, but upon some of the Northern horse, who have not been under our discipline and government, until just that we came into these parts.

I have commanded those forces away back again into England; and I hope the exemplarity of justice will testify for us our great detestation of the fact.[1] For the remaining regiments, which are of our old forces, we may engage from them their officers will keep them from doing any such things: and we are confident that, saving victual, they shall not take anything from the inhabitants; and in that also they shall be so far from being their own carvers, as that they shall submit to have provisions ordered and proportioned by the consent, and with the direction, of the Committees and Gentlemen of the Country, and not otherwise, if they[2] please to be assisting to us therein.

I thought fit, for the preventing of misunderstanding, to give your Lordships this account; and rest,

My Lords,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"Upon our entrance into Scotland, a Regiment lately raised in the Bishoprick of Durham, under Colonel Wren, behaved themselves rudely; which as soon as the Lieutenant-General of this Army" Cromwell "had notice of, he caused it to rendezvous on Tweed banks; and the Scottish people having challenged several horses taken from them by that Regiment, the Lieutenant-General caused the said horses to be restored back, and the plunderers to be cashiered. A Lieutenant that countenanced such deeds was delivered into the Marshal's hands; and the Colonel himself, conniving at them, and not doing justice upon the offenders when complaints were brought in to him, was taken from the head of his Regiment, and suspended from executing his place, until he had answered at a Council of War for his negligence in the performance of his duty. This notable and impartial piece of justice did take very much with the people; and the Regiment is ordered back into Northumberland"[3]—as we see.

The answer of "Loudon *Cancellarius*" to this Letter from Norham is given in the old Newspapers.[4] The date is Edinburgh, 28th September, 1648. Loudon of course is very thankful for such tenderness and kind civilities; thankful especially that the Honourable Lieutenant-General has come so near, and by the dread of him forced the Malignants at Stirling Bridge to come to terms, and leave the Well-affected at peace. A very great blessing to us "the near distance of your forces at this time,"—though once (*you ken varry weel*, and Whitlocke kens) we considered you an incendiary, and I, O honourable Lieutenant-General, would so fain have had you extinguished,—not knowing what I did!

[1] "fait." [2] These Committee

* Thurloe. i. 103 (From the Public Records of Scotland, in the Laigh Parliament-House a Edinburgh).

[3] Perfect Diurnal, October 2 to 9 (in Cromwelliana, p. 47).

[4] Cromwelliana, p. 47.

Norham lies on the South shore of the Tweed, some seven miles above Berwick:

"Day set on Norham's castled steep."[1]

Cromwell went across to Mordington, and met the "Influential Persons," on the morrow. As the following letter, taking a comprehensive survey of the matter, will abundantly manifest.

LETTER LXIX.

'To the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons: These.'

SIR, Berwick, 2d October, 1648.

I have formerly represented to the Committee at Derby House,[2] how far I have prosecuted your business in relation to the Commands I did receive from them. To wit: That I have sent a party of horse with a Summons to Berwick; and a Letter to the Committee of Estates, which I suppose did consist of the Earl of Lanark and his participants; and a Letter of kindness and affection to the Marquis of Argyle, and the Well-affected Party in arms at 'or about' Edinburgh, with credence to Colonel Bright and Mr. William Rowe, Scoutmaster of the Army, To let them know upon what grounds and with what intentions we came into their Kingdom: And how that, in the mean time, the Marquis of Argyle and the rest at Edinburgh had sent Sir Andrew Ker, Laird of Greenhead, and Major Strahan to me, with a Letter, and papers of Instructions, expressing their good affection to the Kingdom of England, and disclaiming the late Engagement;—together with my Answer to the said Letters and papers. Duplicates of all which I sent to the Committee at Derby House, and therefore forbear to trouble you with the things themselves.—I think now fit to give you an account, what further progress has been made in your business.

The two 'Scotch' Armies being drawn up, the one under Lanark and Monro at Stirling, and the other under the Earl of Leven and Lieutenant-General Lesley betwixt that and Edinburgh; the heads of these two Armies being upon treaties concerning their own affairs; and I having given, as I hoped, sufficient satisfaction concerning the justice of your Cause, and the clearness of my intentions in entering that Kingdom,—'I' did, upon Thursday 21st September, and two days before, the Tweed being fordable, march over Tweed at Norham into Scotland, with four regiments of horse, and some dragoons, and six regiments of foot; and there quartered; my head-quarters being at the Lord Mordington's House.

Where hearing that the Marquis of Argyle, the Lord Elcho, and some others were coming to me from the Committee of Estates assembled at Edinburgh,—I went, on Friday 22nd September, some part of the way to wait upon his Lordship. Who, when he was come to his quarters, delivered me a Letter, of which the enclosed is a Copy,[3] signed

[1] Scott's *Marmion*.

[2] Long Letter, dated 20 September, recapitulating what is already known to us here. Appendix, No. 8.

[3] Conceivable by us here.

by the Lord Chancellor, by warrant of the Committee of Estates. And after some time spent in giving and receiving mutual satisfaction concerning each other's integrity and clearness,—wherein I must be bold to testify, for that noble Lord the Marquis, the Lord Elcho, and the other gentlemen with him, that I have found nothing in them 'other' than what becomes Christians, and men of honour,—the next day it was resolved, that the command of the Committee of Estates to the Governor of Berwick, for rendering the Town, should be sent to him, by the Lord Elcho and Colonel Scot. Which accordingly was done. But he, pretending that he had not received the command of that place from those hands that now demanded it of him, desired liberty to send to the Earl of Lanark; engaging himself *then* to give his positive answer, and intimating it should be satisfactory.

Whilst these things were in transacting, I ordered Major-General Lambert to march towards Edinburgh, with six regiments of horse and a regiment of dragoons. Who accordingly did so; and quartered in East Lothian, within six miles of Edinburgh; the foot lying in his rear at Copperspath and thereabouts.[1]

Upon Friday, 29th September, came an Order from the Earl of Lanark, and divers Lords of his Party, requiring the Governor of Berwick to march out of the Town; which accordingly he did on Saturday the last of September;—at which time I entered; and have placed a Garrison there for your use. The Governor would fain have capitulated for the English 'who were with him;' but we, having the advantage upon him, would not hear of it: so that they are submitted to your mercy, and are under the consideration of Sir Arthur Haselrig; who, I believe, will give you a good account of them; and who hath already turned out the Malignant Mayor, and put an honest man in his room.

I have also received an Order for Carlisle; and have sent Colonel Bright, with horse and foot, to receive it; Sir Andrew Car and Colonel Scot being gone with him to require observance of the Order; there having been a Treaty and an agreement betwixt the two parties in Scotland, To disband all forces, except fifteen hundred horse and foot under the Earl of Leven, which are to be kept to *see* all remaining forces disbanded.

Having some other things to desire from the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh for your service, I am myself going thitherward this day; and so soon as I shall be able to give you a further account thereof, I shall do it. In the mean time, I make it my desire that the Garrison of Berwick (into which I have placed a regiment of foot, which shall be attended also by a regiment of horse) may be provided for; and that Sir Arthur Haselrig may receive commands to supply it with guns and ammunition from Newcastle; and be otherwise enabled by you to furnish this Garrison with all other necessaries, according as a place of that importance will require. Desiring that these mercies may beget trust and thankfulness to God the only author of them, and an improvement of them to His glory and the good of this poor Kingdom, I rest,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

1 What follows now is published as a fragment in the Newspapers.

* Newspapers (Cromwelliana, p. 48). Tanner MSS. (in Cary's Memorials, ii. 18).

LETTER LXX.

FOLLOWS here a small Note, enclosing a duplicate of the above Letter, for Fairfax; written chiefly to enforce the request as to Haselrig and Berwick,—"Haselridge" and "Barwick," as Oliver here spells. Haselrig is Governor of Newcastle, a man of chief authority in those Northern regions.—Fairfax, who has been surveying, regulating, and extensively dining in Townhalls, through the Eastern Counties, is now at St. Albans,[1]—the Army's head-quarters for some time to come.

'*To his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, at St. Albans: These:*'

Berwick, 2d October, 1648.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I received your late Commissions, with your directions how they shall be disposed; which I hope I shall pursue to your satisfaction.

I having sent an account to the House of Commons, am bold (being straitened in time) to present you with a Duplicate thereof, which I trust will give you satisfaction. I hope there is a very good understanding between the Honest Party of Scotland and us here; better than some would have.—Sir, I beg of your Excellency to write to Sir. A. Haselrig to take care of Berwick; he having at Newcastle all things necessary for the Garrison 'here,' which is left destitute of all, and may be lost if this be not 'done.' I beg of your Lordship a Commission to be speeded to him. I have no more at present; but rest,

My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.[2]

In these weeks, once more, there is an intensely interesting Treaty going on in the Isle of Wight; Treaty of Forty Days with the King; solemn Parliamentary Commissioners on one hand, Majesty with due Assistants on the other, very solemnly debating and negotiating day after day, for forty days and longer, in the Town of Newport there.[2] The last hope of Presbyterian Royalism in this world. Not yet the last hope of his Majesty; who still, after all the sanguinary ruin of this year, feels himself a tower of strength; inexpugnable in his divine right, which no sane man can question; settlement of the Nation impossible without him. Happily, at any rate, it is the last of the Treaties with Charles Stuart,—for History begins to be weary of them. Treaty which came to nothing, as all the others had done. Which indeed could come only to nothing; his Majesty not having the smallest design to abide by it; his Majesty eagerly consulting about "escape" all the while,—escape to Ormond who is now in Ireland again, escape somewhither, anywhither;—and considering the Treaty mainly as a piece of Dramaturgy, which must be handsomely done in the interim, and leave a good impression on the Public.[3] Such is the Treaty of Forty Days; a mere torpor on the page of History; which the reader

[1] Since 16th September, Rushworth, vii., 1271.

[2] Sloane MSS. 1519, f. 92.

[2] Warwick, pp. 321-9; Rushworth, vii., &c., &c. Began 18th September; was lengthened out by successive permissions to the 18th, 25th, and even 27th of November.

[3] His own Letters (in Wagstaff's *Vindication of the Royal Martyr*, in Carte's *Ormond*, &c.); see Godwin, i., 608-23.

shall conceive for himself *ad libitum*. The Army, from head-quarters at St. Albans, regards him and it with a sternly watchful eye; not participating in the hopes of Presbyterian Royalism at all;—and there begin to be Army Councils held again.

As for Cromwell, he is gone forward to Edinburgh; reaches Seaton, the Earl of Winton's House, which is the head quarters of the horse, a few miles east of Edinburgh, on Tuesday evening. Next day, Wednesday, 4th October, 1648, come certain Dignitaries of the Argyle or Whiggamore Party, and escort him honourably into Edinburgh; "to the Earl of Murrie's House in the Cannigate" (so, in good Edinburgh Scotch, do the old Pamphlets spell it); "where a strong guard," an English Guard, "is appointed to keep constant watch at the Gate;" and all manner of Earls and persons of Whiggamore quality come to visit the Lieutenant-General; and even certain Clergy come, who have a leaning that way.[1]—The Earl of Moray's House, Moray House, still stands in the Cannongate of Edinburgh, well known to the inhabitants there. A solid spacious mansion, which, when all bright and new two hundred years ago, must have been a very adequate lodging. There are remains of noble gardens; one of the noble state-rooms, when I last saw it, was an extensive Paper Warehouse. There is no doubt but the Lieutenant-General did lodge here; Guthry seeming to contradict this old Pamphlet, turns out to confirm it.[2]

The Lieutenant-General has received certain Votes of Parliament,[3] sanctioning what he has done in reference to these Scotch Parties, and encouraging and authorising him to do more. Of which circumstance, in the following official Document, he fails not to avail himself, on the morrow after his arrival.

LETTER LXXI.

For the Right Honourable the Committee of Estates for the Kingdom of Scotland: These:

RIGHT HONOURABLE, Edinburgh, 5th October, 1648.

I shall ever be ready to bear witness of your Lordships' forwardness to do right to the Kingdom of England, in restoring the Garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle: and having received so good a pledge of your resolutions to maintain amity and a good understanding between the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, it makes me not to doubt but that your Lordships will further grant what in justice and reason may be demanded.

I can assure your Lordships, That the Kingdom of England did foresee that wicked design of the Malignants in Scotland to break all engagements of faith and honesty between the Nations, and to take from the Kingdom of England the Towns of Berwick and Carlisle. And although they could have prevented the loss of those considerable Towns, without breach of the Treaty, by laying forces near unto them;

[1] True Account of the great Expressions of Love from the Noblemen, &c. of Scotland unto Lieutenant-General Cromwell and his Officers; In a Letter to a Friend (London, 1648; King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 392, sec. 26, dated with the pen 23rd October): Abridged in Rushworth, vii., 1295.

[2] Guthry's Memoirs, p. 297. For a description of the place, see Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, 21st January, 1837.

[3] Commons Journals, 28 September, 1648.

yet such was the tenderness of the Parliament of England not to give the least suspicion of a breach with the Kingdom of Scotland, that they did forbear to do any thing therein. And it is not unknown to your Lordships, when the Malignants had gotten the power of your Kingdom, how they protected and employed our English Malignants, though demanded by our Parliament; and possessed themselves of those Towns; —and with what violence and unheard-of cruelties they raised an Army, and began a War, and invaded the Kingdom of England; and endeavoured, to the uttermost of their power, to engage both Kingdoms in a perpetual Quarrel; and what blood they have spilt in our Kingdom, and what great loss and prejudice was brought upon our Nation, even to the endangering the total ruin thereof.

And although God did, by a most mighty and strong hand, and that in a wonderful manner, destroy their designs; yet it is apparent that the same ill-affected spirit still remains; and that divers Persons of great quality and power, who were either the Contrivers, Actors, or Abettors of the late unjust War made upon the Kingdom of England, are now in Scotland; who undoubtedly do watch for all advantages and opportunities to raise dissensions and divisions between the Nations.

Now, forasmuch as I am commanded, To prosecute the remaining part of the Army that invaded the Kingdom of England, wheresoever it should go, to prevent the like miseries: And considering that divers of that Army are retired into Scotland, and that some of the heads of those Malignants were raising new forces in Scotland to carry on the same design; and that they will certainly be ready to do the like upon all occasions of advantage: And forasmuch as the Kingdom of England hath lately received so great damage by the failing of the Kingdom of Scotland in not suppressing malignants and incendiaries as they ought to have done; and in suffering Persons to be put in places of great trust in the Kingdom, who by their interest in the Parliament and the Countries, brought the Kingdom of Scotland so far as they could, by an unjust Engagement to invade and make War upon their Brethren of England.

'Therefore,' my Lords, I hold myself obliged, in prosecution of my Duty and Instructions, to demand, That your Lordships will give assurance in the name of the Kingdom of Scotland, that you will not admit or suffer any that have been active in, or consenting to, the said Engagement against England, or have lately been in arms at Stirling or elsewhere in the maintenance of that Engagement, to be employed in any public Place or Trust whatsoever. And this is the least security I can demand. I have received an Order from both Houses of the Parliament of England,[1] which I hold fit to communicate to your Lordships; whereby you will understand the readiness of the Kingdom of England to assist you who were dissenters from that Invasion; and I doubt not but your Lordships will be as ready to give such further satisfaction as they in their wisdoms shall find cause to desire,

Your Lordships' most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[1] Votes of September 28th; Commons Journals, vi. 37: "received the day we entered Edinburgh" (Rushworth, *ubi supra*).

* King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 394, Sec. 19: Printed by Order of Parliament.

This was presented on Thursday, to the Dignitaries sitting in the Laigh Parliament-House in the City of Edinburgh. During which same day came "the Lord Provost to pay his respects" at Moray House; came "old Sir William Dick," an old Provost nearly ruined by his well-affected Loans of Money in these Wars, "and made an oration in name of the rest;"—came many persons, and quality carriages, making Moray House a busy place that day; "of which I hope a good fruit will appear."

Loudon Cancellarius and Company, from the Laigh Parliament-House, respond with the amplest assent next day:[1] and on the morrow, Saturday, all business being adjusted, and Lambert left with two horse-regiments to protect the Laigh Parliament-House from Lanarks and Malignants,—"when we were about to come away, several coaches were sent to bring up the Lieutenant-General, the Earl of Leven," Governor of the Castle and Scotch Commander-in-chief, "with Sir Arthur Haselrig and the rest of the Officers, to Edinburgh Castle; where was provided a very sumptuous Banquet," old Leven doing the honours, "my Lord Marquis of Argyle and divers other Lords being present to grace the entertainment. At our departure, many pieces of ordnance and a volley of small shot was given us from the Castle; and some Lords convoying us out of the City, we there parted." The Lord Provost had defrayed us, all the while, in the handsomest manner. We proceeded to Dalhousie, the Seat of the Ramsays, near Dalkeith; on the road towards Carlisle and home,—by Selkirk and Hawick, I conclude. Here we stay till Monday morning, and leave orders and write Letters.

LETTER LXXII.

A PRIVATE Note in behalf of "this Bearer, Colonel Robert Montgomery," now hastening up to Town; with whom we shall make some farther acquaintance, in another quarter, by and by. Doubtless the request was complied with.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons: These.

SIR, Dalhousie, 8th October, 1648.

Upon the desire of divers Noblemen and others of the Kingdom of Scotland, I am bold to become a suitor to you on the behalf of this Gentleman, the Bearer, Colonel Robert Montgomery; son-in-law[2] to the Earl of Eglinton. Whose faithfulness to you in the late troubles may render him worthy of a far greater favour than I shall, at this time, desire for him: for I can assure you, that there is not a Gentleman of that Kingdom that appeared more active against the late Invaders of England than himself.

Sir, it's desired that you would please to grant him an order for Two-thousand of the common Prisoners that were of Duke Hamilton's Army. You will have very good security that they shall not for the future trouble you: he will ease you of the charge of keeping them, as speedily as any other way you can dispose of them; besides their being in a

[1] Ibid.

[2] Mistake of the Lieutenant-General's for "son;"—"youngest son," say the Peerage Books.

friend's hands, so as there need be no fear of their ever being employed against you.

Sir, what favour you shall please to afford the Gentleman will very much oblige many of your friends of the Scottish Nation; and particularly Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The next, of Monday, is on public business, deliberately looking before and after.

LETTER LXXIII.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons: These.

SIR, Dalhousie, 9th October, 1648.

In my last, wherein I gave you an account of my despatch of Colonel Bright to Carlisle, after the rendition of Berwick, I acquainted you with my intentions to go to the head-quarters of my horse at the Earl of Winton's, within six miles of Edinburgh; that from thence I might represent to the Committee of Estates, what I had further to desire in your behalf.

The next day after I came thither, I received an invitation from the Committee of Estates to come to Edinburgh; they sending to me the Lord Kirkcudbright and Major-General Holborn for that purpose; with whom I went the same day, being Wednesday, 4th of this instant October. We fell into consideration, What was fit further to insist upon. And being sensible that the late Agreement between the Committee of Estates and the Earls of Crawford, Glencairn, and Lanark, did not sufficiently answer my instructions, which were, To disenable them from being in power to raise new troubles to England:—therefore I held it my duty, Not to be satisfied with the mere disbanding of them; but considering their power and interest, I thought it necessary to demand concerning them and all their abettors, according to the contents of the Paper[1] here enclosed.

Wherein,—having received that very day your Votes for giving further assistance 'to the Well-affected in Scotland,' I did in the close thereof acquaint them with the same; reserving such further satisfaction to be given by the Kingdom of Scotland, as the Parliament of England should in their wisdom see cause to desire. The Committee of Estates 'had' sent the Earl of Cassilis, Lord Warriston, and two Gentlemen more to me, To receive what I had to offer unto them; which upon Thursday I delivered. Upon Friday I received by the said persons this enclosed Answer, which is the Original itself.

Having proceeded thus far as a Soldier, and I trust by the blessing of God, not to your disservice; and having laid the business before you, I pray God direct you to do further as may be for His glory, the good of the Nation wherewith you are intrusted, and the comfort and encouragement of the Saints of God in both Kingdoms and all the World over. I do think the affairs of Scotland are in a thriving posture, as to the interest of honest men: and 'Scotland is' like to be a better neighbour to you now than when the great pretenders to the Covenant and

* Tann MSS. (in Cary, ii. 32). [1] Letter LXXI.

Religion and Treaties,—I mean Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdale, Traquair, Carnegy, and their confederates,—had the power in their hands. I dare 'be bold to' say that that Party, with their pretences, had not only, through the treachery of some in England (who have cause to blush), endangered the whole State and Kingdom of England; but also 'had' brought Scotland into such a condition, as that no honest man who had the fear of God, or a conscience of Religion, 'and' the *just* ends of the Covenant and Treaties, could have a being in that Kingdom. But God, who is not to be mocked or deceived, and is very jealous when His Name and Religion are made use of to carry on impious designs, hath taken vengeance of such profanity,—even to astonishment and admiration. And I wish from the bottom of my heart, it may cause all to tremble and repent, who have practised the like, to the blasphemy of His Name, and the destruction of His People; so as they may never presume to do the like again! And I think it is not unseasonable for me to take the humble boldness to say thus much at this time.

All the Enemy's Forces in Scotland are now disbanded. The Committee of Estates have declared against all of that Party's sitting in Parliament.[1] Good Elections are 'already' made in divers places; of such as dissented from and opposed the late wicked Engagement: and they are now raising a force of about 4,000 Horse and Foot;—which until they can complete, they have desired me to leave them two Regiments of Horse, and two Troops of Dragoons. Which accordingly I have resolved, conceiving I had warrant by your late Votes so to do; and have left Major-General Lambert to command them.

I have received, and so have the Officers with me, many honours and civilities, from the Committee of Estates, the City of Edinburgh, and Ministers; with a noble entertainment; which we may not own as done to us, but as 'done to' your servants. I am now marching towards Carlisle; and I shall give you such further accounts of your affairs as there shall be occasion. I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Cromwell, at Carlisle on the 14th, has received delivery of the Castle there, for which good news let the messenger have 100*l.*[2] Leaving all in tolerable order in those regions, the Lieutenant-General hastens into Yorkshire to Pontefract or Pomfret Castle; a strong place which had been surprised in the beginning of the year, and is stubbornly defended; —surrender being a very serious matter now; the War itself being contrary to Law and Treaty, and as good as Treason, think some.

LETTERS LXXIV.—LXXX.

THE Governor of Pontefract Castle is one Morris, once the Earl of Strafford's servant; a desperate man: this is the Lieutenant-General's summons to him.

[1] The Scotch Parliament, which is now getting itself elected.

* King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 392, sec. 19; see Commons Journals, vi. 54.

[2] Commons Journals, 20 October, 1648.

LETTER LXXIV.

For the Governor of Pontefract Castle.

SIR, 'Pontefract,' 9th November, 1648.

Being come hither for the reduction of this place, I thought fit to summon you to deliver your Garrison to me, for the use of the Parliament. Those gentlemen and soldiers with you may have better terms than if you should hold it to extremity. I expect your answer this day, and rest,

Your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Governor Morris stiffly refuses; holds out yet a good while,—and at last loses his head at York assizes by the business.[1] Royalism is getting desperate; has taken to highway robbery; is assassinating, and extensively attempting to assassinate.[2] Two weeks ago, Sunday, 29th October, a Party sallied from this very Castle of Pontefract; rode into Doncaster in disguise, and there, about five in the afternoon, getting into Colonel Rainsborough's lodging, stabbed him dead:—murder, or a very questionable kind of homicide!

LETTER LXXV.

As to Pontefract and Governor Morris here are some pertinent suggestions, "propositions," the Old Pamphlet calls them, sent "in a Letter from Lieutenant-General Cromwell and his Officers;" which are "read in the House," and straightway acted upon, to a certain extent:—had they been acted upon in full, that business might have ended sooner.

For the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons sitting at Derby House: These present.

Knottingley, near Pontefract,
MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, 15th November, 1648.

So soon as I came into these parts, I met with an earnest desire from the Committee of this County to take upon me the charge here, for the reducing of the Garrison of Pontefract. I received also commands from my Lord General, to the same effect.—I have had sight of a Letter to the House of Commons; wherein things are so represented, as if the Siege were at such a pass that the prize were already gained. In consideration whereof, I thought fit to let you know what the true state of this Garrison is; as also the condition of the country, that so you may not think demands for such things as would be necessary, unreasonable.

My lords, the Castle hath been victualled with Two-hundred and twenty or forty cattle within these three weeks; and they have also gotten in, as I am credibly informed, salt enough for them and more. So that I apprehend they are victualled for a twelvemonth. The men within are resolved to endure to the utmost extremity; expecting no mercy, as indeed they deserve none. The place is very well known to be one of the strongest inland Garrisons in the Kingdom; well watered; situated

* Newspapers (Cromwelliana, p. 48); Rushworth, vii. 1325.
[1] State Trials. [2] Rushworth, vii. 1279, &c. [illegible]

upon a rock in every part of it, and therefore difficult to mine. The walls very thick and high, with strong towers; and if battered, very difficult of access, by reason of the depth and steepness of the graft. The County is exceedingly impoverished; not able to bear free-quarter; nor well able to furnish provisions, if we had moneys. The work is like to be long, if materials be not furnished answerable. I therefore think it my duty to represent unto you as followeth: viz.—

That moneys be provided for Three complete regiments of Foot and Two of Horse;—'and indeed' that money be provided for all contingencies which are in view, too many to enumerate. That Five-hundred Barrels of powder, 'and' Six good Battering-guns, with Three-hundred shot to each Gun, be speedily sent down to Hull:—we desire none may be sent less than demi-cannons. We desire also some match and bullet. And if it may be, we should be glad that two or three of the biggest Mortar-pieces with shells may likewise be sent.

And although the desires of such proportions may seem costly, yet I hope you will judge it good thrift; especially if you consider that this place hath cost the Kingdom some hundred thousands of pounds already. And for aught I know, it may cost you one more, if it be trifled withal; besides the dishonour of it, and what other danger may be emergent, by its being in such hands. It's true, here are some two or three great Guns in Hull, and hereabouts; but they are unserviceable: and your Garrisons in Yorkshire are very much unsupplied at this time.

I have not as yet drawn any of our Foot to this place; only I make use of Colonel Fairfax's and Colonel Malevrier's Foot regiments; and keep the rest of the guards with the Horse; purposing to bring-on some of our Foot to-morrow. The rest,—these parts being not well able to bear them,—are a little dispersed in Lincoln and Nottingham Shires, for some refreshment; which after so much duty they need, and a little expect.

And indeed I would not satisfy myself nor my duty to you and them, To put the poor men, at this season of the year, to lie in the field: before we be furnished with shoes, stockings and clothes, for them to cover their nakedness,—which we hear are in preparation, and would [1] be speeded:—and until we have deal-boards to make them courts-of-guard, and tools to cast up works to secure them.

These things I have humbly represented to you; and waiting for your resolution and command, I rest,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Due *Orders* of the House in consequence, dated Saturday 18th November, can be read in the same old Pamphlet;[2] most prompt *Orders*, giving if not "Five-hundred Barrels of Powder," yet "Two-hundred and fifty;" a middle-term, or compliance half-way, which perhaps is as much as one could expect! Pontefract did not surrender till the end of March next.[3]

Meanwhile, the Royal Treaty in Newport comes to no good issue,

[1] Old for "should."
[2] See also Commons Journals, vi. 81.
* King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 394, sec. 24.
[3] "22 March" (Commons Journals, vi. 174).

and the Forty Days are now done; the Parliament by small and smaller instalments prolongs it, still hoping beyond hope for a good issue. The Army, sternly watchful of it from St. Albans, is presenting a Remonstrance, That a good issue lies not in it; that a good issue must be sought elsewhere than in *it*. By bringing Delinquents to justice; and the CHIEF DELINQUENT, who has again involved this Nation in blood! To which doctrine, various petitioning Counties and Parties, and a definite minority in Parliament and England generally testify their stern adherence, at all risks and hazards whatsoever.

LETTER LXXVI.

JENNER, Member of Cricklade, and Ashe, Member for Westbury; these two, sitting I think in the Delinquents' Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall, —seem inclined for a milder course. Wherein the Lieutenant-General does by no means agree with the said Jenner and Ashe; having had a somewhat closer experience of the matter than they!

"Colonel Owen" is a Welsh Delinquent; I find he is a Sir John Owen,—the same Sir John who seized my Lord Archbishop's Castle of Conway, in that violent manner, long since.[1] A violent man, now got into trouble enough, of whom there arises life-and death question by-and-by. "The Governor of Nottingham" is Colonel Hutchinson, whom we know. Sir Marmaduke Langdale we also know,—and "presume you have heard what is become of him?" Sir Marmaduke, it was rigorously voted on the 6th of this month, is one of the "Seven that shall be excepted from pardon;" whom the King himself, if he bargain with us, shall never forgive.[2] He escaped afterwards from Nottingham Castle, by industry of his own.

To the Honourable my honoured Friends Robert Jenner and John Ashe, Esquires, 'at London:' These.

Knottingley, near Pontefract,
20th November, 1648.

GENTLEMEN,

I received an order from the Governor of Nottingham, directed to him from you, to bring up Colonel Owen, or take bail for his coming up to make his composition, he having made an humble Petition to the Parliament for the same.

If I be not mistaken, the House of Commons did vote all those 'persons' Traitors that did adhere to, or bring in, the Scots in their late Invading of this Kingdom under Duke Hamilton. And not without very clear justice; this being a more prodigious Treason than any that had been perfected before; because the former quarrel was that Englishmen might rule over one another; this to vassalise us to a foreign Nation. And their fault who have appeared in this Summer's business is certainly double to theirs who were in the first, because it is the repetition of the same offence against all the witnesses that God has borne,[3] by making and abetting a Second War.

1 Antea, p. 179.
2 Commons Journals, vi. 70.
3 From Naseby downwards, God, in the battle-whirlwind, seemed to speak and witness very audibly.

And if this be their justice,[1] and upon so good grounds, I wonder how it comes to pass that so eminent actors should so easily be received to compound. You will pardon me if I tell you how contrary this is to some of your judgments at the rendition of Oxford: though we had the Town in consideration,[2] and 'our' blood saved to boot; yet Two Years perhaps was thought too little to expiate their offence.[3] But now, when you have such men in your hands, and it will cost you nothing to do justice; now after all this trouble and the hazard of a Second War, for a little more money [4] all offences shall be pardoned!

This Gentleman was taken with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in their flight together:—I presume you have heard what is become of *him*. Let me remember you that out of the 'same' Garrison was fetched not long since (I believe while we were in heat of action) Colonel Humphrey Mathews, than whom this Cause we have fought for has not had a more dangerous enemy;—and he not guilty only of being an enemy, but he apostatised from your Cause and Quarrel; having been a Colonel, if not more, under you, and 'then' the desperatest promoter of the Welsh Rebellion amongst them all! And how near you were brought to ruin thereby, all men that know anything can tell;[5] and this man was taken away by composition, by what order I know not.

Gentlemen, though my sense does appear more severe than perhaps you would have it, yet give me leave to tell you I find a sense among the Officers concerning such things as 'the treatment of' those men, to amazement;—which truly is not so much to see their blood made so cheap, as to see such manifest witnessings of God, so terrible and so just, no more reverenced.

I have directed the Governor to acquaint the Lord-General herewith, and rest,

Gentlemen,
Your most obedient servant,
'OLIVER CROMWELL.'*

Here is a sour morsel for Jenner and Ashe; different from what they were expecting! It is to be hoped they will digest this piece of admonition, and come forth on the morrow two sadder and two wiser men. For Colonel Owen, at all events, there is clearly no outlook, at present, but sitting reflective in the strong-room of Nottingham Castle, whither his bad Genius has led him, may escape beheading on this occasion; but very narrowly. He "was taken with Sir Marmaduke in their flight

[1] House of Commons's.
[2] Town as some recompense.
[3] Sentence unintelligible to the careless reader, so hasty is it, and over-crowded with meaning in the original. "Give me leave to tell you that, if it were contrary to some of your judgments, that at the rendition of Oxford, though we had the Town in consideration, and blood saved to boot; yet Two Years perhaps," &c.—Oxford was surrendered 20-24 June, 1646; the Malignants found there were to have a composition, not exceeding Two Years revenue for estates of inheritance (Rushworth, vi. 280, 5),—which the victorious Presbyterian Party, belike Jenner and Ashe among the rest, had exclaimed against as too lenient a procedure. Very different now when the new Malignants, though a *double* criminal set, are bone of their own bone!
[4] Goldsmiths' Hall has a true feeling for Money; a dimmer one for Justice, it seems!
[5] Witness Chepstow, St. Fagan's, Pembroke;—"this man" is Mathews.
* Sloane MSS. 1519, fol. 04.

together;" one of the confused Welshmen discomfited in June and July last, who had fled to join Hamilton, and be worse discomfited a second time. The House some days ago had voted that "Sir John Owen," our "Colonel Owen," should get off with "banishment;" likewise that Lord Capel, the Earl of Holland, and other capital Delinquents should be "banished;" and even that James Earl of Cambridge (James Duke of Hamilton) should be "*fined* £100,000." Such votes are not unlikely to produce "a sense amongst the Officers," who had to grapple with these men, as with devouring dragons lately, life to life. Such votes—will need to be rescinded.[1] Such and some others! For indeed the Presbyterian Party has rallied in the House during the late high blaze of Royalism; and got a Treaty set on foot as we saw, and even got the Eleven brought back again.—

Jenner and Ashe are old stagers, having entered Parliament at the beginning. They are frequently seen in public business; assiduous subalterns. Ashe sat afterwards in Oliver's Parliaments.[2] Of this Ashe I will remember another thing: once some years ago, when the House was about thanking some Monthly-fast Preacher, Ashe said pertinently, "What is the use of thanking a Preacher who spoke so low that nobody could hear him?"[3]

Colonel Humphrey Mathews, we are glad to discover,[4] was one of the persons taken in Pembroke Castle by Oliver himself in July last; brought along with him, on the march towards Preston, and left, as the other Welsh Prisoners were, at Nottingham;—out of which most just durance some pragmatical official, Ashe, Jenner, or another, "by what order I know not," has seen good to deliver him; him, "the desperatest promoter of the Welsh Rebellion amongst them all." Such is red-tape even in a Heroic Puritanic Age! No wonder "the Officers have a sense of it," amounting even "to amazement." Our blood that we have shed in the Quarrel, this you shall account as nothing, since you so please; but these "manifest witnessings of God, so terrible and so just," —are they not witnessings of God; are they mere sports of chance? Ye wretched infidel red-tape mortals, what will or can become of you? By and by, if this course hold, it will appear that "You are no Parliament;" that you are a nameless, unbelieving rabble, with the mere title of Parliament, who must go about your business elsewhither, with soldiers' pikes in your rearward!—

This Lieutenant-General is not without temper, says Mr. Maidstone: "temper exceeding fiery as I have known; yet the flame of it kept down for most part, or soon allayed;—and naturally compassionate towards objects in distress, even to an effeminate measure. Though God had made him a heart wherein was left little room for any fear but what was due to God Himself, yet did he exceed in tenderness towards sufferers,"[5]—yes, and in rigour against infidel quacks and godless detestable persons, which is the opposite phasis of that, he was by no means wanting!

[1] Passed, 10 November, 1648 (Commons Journals, vi. 3); repealed, 13 December (with a Declaration; Somers Tracts, v. 167).
[2] Parliamentary History, xxi. 3. [3] D'Ewes's MS. v. 414. [4] Cromwelliana, pp. 41, 42.
[5] Maidstone's Letter to Winthrop (Thurloe, i. 766).

LETTER LXXVII.

"ALL the Regiments here have petitioned my Lord General against the Treaty" at Newport, "and for Justice and a Settlement of the Kingdom. They desired the Lieutenant-General to recommend their Petition; which he hath done in the Letter following;"—which is of the same date, and goes in the same bag with that to Jenner and Ashe, just given.

For his Excellency the Lord General Fairfax, 'at St. Albans: These.'

MY LORD, Knottingley, 20th November, 1648.

I find in the Officers of the Regiments a very great sense of the sufferings of this poor Kingdom; and in them all a very great zeal to have impartial Justice done upon Offenders. And I must confess I do in all, from my heart, concur with them; and I verily think and am persuaded they are things which God puts into our hearts.

I shall not need to offer anything to your Excellency: I know, God teaches you; and that He hath manifested His presence so to you as that you will give glory to Him in the eyes of all the world. I held it my duty, having received these Petitions and Letters, and being 'so' desired by the framers thereof,—to present them to you. The good Lord work His will upon your heart, enabling you to *it*; and the presence of Almighty God go along with you. Thus prays,

My Lord,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

This same day, Monday, 20th November, 1748, the Army from St. Albans, by Colonel Ewer and a Deputation, presents its humble unanimous "Remonstrance" to the House; craving that the same be taken "into speedy and serious consideration."[1] It is indeed a most serious Document; tending to the dread Unknown! Whereupon ensue "high debates," Whether we shall take it into consideration? Debates to be resumed this day week. The Army, before this day week, moves up to Windsor; will see a little what consideration there is. Newport Treaty is just expiring; Presbyterian Royalism, on the brink of desperate crises, adds still two days of life to it.

LETTER LXXVIII.

THE Army came to Windsor on Saturday, the 25th; on which same day Oliver, from Knottingley, is writing a remarkable Letter, the last of the series, to Hammond in the Isle of Wight, who seems to be in much strait about "that Person" and futile Treaty now under his keeping there.

First, however, read this Note, of like date, on a local matter: one of many Notes which a vigilant Lieutenant-General, be where he may, has to importune the Governing Powers with. Hull Garrison and Governor Overton, like most garrisons and persons, are short of pay. Grocers' Hall, Haberdashers' Hall, or some section of the Finance Department, ought absolutely to take thought of it.

* Rushworth, vii. 1339.

[1] Commons Journals, vi. 81; Remonstrance itself in Rushworth, vii. 1330.

For my noble Friend, Thomas St. Nicholas, Esq.: 'These, at London.'

SIR, Knottingley, 25th November, 1648.

I suppose it's not unknown to you how much the Country is in arrear to the Garrison of Hull;—as likewise how probable it is that the Garrison will break, unless some speedy course be taken to get them money; the soldiers at the present being ready to mutiny, as not having money to buy them bread; and without money the stubborn Townspeople will not trust them for the worth of a penny.

Sir, I must beg of you that, as you tender the good of the Country, so far as the security of that Garrison is motioned, you would give your assistance to the helping of them to their money which the Country owes them. The Governor will apply himself to you, either in person or by letter. I pray you do for him herein as in a business of very high consequence. I am the more earnest with you, as having a very deep sense how dangerous the event may be, of their being neglected in the matter of their pay. I rest upon your favour herein;—and subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your very humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Hull Garrison does not "break:" doubtless St. Nicholas, a chief Clerk, of weight in his department, did what he could. A Kentish man this St. Nicholas, if any one could be supposed to care what he was; came to be Recorder of Canterbury, and even refractory Member for Canterbury;[1] has his seat, for the present, in the Grocers'-Hall region, among the budgets or "bottomless bags," as Independency Walker calls them. And now for the remarkable Letter contemporaneous with this:

LETTER LXXIX.

To Colonel Robert Hammond: These.

'Knottingley, near Pontefract,'

DEAR ROBIN, 25th November, 1648.

No man rejoiceth more to see a line from thee than myself. I know thou hast long been under trial. Thou shalt be no loser by it. All 'things' must work for the best.

Thou desirest to hear of my experiences. I can tell thee: I am such a one as thou didst formerly know, having a body of sin and death; but I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord there is no condemnation, though much infirmity; and I wait for the redemption. And in this poor condition I obtain mercy, and sweet consolation through the Spirit. And find abundant cause every day to exalt the Lord, and abase flesh,—and herein[2] I have some exercise.

As to outward dispensations, if we may so call them: we have not been without our share of beholding some remarkable providences, and appearances of the Lord. His presence hath been amongst us, and by

* Kimber's (anonymous) Life of Cromwell (4th edition, London, 1741), p. 82: Not given in the 1st edition; no notice whence.

[1] Whitlocke, September 1656 (2d Edition, p. 642); Parliamentary History, xxi. 8; and Commons Journals, vii. 650, 730.

[2] "and in the latter respect at least"

the light of His countenance we have prevailed.[1] We are sure, the goodwill of Him who dwelt in the Bush has shined upon us; and we can humbly say, We know in whom we have believed; who can and will perfect what remaineth, and us also in doing what is well-pleasing in His eyesight.

I find some trouble in your spirit; occasioned first, not only by the continuance of your sad and heavy burden, as you call it, but 'also' by the dissatisfaction you take at the ways of some good men whom you love with your heart, who through this principle, That it is lawful for a lesser part, if in the right, to force 'a numerical majority' &c.

To the first: Call not your burden sad or heavy. If your Father laid it upon you, He intended neither. He is the Father of lights, from whom comes every good and perfect gift; who of His own will begot us, and bade us count it all joy when such things befal us; they being for the exercise of faith and patience, *whereby in the end* (James i.) *we shall be made perfect.*

Dear Robin, our fleshly reasonings ensnare us. These make us say, "heavy," "sad,' "pleasant," "easy." Was there not a little of this when Robert Hammond, through dissatisfaction too, desired retirement from the Army, and thought of quiet in the Isle of Wight?[2] Did not God find him out there? I believe he will never forget this.—And now I perceive he is to seek again; partly through his sad and heavy burden, and partly through his dissatisfaction with friends' actings.

Dear Robin, thou and I were never worthy to be doorkeepers in this Service. If thou wilt seek, seek to know the mind of God in all that chain of Providence, whereby God brought thee thither, and that Person to thee; how, before and since, God has ordered him, and affairs concerning him: and then tell me, Whether there be not some glorious and high meaning in all this, above what thou hast yet attained? And, laying aside thy fleshly reason, seek of the Lord to teach thee what that is; and He will do it. I dare be positive to say, It is not that the wicked should be exalted that God should so appear as indeed He hath done.[3] For there is no peace to *them.* No, it is set upon the hearts of such as fear the Lord, and we have witness upon witness, That it shall go ill with them and their partakers. I say again, seek that spirit to teach thee; which is the spirit of knowledge and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, of wisdom and of the fear of the Lord. That spirit will close thine eyes and stop thine ears, so that thou shalt not judge by them; but thou shalt judge for the meek of the Earth, and thou shalt be made able to do accordingly. The Lord direct thee to that which is well-pleasing in His eyesight.

As to thy dissatisfaction with friends' actings upon that supposed principle, I wonder not at that. If a man take not his own burden well, he shall hardly others'; especially if involved by so near a relation of love and Christian brotherhood as thou art. I shall not take upon me

[1] At Preston, &c.
[2] 6th September of the foregoing year.
[3] For other purposes that God has so manifested Himself as, in these transactions of ours, He has done.

to satisfy ; but I hold myself bound to lay my thoughts before so dear a friend. The Lord do His own will.

You say : "God hath appointed authorities among the nations, to which active or passive obedience is to be yielded. This resides in England in the Parliament. Therefore active or passive resistance" &c.

Authorities and powers are the ordinance of God. This or that species is of human institution, and limited, some with larger, others with stricter bands, each one according to its constitution. 'But' I do not therefore think the Authorities may do *anything*,[1] and yet such obedience be due. All agree that there are cases in which it is lawful to resist. If so, your ground fails, and so likewise the inference. Indeed, dear Robin, not to multiply words, the query is, Whether ours be such a case? This ingenuously is the true question.

To this I shall say nothing, though I could say very much ; but only desire thee to see what thou findest in thy own heart to two or three plain considerations : *First*, Whether *Salus Populi* be a sound position?[2] *Secondly*, Whether in the way in hand,[3] really and before the Lord, before whom conscience has to stand, this be provided for ;—or if the whole fruit of the War is not like to be frustrated, and all most like to turn to what it was, and worse? And this, contrary to Engagements, explicit Covenants with those[4] who ventured their lives upon those Covenants and Engagements, without whom perhaps, in equity, relaxation ought not to be? *Thirdly*, Whether this Army be not a lawful Power, called by God to oppose and fight against the King upon some stated grounds ; and being in power to such ends, may not oppose one Name of Authority, for those ends, as well as another Name,—since it was not the outward Authority summoning them that by *its* power made the quarrel lawful, but the quarrel was lawful in itself? If so, it may be, acting will be justified *in foro humano*.—But truly this kind of reasonings may be but fleshly, either with or against : only it is good to try what truth may be in them. And the Lord teach us.

My dear Friend, let us look into providences ; surely they mean somewhat. They hang so together ; have been so constant, so clear, unclouded. Malice, swoln malice against God's people, now called "Saints," to root out their name ;—and yet they, 'these poor Saints,' getting arms, and therein blessed with defence and more !—I desire, he that is for a principle of suffering[5] would not too much slight this. I slight not him who is so minded : but let us beware lest fleshly reasoning see more safety in making use of this principle than in acting ! Who acts, if he resolve not through God to be willing to part with all? Our hearts are very deceitful, on the right and on the left.

What think you of Providence disposing the hearts of so many of God's people this way,—especially in this poor Army, wherein the great God has vouchsafed to appear ! I know not one Officer among us but is on the increasing hand.[6] And let me say, it is after much patience,

[1] Whatsoever they like.
[2] "The safety of the people the supreme law :" is that a true doctrine or a false one?
[3] By this Parliamentary Treaty with the King.
[4] Us soldiers.
[5] Passive obedience.
[6] Come or coming over to this opinion.

—here in the North. We trust, the same Lord who hath framed our minds in our actings is with us in this also. And all contrary to a natural tendency, and to those comforts *our* hearts could wish to enjoy as well as others. And the difficulties probably to be encountered with, and the enemies :—not few ; even all that is glorious in this world. Appearance of united names, titles and authorities 'all against us ;'—and yet not terrified 'we ;' only desiring to fear our great God, that we do nothing against His will. Truly this is our condition.[1]

And to conclude. We in this Northern Army were in a waiting posture ; desiring to see what the Lord would lead us to. And a declaration[2] is put out, at which many are shaken :—although we could perhaps have wished the stay of it till after the treaty, yet seeing it is come out, we trust to rejoice in the will of the Lord, waiting His farther pleasure.—Dear Robin, beware of men ; look up to the Lord. Let Him be free to speak and command in thy heart. Take heed of the things I fear thou hast reasoned thyself into ; and thou shalt be able through Him, without consulting flesh and blood, to do valiantly for Him and His people.

Thou mentionest somewhat as if, by acting against such opposition as is like to be, there will be a tempting of God. Dear Robin, tempting of God ordinarily is either by acting presumptuously in carnal confidence, or in unbelief through diffidence : both these ways Israel tempted God in the wilderness, and He was grieved by them. Not the encountering 'of' difficulties, therefore, makes us to tempt God ; but the acting before and without faith.[3] If the Lord have in any measure persuaded His people, as generally He hath, of the lawfulness, nay of the *duty*,—this persuasion prevailing upon the heart is faith ; and acting thereupon is acting in faith ; and the more the difficulties are, the more the faith. And it is most sweet that he who is not persuaded have patience towards them that are, and judge not : and this will free thee from the trouble of others' actings, which, thou sayest, adds to thy grief. Only let me offer two or three things, and I have done.

Dost thou not think this fear of the Levellers (of whom there is no fear) "that they would destroy Nobility," '&c.' has caused some to take up corruption, and find it lawful to make this ruining hypocritical Agreement, on one part ?[4] Hath not this biassed even some good men ? I will not say, the thing they fear will come upon them ; but if it do, they will themselves bring it upon themselves. Have not some of our friends by their passive principle (which I judge not, only I think it liable to temptation as well as the active, and neither of them good but as we are led into them of God, and neither of them to be reasoned into, because the heart is deceitful),—been occasioned to over-

[1] The incorrect original, rushing on in an eager ungrammatical manner, were it not that common readers might miss the meaning of it, would please me better ; at any rate I subjoin it here as somewhat characteristic : "And let me say it is here in the North after much patience, we trust the same Lord who hath framed our minds in our actings is with us in this also. And this contrary to a natural tendency, and to those comforts our hearts could wish to enjoy with others. And the difficulties probably to be encountered with, and the enemies, not few, even all that is glorious in this world, with appearance of united names, titles and authorities, and yet not terrified, only" &c.

[2] Remonstrance of the Army, presented by Ewer on Monday last.

[3] Very true my Lord General,—then, now and always !

[4] Hollow Treaty at Newport.

look what is just and honest, and to think the people of God may have as much or more good the one way than the other? Good by this Man,—against whom the Lord hath witnessed; and whom thou knowest? Is this so in their hearts; or is it reasoned, forced in?[1]

Robin, I have done. Ask we our hearts, Whether we think that, after all, these dispensations, the like to which many generations cannot afford,—should end in so corrupt reasonings of good men; and should so hit the designings of bad? Thinkest thou in thy heart that the glorious dispensations of God point out to this? Or to teach His people to trust in Him, and to wait for better things,—when, it may be, better are sealed to many of their spirits?[2] And I, as a poor looker-on I had rather live in the hope of that spirit 'which believes that God doth so teach us,' and take my share with *them*, expecting a good issue, than be led away with the others.

This trouble I have been at, because my soul loves thee, and I would not have thee swerve, or lose any glorious opportunity the Lord puts into thy hand. The Lord be thy counsellor. Dear Robin, I rest thine,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Colonel Hammond, the ingenuous young man whom Oliver much loves, did not receive this Letter at the Isle of Wight whither it was directed; young Colonel Hammond is no longer there. On Monday the 27th, there came to him Colonel Ewer, he of the Remonstrance; Colonel Ewer with new force, with an Order from the Lord General and Army Council that Colonel Hammond do straightway repair to Windsor, being wanted at head-quarters there. A young Colonel, with dubitations such as those of Hammond's, will not suit in that Isle at present. Ewer, on the Tuesday night, a night of storm and pouring rain, besets his Majesty's lodgings in the Town of Newport (for his Majesty is still on parole there) with strange soldiers, in a strange state of readiness, the smoke of their gun-matches poisoning the air of his Majesty's apartment itself;—and on the morrow morning at eight of the clock, calls out his Majesty's coach; moves off with his Majesty in grim reticence and rigorous military order, to Hurst Castle, a small solitary stronghold on the opposite beach yonder.[3]

For at London matters are coming rapidly to a crisis. The resumed Debate, "Shall the Army Remonstrance be taken into consideration?" does not come out affirmative, on the contrary, on Monday the 30th, it comes out negative by a Majority of Ninety: "No, we will not take it into consideration." No? The Army at Windsor, thereupon, spends again "a day in Prayer." The Army at Windsor has decided on the morrow that it will march to London;—marches, arrives, accordingly, on Saturday December 2d; quarters itself in Whitehall, in St. James's; "and other great vacant Houses in the skirts of the City and Villages about, no offence being given anywhere."[4] In the drama of Modern

[1] I think it is "reasoned" in, and by bad arguments too, my Lord General! The inner heart of the men in real contact with the inner heart of the matter had little to do with all that:—alas, *was* there ever any such "contact" with the real truth of any matter, on the part of such men, your Excellency!

[2] Already indubitably sure to many of them.

* Birch, p. 101; ends the Volume

[3] Colonel Cook's Narrative, in Rushworth, vii. 1344.

[4] Rushworth, vii. 1350.

History one knows not any graver, more noteworthy scene ;—earnest as very Death and Judgment. They have decided to have Justice, these men ; to see God's Justice done, and His judgments executed on this Earth. The abysses where the thunders and the splendours are bred, —the reader sees them again laid bare : and black Madness lying close to the Wisdom which is brighest and highest ;—and owls and godless men who hate the lightning and the light, and love the mephitic dusk and darkness, are no judges of the actions of heroes ! "Shedders of blood?" Yes, blood is occasionally shed. The healing Surgeon, the sacrificial Priest, the august Judge pronouncer of God's oracles to men, these and the atrocious Murderer are alike shedders of blood ; and it is an owl's eye that, except for the *dresses* they wear, discerns no difference in these !—Let us leave the owl to his hootings ; let us get on with our Chronology and swift course of events.

On *Monday*, *4th December*, the House, for the last time, takes "into farther debate" the desperate question, Whether his Majesty's concessions in that Treaty of Newport are a ground of settlement?—debates it all Monday ; has debated it all Friday and Saturday before. Debates it all Monday, "till five o'clock next morning ;" at five o'clock next morning, decides it, Yea. By a Majority of Forty-six, One hundred and twenty-nine to Eighty-three, it is at five o'clock on Tuesday morning decided, Yea, they are a ground of settlement. The Army Chiefs and the Minority consult together, in deep and deepest deliberation, through the night ; not, I suppose, without Prayer ; and on the morrow morning this is what we see :

Wednesday, *6th December*, 1648, "Colonel Rich's regiment of horse and Colonel Pride's regiment of foot were a guard to the Parliament ; and the City Trainbands were discharged" from that employment.[1] Yes, they were ! Colonel's Rich's horse stand ranked in Palaceyard, Colonel Pride's foot in Westminster Hall and at all entrances to the Commons House, this day : and in Colonel Pride's hand is a written list of names, names of the chief among the Hundred and twenty-nine ; and at his side is my Lord Grey of Groby, who, as this Member after that comes up, whispers or beckons, "He is one of them ; he cannot enter !" And Pride gives the word, "To the Queen's Court ;" and Member after Member is marched thither, Forty-one of them this day ; and kept there in a state bordering on rabidity, asking, By what Law ? and ever again, By what Law ? Is there a colour or faintest shadow of Law to be found in any of the Books, Yearbooks, Rolls of Parliament, Bractons, Fletas, Cokes upon Lyttleton, for this ? Hugh Peters visits them ; has little comfort, no light as to the Law ; confesses, "It is by the Law of Necessity ; truly, by the Power of the Sword."

It must be owned the Constable's baton is fairly down, this day ; overborne by the Power of the Sword, and a Law not to be found in any of the Books. At night the distracted Forty-one are marched to Mr. Duke's Tavern hard-by, a "Tavern called Hell ;" and very imperfectly accommodated for the night. Sir Symonds D'Ewes, who has ceased taking notes long since ; Mr. William Prynne, louder than any in the question of Law ; Waller, Massey, Harley, and others of the old

[1] Ibid. vii. 1353 ; See Whitlocke, (2d edition p. 360), Walker's Independency, &c.

Eleven, are of this unlucky Forty-one ; among whom too we count little Clement Walker "in his gray suit with his little stick,"[1]—asking in the voice of the indomitablest terrier or Blenheim cocker, "By what Law? I ask again, By what Law?" Whom no mortal will ever be able to answer. Such is the far-famed Purging of the House by Colonel Pride.

This evening, while the Forty-one are getting lodged in Mr. Duke's, Lieutenant-General Cromwell came to Town. Pontefract Castle is not taken ; he has left Lambert looking after that, and come up hither to look after more important things.

The Commons on Wednesday did send out to demand "the Members of this House" from Colonel Pride ; but Pride made respectful evasive answer :—could not for the moment comply with the desires of the honourable House. On the Thursday Lieutenant-General Cromwell is thanked ; and *Pride's Purge* continues : new men of the Majority are seized : others scared away need no seizing ;—above a Hundred in all ;[2] who are sent into their countries, sent into the Tower ; sent out of our way, and trouble us no farther. The Minority has now become Majority ; there is now clear course for it, clear resolution there has for some time back been in it. What its resolution was, and its action that it did in pursuance thereof, "an action not done in a corner, but in sight of all the Nations," and of God who made the Nations, we know, and the whole world knows !—

LETTER LXXX.

DUTCH Dorislaus, the learned Doctor, late Judge-Advocate, employed in many weighty things, and soon to be employed in the weightiest, wants now a very small accommodation which is in the gift of certain Cambridge people. A busy Lieutenant-General, while the world-whirlwind is piping loud, has to write for him this small Note withal :

To the Right Worshipful the Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall in Cambridge : These.

GENTLEMEN, 'London,' 18th December, 1648.

I am given to understand that by the late decease of Dr. Duck, his Chamber hath become vacant in the Doctors Commons 'here ;'—to which Dr. Dorislaus now desireth to be your tenant ; who hath done service unto the Parliament from the beginning of these Wars, and hath been constantly employed by the Parliament in many weighty affairs ; and especially of late, beyond the seas, with the States General of the United Provinces.

If you please to prefer him before any other, paying rent and fine to

[1] List in Rushworth, p. 1355.
[2] Three in Somers Tracts, vi. 37 '—very incorrect, as all the Lists are.

your College, I shall take it as a courtesy at your hands; whereby you will oblige,

Your assured friend and servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Whether Dorislaus got Duck's Chamber, we shall not ask; being, some three weeks hence, employed as Advocate in the King's Trial, and shortly after assassinated at the Hague for that work,[1] it proved to be of no importance to Dorislaus. The loud world-whirlwind pipes as before.

DEATH-WARRANT.

THE Trial of Charles Stuart falls not to be described in this place; the deep meanings that lie in it cannot be so much as glanced at here. Oliver Cromwell attends in the High Court of Justice at every session except one; Fairfax sits only in the first. Ludlow, Whalley, Walton, names known to us, are also constant attendants in that High Court, during that long-memorable Month of January, 1649. The King is thrice brought to the Bar; refuses to plead, comports himself with royal dignity, with royal haughtiness, strong in his divine right; "smiles" contemptuously, "looks with an austere countenance;"—does not seem, till the very last, to have fairly believed that they would dare to sentence him. But they were men sufficiently provided with daring; men, we are bound to see, who sat there as in the Presence of the Maker of all men, as executing the judgments of Heaven above, and had not the fear of any man or thing on the Earth below. Bradshaw said to the King, "Sir, you are not permitted to issue out in these discoursings. This Court is satisfied of its authority. No Court will bear to hear its authority questioned in that manner."—"Clerk, read the Sentence!"

And so, under date 29th January, 1648-9, there is this stern Document to be introduced; not specifically of Oliver's composition; but expressing in every letter of it the conviction of Oliver's heart, in this, one of his most important appearances on the stage of earthly life.

To Colonel Francis Hacker, Colonel Huncks, and Lieutenant-Colonel Phayr, and to every of them.

At the High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart, King of England, 29th January, 1648.

WHEREAS Charles Stuart, King of England, is and standeth convicted, attainted and condemned of High Treason and other high Crimes; and Sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court, To be put to death by the severing of his head from his body; of which Sentence execution yet remaineth to be done:

These are therefore to will and require you to see the said Sentence executed, in the open Street before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the Thirtieth day of this instant month of January, between the hours

* Trinity-Hall MSS.: in Cambridge Portfolio (London, 1840), ii. 39.
[1] Antea, p. 182; Wood, iii. 666-8.

CHARLES I. LEAVING WESTMINSTER AFTER HIS TRIAL.

From the painting by Sir J. GILBERT, R.A., by permission of the Sheffield Corporation.

of Ten in the morning and Five in the afternoon, with full effect. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant.

And these are to require all Officers and Soldiers, and others the good People of this Nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this service.

Given under our hands and seals,

JOHN BRADSHAW.
THOMAS GREY, 'LORD GROBY.
OLIVER CROMWELL.
('and Fifty-six others.')*

"*Ipsis molossis ferociores*, More savage than their own mastiffs!" shrieks Saumaise;[1] shrieks all the world, in unmelodious soul-confusing diapason of distraction,—happily at length grown very faint in our day. The truth is, no modern reader can conceive the then atrocity, ferocity, unspeakability of this fact. First, after long reading in the old dead Pamphlets does one see the magnitude of it. To be equalled, nay to be preferred think some, in point of horror, to the "Crucifixion of Christ." Alas, in these irreverent times of ours, if all the Kings of Europe were to be cut in pieces at one swoop, and flung in heaps in St. Margaret's Churchyard on the same day, the emotion would, in strict arithmetical truth, be small in comparison! We know it not, this atrocity of the English Regicides; shall never know it. I reckon it perhaps the most daring action any Body of Men to be met with in History ever, with clear consciousness, deliberately set themselves to do. Dread Phantoms, glaring supernal on you,—when once they are quelled and their light snuffed out, none knows the terror of the Phantom! The Phantom is a poor paper-lantern with a candle-end in it, which any whipster dare now beard.

A certain Queen in some South-Sea Island, I have read in Missionary Books, had been converted to Christianity; did not any longer believe in the old gods. She assembled her people; said to them, "My faithful People, the gods do *not* dwell in that burning-mountain in the centre of our Isle. That is not God; no, that is a common burning-mountain, —mere culinary fire burning under peculiar circumstances. See, I will walk before you to that burning-mountain; will empty my washbowl into it, cast my slipper over it, defy it to the uttermost, and stand the consequences!"—She walked accordingly, this South-Sea Heroine, nerved to the sticking-place; her people following in pale horror and expectancy: she did her experiment;—and, I am told, they have truer notions of the gods in that Island ever since! Experiment which is now very easy to *repeat*, and very needless. Honour to the Brave who deliver us from Phantom-dynasties, in South-Sea Islands and in North!

This action of the English Regicides did in effect strike a damp like death through the heart of Flunkeyism universally in this world. Whereof Flunkeyism, Cant, Cloth-worship, or whatever ugly name it have, has gone about incurably sick ever since; and is now at length, in these generations, very rapidly dying. The like of which action will

* Rushworth, vii. 1426; Nalson's Trial of King Charles (London, 1684); Phelpes's Trial of &c. &c.

[1] Salmasii Clamor Regii Sanguinis.

not be needed for a thousand years again. Needed, alas—not till a new genuine Hero-worship has arisen, has perfected itself; and had time to degenerate into a Flunkeyism and Cloth-worship again! Which I take to be a very long date indeed.

Thus ends the second Civil War. In Regicide, in a Commonwealth and Keepers of the Liberties of England. In punishment of Delinquents, in abolition of Cobwebs;—if it be possible, in a Government of Heroism and Veracity; at lowest, of Anti-Flunkeyism, Anti-Cant, and the *endeavour* after Heroism and Veracity.

VOLUME II.

CHARLES I. ON HIS WAY TO EXECUTION.

From the picture by Lucy Kemp-Welch.

PART V.

CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND.

1649.

LETTERS LXXXI-XC.

ON *Tuesda;*, *30th January*, 1648-9, it is ordered in the Commons House, "That the Post be stayed until to-morrow morning, ten of the clock:" and the same afternoon, the King's Execution having now taken place, Edward Dendy Sergeant at Arms, with due trumpeters, pursuivants and horse-troops, notifies, loud as he can blow, at Cheapside and elsewhere, openly to all men, That whosoever shall proclaim a new King, Charles Second or another, without authority of Parliament, in this Nation of England, shall be a Traitor and suffer death. For which service, on the morrow, each trumpeter receives "ten shillings" of the public money, and Sergeant Dendy himself—shall see what he will receive.[1] And all Sheriffs, Mayors of Towns and such like are to do the same in their respective localities, that the fact be known to every one.

After which follow, in Parliament and out of it, such debatings, and committee-ings, consulting towards a Settlement of this Nation, as the reader can in a dim way sufficiently fancy for himself on considering the two following facts.

First, that on *February 13th*, Major Thomas Scot, an honourable Member whom we shall afterwards know better, brings in his Report or Ordinance for a COUNCIL OF STATE to be henceforth the Executive among us; which Council, to the number of Forty-one Persons, is thereupon nominated by Parliament; and begins its Sessions at Derby House on the 17th. Bradshaw, Fairfax, Cromwell, Whitlocke, Harry Marten, Ludlow, Vane the Younger, and others whom we know, are of this Council.

Second, That, after much adjustment and new-modelling, new Great Seals, new Judges, Sergeant's Maces, there comes out, on *May 19th*, an emphatic Act, brief as Sparta, in these words: "Be it declared and enacted by this present Parliament, and by the authority of the same: That the People of England, and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, are and shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, established and confirmed to be, A Commonwealth or Free-State; and shall from henceforth be governed as a Commonwealth and Free-State,

[1] Commons Journals, vi. 126; Scobell's Acts and Ordinances (London, 1658, 1657), ii. 3.

—by the Supreme Authority of this Nation the Representatives of the People in Parliament, and by such as they shall appoint and constitute officers and ministers under them for the good of the People; and that without any King or House of Lords."[1]—What modelling and consulting has been needed in the interim the reader shall conceive.

Strangely enough, among which great national transactions the following small family-matters again turn up; asserting that they too had right to happen in this world, and keep memory of themselves,—and shew how a Lieutenant-General's mind, busy pulling down Idolatrous Kingships, and setting up Religious Commonwealth, has withal an idle eldest Son to marry!

There occurred "a stick," as we saw some time ago,[2] in this Marriage-treaty: but now it gathers life again; and, not to agitate the reader's sympathies overmuch, we will say at once that it took effect this time; that Richard Cromwell was actually wedded to Dorothy Mayor, at Hursley, on Mayday 1649;[3] and one point fairly settled at last!—But now mark farther how Anne, second daughter of the House of Hursley, came to be married not long after to "John Dunch of Pusey in Berkshire;" which Dunch of Pusey had a turn for collecting Letters. How Dunch, groping about Hursley in subsequent years, found "Seventeen Letters of Cromwell," and collected them, and laid them up at Pusey; how, after a century or so, Horace Walpole, likewise a collector of Letters, got his eye upon them; transcribed them, imparted them to dull Harris.[4] From whom, accordingly, here they still are and continue. This present fascicle of Ten is drawn principally from the Pusey stock, the remainder will introduce themselves in due course.

LETTER LXXXI.

COLONEL NORTON, "dear Dick," was purged out by Pride; lazy Dick and lazy Frank Russel were both purged out, or scared away, and are in the lists of the Excluded. Dick, we infer, is now somewhat estranged from Cromwell; probably both Dick and Frank: Frank returned, Dick too, though in a fitful manner. And so, there being now no "dear Norton" on the spot, the Lieutenant-General applies to Mr. Robinson the pious preacher at Southampton, of whom we transiently heard already; a priest and counsellor, and acting as such, to all parties.

For my very loving Friend, Mr. Robinson, Preacher at Southampton: These.

SIR, 'London,' 1st February, 1648.

I thank you for your kind Letter. As to the business you mention, I desire to use this plainness with you.

When the last overture was, between me and Mr. Mayor, by the kindness of Colonel Norton,—after the meeting I had with Mr. Mayor at Farnham, I desired the Colonel (finding, as I thought, some scruples in Mr. Mayor), To know of him whether his mind was free to the thing or not. Col. Norton gave me this account, That Mr. Mayor, by reason of

[1] Scobell, ii. 30; Commons Journals, 19 May.
[2] Letter L. p. 193. [3] Noble, i. 188. [4] Harris, p 504.

some matters as they then stood, was not very free thereunto. Whereupon I did acquiesce, submitting to the providence of God.

Upon your reviving of the business to me, and your Letter, I think fit to return you this answer, and to say in plainness of spirit to you: That upon your testimony of the Gentlewoman's worth, and the common report of the piety of the family, I shall be willing to entertain the renewing of the motion, upon such conditions as may be to mutual satisfaction. Only I think that a speedy resolution will be very convenient to both parties. The Lord direct all to His glory.

I desire your prayers therein; and rest,

Your very affectionate friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"February 1st,"—it is Thursday; the King was executed on Tuesday: Robinson at Southampton, I think, must have been writing at the very time.

On Tuesday night last, a few hours after the King's Execution, Marquis Hamilton had escaped from Windsor, and had been retaken in Southwark next morning, Wednesday morning. "Knocking at a door," he was noticed by three troopers; who questioned him, detected him;[1] and bringing him to the Parliament Authorities, made 40*l.* a-piece by him. He will be tried speedily, by a new High Court of Justice; he and others.

PASS.

To all Officers and Soldiers, and all Persons whom these may concern.

WHEREAS John Stanley of Dalegarth, in the County of Cumberland, Esquire, hath subscribed to his Composition, and paid and secured his Fine, according to the direction of Parliament:

These are to require you to permit and suffer him and his servants quietly to pass into Dalegarth above-said, with their horses and swords, and to forbear to molest or trouble him or any of his Family there; without seizing or taking away any of his horses, or other goods or estate whatsoever; and to permit and suffer him or any of his Family, at any time, to pass to any place, about his or their occasions; without offering any injury to him or any of his Family, either at Dalegarth, or in his or their travels: As you will answer your contempt at your utmost perils.

Given under my hand and seal this 2d of February, 1648.

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

Oliver's seal of "six quarterings" is at the top. Of course only the seal and signature are specially his: but this one Pass may stand here as the sample of many that were then circulating,—emblem of a time of war, distress, uncertainty and danger, which then was.

The 2nd of February is Friday. Yesterday, Thursday, there was question in the House of "many Gentlemen from the Northern Counties, who do attend about Town to make their compositions," and of what is to be done with them.[2] The late business that ended in Preston Fight

* Harris, p. 504; one of the seventeen Letters found at Pusey.

[1] Cromwelliana, p. 51.

† Jefferson's History and Antiquities of Allerdale Ward, Cumberland (Carlisle, 1842), p. 284.

[2] Commons Journals, *in die.*

had made many new delinquents in those parts; whom now we see painfully with pale faces dancing attendance in Goldsmiths' Hall,—not to say knocking importunately at doors in the grey of the morning, in danger of their life! Stanley of Dalegarth has happily got his composition finished, his Pass signed by the Lieutenant-General; and may go home with subdued thankfulness in a whole skin. Dalegarth Hall is still an estate or farm, in the southern extremity of Cumberland; on the Esk river, in the Ravenglass district; not far from that small Lake which Tourists go to see under the name of *Devock Water*. Quiet life to Stanley there!

LETTER LXXXII.

For my very worthy Friend, Richard Mayor, Esq.: These:

SIR, 'London,' 12th February, 1648.

I received some intimations formerly, and by the last return from Southampton a Letter from Mr. Robinson, concerning the reviving of the last year's motion touching my Son and your Daughter. Mr. Robinson was also pleased to send enclosed in his a Letter from you, bearing date the 5th of this instant February, wherein I find your willingness to entertain any good means for the completing of that business.

From whence I take encouragement to send my Son to wait upon you; and by him to let you know, That my desires are, if Providence so dispose, very full and free to the thing,—if, upon an interview, there prove also a freedom in the young persons thereunto. What liberty you will give herein, I wholly submit to you.

I thought fit, in my Letter to Mr. Robinson, to mention somewhat of expedition; because indeed I know not how soon I may be called into the field, or other occasions may remove me from hence; having for the present some liberty of stay in London. The Lord direct all to his glory. I rest, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Thomas Scott is big with the Council of State at present; he produces it in the House to-morrow morning, 13th February; and the List of actual Councillors, as we said, is voted the next day.

There is also frequent debate about Ireland[1] in these days, and what is to be done for relief of it: the Marquis of Ormond, furnished with a commission from the Prince, who now calls himself Charles II., reappeared there last year; has, with endless patience and difficulty, patched up some kind of alliance with the Papists, Nuncio Papists and Papists of the Pale; and so far as numbers go, looks very formidable. One does not know how soon one "may be called into the field." However there will several things turn up to be settled first.

ORDER.

ON the Saturday 17th February, 1648-9, more properly on Monday 19th, the Council of state first met, to constitute itself and begin despatch

* Harris, p. 505; one of the Pusey seventeen. [1] Cromwelliana, 14 February, &c.

of business.[1] Cromwell seems to have been their first President. At first it had been decided that they should have no constant President; but after a time, the inconveniences of such a method were seen into, and Bradshaw was appointed to the office.

The Minute-book of this Council of State, written in the clear old hand of Walter Frost, still lies complete in the State-Paper Office; as do the whole Records of the Committee of Both Kingdoms, of the Committee of Sequestrations in Goldsmiths' Hall, and many other Committees and officialities of the Period. By the long labour of Mr. Lemon, these waste Documents, now gathered into volumes, classed, indexed, methodised, have become singularly accessible. Well read, the thousandth or perhaps ten-thousandth part of them well excerpted, and the nine hundred and ninety-nine parts well forgotten, much light for what is really English History might still be gathered there. Alas, if the 30,000*l.* wasted in mere stupidities upon the old-parchment Record Commission, had been expended upon wise labours here!—But to our "*Order.*"

Sir Oliver Fleming, a most gaseous but indisputable historical Figure, of uncertain genesis, uncertain habitat, glides through the old Books as "Master of the Ceremonies,"—master of one knows not well what. In the end of 1643 he clearly is nominated "Master of the Ceremonies" by Parliament itself;[2] and glides out and in ever after, presiding over "Dutch Ambassadors," "Swedish Ambassadors" and such like, to the very end of the Protectorate. A Blessed Restoration, of course, relieved him from his labours. He, for the present, wants to see some Books in the late Royal Library of St. James's. This scrap of paper still lies in the British Museum.

To the Keeper of the Library of St. James's.

THESE are to will and require you, upon sight hereof, to deliver unto Sir Oliver Fleming, or to whom he shall appoint, two or three such Books as he shall choose, of which there is a double copy in the Library: to be by him disposed 'of' as there shall be direction given him by the Council. Of which you are not to fail, and for which this shall be your warrant.

Given at the Council of State, this 22d day of February, 1648.

In the name, and signed by Order of, the Council of State appointed by Authority of Parliament,

OLIVER CROMWELL,
(*Præses pro tempore*).*

There is already question of selling the late King's goods, crown-jewels, plate, and "hangings," under which latter title, we suppose, are included his Pictures, much regretted by the British connoisseur at present. They did not come actually to market till July next.[3]

LETTER LXXXIII.

REVEREND Mr. Stapylton, of whom we heard once before in Edinburgh,

[1] Commons Journals, vi., 146. [2] 2 November, 1643, Commons Journals, iii., 299.
* Additional Ayscough MSS. 12,098.
[3] Scobell, Part ii., 46, the immense Act of Parliament for sale of them

has been down at Hursley with Mr. Richard; Miss Dorothy received them with her blushes, with her smiles; the elder Mayors "with many civilities:" and the Marriage-treaty, as Mr. Stapylton reports, promises well.

For my very worthy Friend, Richard Mayor, Esquire: These.

SIR, 'London,' 26th February, 1648.

I received yours by Mr. Stapylton; together with an account of the kind reception and the many civilities afforded 'to' them,[1]—especially to my Son, in the liberty given him to wait upon your worthy Daughter. The report of whose virtue and godliness has so great a place in my heart, that I think fit not to neglect anything, on my part, which may consummate a close of the business, if God please to dispose the young ones' hearts thereunto, and other suitable ordering 'of' affairs towards mutual satisfaction appear in the dispensation of Providence.

For which purpose, and to the end matters may be brought to as near an issue as they are capable of,—not being at liberty, by reason of public occasions, to wait upon you, nor your health, as I understand, permitting it,—I thought fit to send this Gentleman, Mr. Stapylton, instructed with my mind, to see how near we may come to an understanding one of another therein. And although I could have wished the consideration of things had been between us two, it being of so near concernment,—yet Providence for the present not allowing, I desire you to give him credence on my behalf.

Sir, all things which yourself and I had in conference, at Farnham, do not occur to my memory, thorough multiplicity of business intervening. I hope I shall with a very free heart testify my readiness to that which may be expected from me.

I have no more at present: but desiring the Lord to order this affair to His glory and the comfort of His servants, I rest,

Sir,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER LXXXIV.

THIS Thursday, 8th March, 1648-9, they are voting and debating in a thin House, hardly above 60 there, Whether Duke Hamilton, Earl Holland, Lords Capel, Goring, and Sir John Owen,—our old friend "Colonel Owen" of Nottingham Castle, Jenner and Ashe's old friend,[2] —are to die or to live?

They have been tried in a new High Court of Justice, and all found guilty of treason, of levying war against the Supreme Authority of this Nation. Shall they be executed; shall they be respited? The House by small Majorities decides *against* the first three; decides in favour of the last; and as to Goring, the votes are equal,—the balance-tongue trembles, "Life or Death!" Speaker Lenthall says, Life.[3]

Meanwhile small private matters also must be attended to.

[1] To Richard Cromwell and him.

* Harris, p. 505; one of the Pusey seventeen: Signature only is in Cromwell's hand.

[2] Letter LXXVI. p. 247. [3] Commons Journals, vi. 159.

For my very worthy Friend, Richard Mayor, Esquire: These.

SIR, 'London,' 8th March, 1648.

Yours I have received; and have given farther instructions to this Bearer, Mr. Stapylton, to treat with you about the business in agitation between your Daughter and my Son.

I am engaged[1] to you for all your civilities and respects already manifested. I trust there will be a right understanding between us, and a good conclusion: and though I cannot particularly remember the things spoken of at Farnham, to which your Letter seems to refer me, yet I doubt not but I have sent the offer of such things now as will give mutual satisfaction to us both. My attendance upon public affairs will not give me leave to come down unto you myself; I have sent unto you this Gentleman with my mind.

I salute Mrs. Mayor, though unknown, with the rest of your Family. I commit you with the progress of the Business, to the Lord; and rest,

Sir,

Your assured friend to serve you,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

On the morrow morning, poor versatile Hamilton, poor versatile Holland, with the Lord Capel who the first of all in this Parliament rose to complain of Grievances, meet their death in Palaceyard. The High Court was still sitting in Westminster Hall as they passed through "from Sir Robert Cotton's house." Hamilton lingered a little, or seemed to linger, in the Hall; still hopeful of reprieve and fine of 100,000*l.*; but the Earl of Denbigh, his brother-in-law, a Member of the Council of State, stept up to him; whispered in his ear;—the poor Duke walked on. That is the end of all his diplomacies; his Scotch Army of Forty-thousand, his painful ridings to Uttoxeter, and to many other places, have all issued here. The Earl of Lanark will now be Duke of Hamilton in Scotland: may a better fate await him!

The once gay Earl of Holland has been "converted" some days ago, as it were for the nonce,—poor Earl! With regard to my Lord Capel again, who followed last in order, he behaved, says Bulstrode, "much after the manner of a stout Roman. He had no Minister with him, nor shewed any sense of death approaching; but carried himself all the time he was upon the scaffold with that boldness and resolution as was to be admired. He wore a sad-coloured suit, his hat cocked up, and his cloak thrown under one arm: he looked towards the people at his first coming up, and put off his hat in manner of a salute; he had a little discourse with some gentlemen, and passed up and down in a careless posture."[2] Thus died Lord Capel, the first who complained of Grievances: in seven years time there are such changes for a man; and the first acts of his Drama little know what the last will be!—

This new High Court of Justice is one of some Seven or Eight that sat in those years, and were greatly complained of by Constitutional persons. Nobody ever said that they decided contrary to evidence; but they were not the regular Judges. They took the Parliament's law

[1] obliged. * Harris, p. 506; one of the seventeen.
[2] Whitlocke, p. 380 (the *first* of the *two* pages 380 which there are).

as good, without consulting Fleta and Bracton about it. They consisted of learned Sergeants and other weighty persons nominated by the Parliament, usually in good numbers, for the occasion.

Some weeks hence, drunken Poyer of Pembroke and the confused Welsh Colonels are tried by Court Martial; Poyer, Powel, Laughern are found to merit death. Death, however, shall be executed only upon one of them; let the other two be pardoned: let them draw lots which two. "In two of the lots was written, *Life given by God*: the third lot was a blank. The Prisoners were not willing to draw their own destiny; but a child drew the lots, and gave them: and the lot fell to Colonel Poyer to die."[1] He was shot in Covent Garden; died like a soldier, poor confused Welshman, and so ended.

And with these executions, the chief Delinquents are now got punished. The Parliament lays up its axe again; willing to pardon the smaller multitude, if they will keep quiet henceforth.

LETTER LXXXV.

For my worthy Friend, Dr. Love, Master of Benet College, 'Cambridge:' These.

SIR, 'London,' 14th March, 1648.

I understand one Mrs. Nutting is a suitor unto you, on the right of her Son, about the renewing of a Lease which holds of your College. The old interest I have had makes me presume upon your favour. I desire nothing but what is just; leaving that to your judgment; and beyond which I neither now nor at any time shall move. If I do, denial shall be most welcome and accepted by,

Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

This is not the Christopher Love who preached at Uxbridge, during the Treaty there in 1644; who is now a minister in London, and may again come before us; this is a Cambridge "Dr. Love," of whom I know nothing. Oliver, as we may gather, had befriended him in the old Cambridge days; nothing hard had befallen him during the reform of that University in 1644. Probably in Baker's Manuscripts it might be ascertained in what year he graduated, where he was born, where buried; but nothing substantial is ever likely to be known of him,—or is indeed necessary to be known. "Mrs. Nutting" and he were evidently children of Adam, breathing the vital air along with Oliver Cromwell; and Oliver, on occasion, endeavoured to promote justice and kindness between them; and they remain two "shadows of small Names."[2]

Yesterday, Tuesday, 13th March, there was question in the Council of State about "modelling of the forces that are to go to Ireland;" and a suggestion was made, by Fairfax probably, who had the modelling to do, that they would model much better if they knew first under what

[1] Whitlocke, 21 April, 1649.

* Lansdown MSS. 1236, fol. 83.

[2] Cooper's Annals, iii. 491.—Mrs. Nutting, it appears, succeeded (Cambridge MS. *Benes me*).

Commander they were to go.[1] It is thought Lieutenant-General Cromwell will be the man.

On which same evening, furthermore, one discerns in a faint but an authentic manner, certain dim gentlemen of the highest authority, young Sir Harry Vane to appearance one of them, repairing to the lodging of one Mr. Milton, "a small house in Holborn which opens backwards into Lincoln's Inn Fields;" to put an official question to him there! Not a doubt of it they saw Mr. John this evening. In the official Book this yet stands legible:

"*Die Martis*, 13° *Martii* 1648." "That it is referred to the same Committee," Whitlocke, Vane, Lord Lisle, Earl of Denbigh, Harry Marten, Mr. Lisle, "or any two of them, to speak wtth Mr. Milton, to know, Whether he will be employed as Secretary for the Foreign Languages? and to report to the Council."[2] I have authority to say that Mr. Milton, thus unexpectedly applied to, consents; is formally appointed on Thursday next; makes his proof-shot, "to the Senate of Hamburgh,"[3] about a week hence;—and gives, and continues to give, great Satisfaction to that Council, to me, and to the whole Nation now, and to all Nations! Such romance lies in the State-Paper Office.

Here, however, is another Letter on the Hursley Business, of the same date as Letter LXXXV.; which must also be read. I do not expect many readers to take the trouble of representing before their minds the clear condition of "Mr. Ludlow's lease," of "the 250*l*.," "the 150*l*." &c., in this abstruse affair: but such as please to do so will find it all very straight at last. We observe Mr. Mayor has a decided preference for "my ould land;" land that I inherited, or bought by common contract, instead of getting it from Parliament for Public Services! In fact, Mr. Mayor seems somewhat of a sharp man: but neither has he a dull man to deal with—though a much *bigger* one.

LETTER LXXXVI.

'*For my worthy Friend, Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These.*'

SIR, 'London,' 14th March, 1648.

I received your Paper by the hands of Mr. Stapylton. I desire your leave to return my dissatisfaction therewith. I shall not need to premise how much I have desired (I hope upon the best grounds) to match with you. The same desire still continues in me, if Providence see it fit. But I may not be so much wanting to myself nor family as not to have some equality of consideration towards it.[4]

I have two young Daughters to bestow, if God give them life and opportunity. According to your Offer, I have nothing for them; nothing at all in hand. If my Son die, what consideration is there to me? And yet a jointure parted with 'on my side.' If she die, there is 'on your side' little 'money parted with:' 'even' if you have an heir male, 'there is' but 3,000*l*., 'and' without time ascertained.[5]

1 Order-Book of the Council of State (in the State-Paper Office), i. 86.
2 Ibid.; Todd's Life of Milton (London, 1826), pp. 96, 108-123.
3 *Senatus Populusque Anglicanus Amplissimo Civitatis Hamburgensis Senatui, Salutem* (in Milton's *Literæ Senatus Anglicani*, this *first* Letter to the Hamburgers is not given).
4 "it" is not the family, but the match.
5 See Letter L., p. 194.

As for these things, 'indeed,' I doubt not but, by one interview between you and myself, they might be accommodated to mutual satisfaction; and in relation to these, I think we should hardly part, or have many words, so much do I desire a closure with you. But to deal freely with you: the settling of the Manor of Hursley, as you propose it, sticks so much with me, that either I understand you not, or else it much fails my expectation. As you offer it, there is 400*l. per annum* charged upon it. For the 150*l.* to your Lady, for her life, as a jointure, I stick not at that: but the 250*l. per annum* until Mr. Ludlow's Lease expires, the tenor whereof I know not, and so much of the 250*l. per annum* as exceeds that Lease in annual value for some time also after the expiration of the said Lease,[1]—gives such a maim to the Manor of Hursley as indeed renders the rest of the Manor very inconsiderable.

Sir, if I concur to deny myself in point of present monies, as also in the other things mentioned, as aforesaid, I may and do expect the Manor of Hursley to be settled without any charge upon it, after your decease, saving your Lady's jointure of 150*l. per annum*,—which if you should think fit to increase, I should not stand upon it. Your own Estate is best known to you: but surely your personal Estate, being free for you to dispose, will, with some small matter of addition, beget a nearness of equality,—if I hear well from others. And if the difference were not very considerable, I should not insist upon it.

What you demand of me is very high in all points. I am willing to settle as you desire in everything; saving for maintenance 400*l. per annum*, 300*l. per annum*.[2] I would have somewhat free, to be thanked by them for. The 300*l. per annum* of my old land[3] for a jointure, after my Wife's decease, I shall settle; and in the meantime 'a like sum' out of other lands at your election: and truly, Sir, if that be not good, neither will any lands, I doubt. I do not much distrust, your principles in other things have acted[4] you towards confidence.—You demand in case my Son have none issue male but only daughters, then the 'Cromwell' Lands in Hantshire, Monmouth and Gloucester-shire to descend to these daughters, or else 3,000*l.* apiece. The first would be most unequal; the latter 'also' is too high. They will be well provided for by being inheritrixes of their Mother; and I am willing 'that' 2,000*l.* apiece be charged upon those lands 'for them.'

Sir, I cannot but with very many thanks acknowledge your good opinion of me and of my Son; as also your great civilities towards him; and your Daughter's good respects,—whose goodness, though known to me only at a distance and by the report of others, I much value. And indeed that causeth me so cheerfully to deny myself as I

[1] "Ludlow's Lease," &c. is not very plain. The "tenor of Ludlow's Lease" is still less known to us than it was to the Lieutenant-General! Thus much is clear: 250+150=400 pounds are to be paid off Hursley Manor by Richard and his Wife, which gives a sad "maim" to it. When Ludlow's Lease falls in, there will be some increment of benefit to the Manor; but we are to derive no advantage from that, we are still to pay the surplus "for some time after."

[2] Means, in its desperate haste: "except that instead of 400*l.* per annum for maintenance, we must say 300*l.*"

[3] Better than Parliament-land, thinks Mayor! Oliver too prefers it for his Wife; but thinks all land will have a chance to go, if that go.

[4] actuated or impelled.

do in the point of monies, and so willingly to comply in other things. But if I should not insist as above, I should in a greater measure than were meet deny both my own reason and the advice of my friends; which I may not do. Indeed, Sir, I have not closed with a far greater Offer of estate; but chose rather to fix here: I hope I have not been wanting to Providence in this.

I have made myself plain to you. Desiring you will make my Son the messenger of your pleasure and resolution herein as speedily as with conveniency you may, I take leave,

And rest,

Your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

I desire my service may be presented to your Lady and Daughters.*

On the morrow, which is Monday the 15th, day also of John Milton's nomination to be Secretary, Lieutenant-General Cromwell was nominated Commander for Ireland; satisfactory appointments both.

LETTER LXXXVII.

THE Lieutenant-General is in hot haste today; sends a brief Letter "by your Kinsman," consenting to almost everything.—Mayor, as we saw before, decidedly prefers "my ould land" to uncertain Parliamentary land. Oliver (see last Letter) offered to settle the 300*l.* of jointure upon his old land, after his Wife's decease; he now agrees that half of it, 150*l.*, shall be settled directly out of the old land, and the other half out of what Parliamentary land Mayor may like best.—The Letter breathes haste in every line; but hits, with a firm knock, in Cromwell's way, the essential nails on their head, as it hurries on.

"Your Kinsman," who carries this Letter, turns out by and by to be a Mr. Barton; a man somewhat particular in his ways of viewing matters; unknown otherwise to all men. The Lieutenant-General getting his Irish Appointment confirmed in Parliament, and the conditions of it settled,[1] is naturally very busy.

For my worthy Friend, Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These.

SIR, 'London,' 25th March, 1649.

You will pardon the brevity of these lines; the haste I am in, by reason of business, occasions it. To testify the earnest desire I have to see a happy period to this Treaty between us, I give you to understand,

That I agree to 150*l. per annum* out of the 300*l. per annum* of my *old* land for your Daughter's jointure, and the other 150*l.* where you please. 'Also' 400*l.* for present maintenance where you shall choose; either in Hantshire, Gloucester- or Monmouth-shire. Those lands 'to be' settled upon my Son and his *heirs male* by your Daughter; and in case of *daughters*, only 2,000*l.* apiece to be charged upon those lands.

'On the other hand,' 400*l. per annum* free[2] to raise portions for my two Daughters. I expect the Manor of Hursley to be settled upon

* Harris, p. 507; Dunch's Pusey seventeen.

[1] Cromwelliana, p. 54; Commons Journals, &c.

[2] Means, "shall be settled on Richard and his Wife, that I may be enabled."

your Daughter and her heirs, the heirs of her body. Your Lady a jointure of 150*l. per annum* out of it. For compensation to your younger Daughter, I agree to leave it in your power, after your decease, to charge it with as much as will buy in the Lease of the Farm at Allington[1] by a just computation. I expect, so long as they 'the young couple' live with you, their diet, as you expressed; or in case of voluntary parting 'from you,' 150*l. per annum*. 'You are to give' 3,000*l.* in case you have a Son;[2] to be paid in two years next following. In case your Daughter die without issue,—1,000*l.* within six months 'of the marriage.'

Sir, if this satisfy, I desire a speedy resolution. I should the rather desire so because of what your Kinsman can satisfy you in. The Lord bless you, and your Family, to whom I desire my affections and service may be presented. I rest,

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Your Kinsman can in part satisfy you what a multiplicity of business we are in: modelling the Army for Ireland;—which indeed is a most delicate dangerous operation, full of difficulties perhaps but partly known to your Kinsman!

For, in these days, John Lilburn is again growing very noisy; bringing out Pamphlets, *England's New Chains Discovered*, in several parts. As likewise, *The Hunting of the Foxes from Triploe Heath to Whitehall by five Small Beagles*,[3]—the tracking out of Oliver Cromwell and his Grandees, onward from their rendezvous at Royston or Triploe, all the way to their present lodgment in Whitehall and the seat of authority. "Five small Beagles," Five vociferous petitionary Troopers, of the Levelling species, who for their high carriage and mutinous ways have been set to "ride the wooden horse" lately. Do military men of these times understand the wooden horse? He is a mere triangular ridge or roof of wood, set on four sticks, with absurd head and tail superadded; and you ride him bare-backed, in face of the world, frequently with muskets tied to your feet,—in a very uneasy manner! To Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburn and these small Beagles it is manifest we are getting into *New Chains*, not a jot better than the old; and certainly *Foxes* ought to be hunted and tracked. Three of the Beagles, the best-nosed and loudest-toned, by names Richard Overton, William Walwyn, Thomas Prince,—these, with Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburn, the huntsman of the pack, are shortly after this lodged in the Tower;[4] "committed to the Lieutenant," to be in mild but safe keeping with that officer. There is, in fact, a very dangerous leaven in the Army, and in the Levelling Public at present, which thinks with itself: God's enemies having been fought down, chief Delinquents all punished, and the Godly Party made triumphant, why does not some Millennium arrive?

[1] "Ludlow's Lease," I fancy. Anne Mayor, "your younger Daughter," married Dunch of Pusey; John Dunch, to whom we owe these seventeen Letters. See also Letter 27 August, 1657.

[2] Grandson, *i.e.*: "die," in the next sextence, means more properly *live*.

* Harris, p. 508; one of the seventeen.

[3] Given in Somers Tracts, vi. 44-60.

[4] 27 March, 11 April, 1649 (Commons Journals, *in diebus*)

LETTER LXXXVIII.

"COMPENSATION," here touched upon, is the "compensation to your younger Daughter" mentioned in last Letter; burden settled on Hursley Manor, "after your decease," "to buy in the Lease of Allington Farm." Mayor wants it another way; which "seems truly inconvenient," and in brief cannot be.

For my worthy Friend, Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These.

SIR, 'London,' 30th March, 1649.

I received yours of the 28th instant. I desire the matter of compensation may be as in my last to you. You propose another way; which seems to me truly inconvenient.

I have agreed to all other things, as you take me, and that rightly, repeating particulars in your Paper. The Lord dispose this great Business (great between you and me) for good.

You mention to send by the Post on Tuesday.[1] I shall speed things here as I may. I am designed for Ireland, which will be speedy. I should be very glad to see things settled before I go, if the Lord will. My service to all your Family. I rest,

Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

'OLIVER CROMWELL'*

LETTER LXXXIX.

WHO the Lawyer, or what the "arrest" of him is, which occasions new expense of time, I do not know. On the whole, one begins to wish Richard well wedded; but the settlements do still a little stick, and we must have patience.

For my worthy Friend, Richard Mayor, Esquire at Hursley: These

SIR, 'London,' 6th April, 1649.

I received your Papers enclosed in your Letter; although I know not how to make so good use of them as otherwise might have been, to have saved expense of time, if the arrest of your Lawyer had not fallen out at this time.

I conceive a draught, to your satisfaction, by your own Lawyer, would have saved much time; which to me is precious. I hope you will send some 'one' up, perfectly instructed. I shall endeavour to speed what is to be done on my part; not knowing how soon I may be sent down towards my charge for Ireland. And I hope to perform punctually with you.

Sir, my Son had a great desire to come down and wait upon your Daughter. I perceive he minds that more than to attend to business here.[2] I should be glad to see him settled, and all things finished before I go. I trust not to be wanting therein. The Lord direct all our hearts into His good pleasure. I rest,

Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

My service to your Lady and Family.

[1] The 30th of March is Friday; Tuesday is the 3d of April.

[2] The Dog!

* Harris, p. 508.

† Harris p. 509.

There is much to be settled before I can "be sent down to my charge for Ireland." The money is not yet got;—and the Army has ingredients difficult to model. Next week a Parliamentary Committee, one of whom is the Lieutenant-General, and another is Sir Harry Vane, have to go to the city, and try if they will lend us £120,000 for this business. Much speaking in the Guildhall there, in part by Cromwell.[1] The City will lend; and now if the Army were once modelled, and ready to march——?—

LETTER XC.

HERE, at any rate, is the end of the Marriage-treaty,—not even Mr. Barton, with his peculiar ways of viewing matters, shall now delay it long.

For my worthy Friend, Richard Mayor, Esquire: These.

SIR, 'London,' 15th April, 1649.

Your Kinsman Mr. Barton and myself, repairing to our Counsel, for the perfecting of this Business so much concerning us, did, upon Saturday this 15th of April, draw our Counsel to a meeting: where, upon consideration had of my Letter to yourself expressing my consent to particulars, which 'Letter' Mr. Barton brought to your Counsel Mr. Hales of Lincoln's Inn;[2]—upon the reading that which expresseth the way of your settling Hursley, your Kinsman expressed a sense of yours contrary to the Paper in my hand, as also to that under your hand, of the 28th of March, which was the same as mine as to that particular.

In[3] that which I myself am to do, I know nothing of doubt, but do agree it all to your Kinsman's satisfaction. Nor is there much material difference 'between us,' save in this,—wherein both my Paper sent by you to your Counsel, and yours of the 28th, do in all literal and all equitable construction agree, *viz.:* To settle an Estate in fee-simple upon your Daughter, after your decease; which Mr. Barton affirms *not* to be your meaning,—although he has not (as to me) formerly made this any objection; nor can the words bear it; nor have I anything more considerable in lieu of what I part with than this. And I have appealed to yours or any Counsel in England, whether it be not just and equal that I insist thereupon.

And this misunderstanding,—if it be yours, as it is your Kinsman's,—put a stop to the Business: so that our Counsel could not proceed, until your pleasure herein were known. Wherefore it was thought fit to desire Mr. Barton to have recourse to you to know your mind; he alleging he had no authority to understand that expression so, but the contrary;—which was thought not a little strange, even by your own Counsel.

I confess I did apprehend we should be incident to mistakes, treating at such a distance;—although I may take the boldness to say, there is nothing expected from me but I agree to it to your Kinsman's sense to a tittle.

[1] 12th April 1649, Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 55).

[2] This is the future Judge Hale.

[3] A mere *comma* here, instead of new paragraph; greatly obscuring the sense:—"as to that particular, and I know nothing of doubt in that which I am to doe, but doe agree itt all," &c.

Sir, I desired to know what commission your Kinsman had to help this doubt by an expedient ;—who denied to have any ; but did think it were better for you to part with some money, and keep the power in your own hand as to the land, to dispose thereof as you should see cause. Whereupon an overture was made, and himself and your Counsel desired to draw it up ; the effect whereof this enclosed Paper contains. And although I should not like change of agreements, yet to show how much I desire the perfecting of this Business, if you like thereof (though this be far the worse bargain), I shall submit thereunto ; your Counsel thinking that things may be settled this way with more clearness and less intricacy. There is mention made of £900 *per annum* to be reserved : but it comes to but about £800 ; my lands in Glamorganshire being but little above £400 *per annum ;* and the 'other' £400 *per annum* out of my Manor in Gloucester-and Monmouthshire. I wish a clear understanding may be between us ; truly I would not willingly mistake. Desiring to wait upon Providence in this Business, I rest,

Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

I desire my service may be presented to your Lady and Daughters.

This is the last of the Marriage-treaty. Mr. Barton, whom "no Counsel in England" could back, was of course disowned in his over-zeal ; the match was concluded ; solemnised 1st May, 1649.[1]

Richard died 12th July, 1712, at Cheshunt, age 86 ;[2] his Wife died 5th January, 1675-6, at Hursley, and is buried there,—where, ever after Richard's Deposition, and while he travelled on the Continent, she had continued to reside. In pulling down the old Hursley House, above a century since, when the Estate had passed into other hands, there was found in some crevice of the old walls a rusty lump of metal, evidently an antiquity ; which was carried to the new Proprietor at Winchester ; who sold it as "a Roman weight" for what it would bring. When scoured, it turned out,—or is said by vague Noble, quoting vague "Vertue, '" Hughes's Letters," and "*Ant. Soc.*" (Antiquarian Society), to have turned out,—to be the Great Seal of the Commonwealth.[3] If the Antiquaries still have it, let them be chary of it.

THE LEVELLERS.

WHILE Miss Dorothy Mayor is choosing her wedding-dresses, and Richard Cromwell is looking forward to a life of Arcadian felicity now near at hand, there has turned up for Richard's Father and other parties interested, on the public side of things, a matter of very different complexion, requiring to be instantly dealt with in the interim. The matter of the class called Levellers ; concerning which we must now say a few words.

In 1647, as we saw, there were Army Adjutators ; and among some

* Harris p. 509. [1] Noble, i. 188. [2] Ibid. i. 176, 188.
[3] Noble, i. 195. Bewildered Biography of the Mayors, "Majors or Maijors," ibid, ii. 36-40

of them wild notions afloat, as to the swift attainability of Perfect Freedom civil and religious, and a practical Millennium on this Earth; notions which required, in the Rendezvous at Corkbushfield, "Rendezvous of Ware" as they oftenest call it, to be very resolutely trodden out. Eleven chief mutineers were ordered from the ranks in that Rendezvous; were condemned by swift Court Martial to die; and Trooper Arnald, one of them, was accordingly shot there and then; which extinguished the mutiny for that time. War since, and Justice on Delinquents, England made a free Commonwealth, and such like, have kept the Army busy: but a deep republican leaven, working all along among these men, breaks now again into very formidable development. As the following brief glimpses and excerpts may satisfy an attentive reader who will spread them out to the due expansion in his mind. Take first this glimpse into the civil province; and discern, with amazement, a whole submarine world of Calvinistic Sansculottism, Five-point Charter and the Rights of Man, threatening to emerge almost two centuries before its time!

"The Council of State," says Whitlocke,[1] just while Mr. Barton is boggling about the Hursley Marriage-settlements, "has intelligence of certain *Levellers* appearing at St. Margaret's Hill, near Cobham in Surrey, and at St. George's Hill" in the same quarter: "that they were digging the ground, and sowing it with roots and beans. One Everard, once of the Army, who terms himself a Prophet, is the chief of them;" one Winstanley is another chief. "They were Thirty men, and said that they should be shortly Four-thousand. They invited all to come in and help them; and promised them meat, drink, and clothes. They threaten to pull down Park-pales, and to lay all open; and threaten the neighbours that they will shortly make them all come up to the hills and work." These infatuated persons, beginning a new era in this headlong manner on the chalk hills of Surrey, are laid hold of by certain Justices, "by the country people," and also by "two troops of horse;" and complain loudly of such treatment; appealing to all men whether it be fair.[2] This is the account they give of themselves when brought before the General some days afterwards:

"*April 20th*, 1649. Everard and Winstanley, the chief of those that digged at St. George's Hill in Surrey, came to the General and made a large declaration, to justify their proceedings. Everard said, he was of the race of the Jews," as most men, called Saxon and others, properly are; "That all the Liberties of the People were lost by the coming in of William the Conqueror; and that, ever since, the People of God had lived under tyranny and oppression worse than that of our Forefathers under the Egyptians. But now the time of deliverance was at hand; and God would bring His People out of this slavery, and restore them to their freedom in enjoying the fruits and benefits of the Earth. And that there had lately appeared to him, Everard, a vision; which bade him, Arise and dig and plough the Earth, and receive the fruits thereof. That their intent is to restore the Creation to its former condition. That

[1] 17 April, p. 384.

[2] King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 427, sec. 6 (Declaration of the bloody and unchristian Acting of William Star, &c. in opposition to those that dig upon George-Hill in Surrey); ib. no. 418, sec. 5, &c.

as God had promised to make the barren land fruitful, so now what they did, was to restore the ancient Community of enjoying the Fruits of the Earth, and to distribute the benefit thereof to the poor and needy, and to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. That they intend not to meddle with any man's property, nor to break down any pales or enclosures," in spite of reports to the contrary; "but only to meddle with what is common and untilled, and to make it fruitful for the use of man. That the time will suddenly be, when all men shall willingly come in and give up their lands and estates, and submit to this Community" of Goods.

These are the principles of Everard, Winstanley, and the poor Brotherhood, seemingly Saxon, but properly of the race of the Jews, who were found dibbling beans on St. George's Hill, under the clear April skies in 1649, and hastily bringing in a new era in that manner. "And for all such as will come in and work with them, they shall have meat, drink, and clothes, which is all that is necessary to the life of man: and as for money, there was not any need of it; nor of clothes more than to cover nakedness." For the rest, "That they will not defend themselves by arms, but will submit unto authority, and wait till the promised opportunity be offered, which they conceive to be at hand. And that as their forefathers lived in tents, so it would be suitable to their condition, now to live in the same.

"While they were before the General they stood with their hats on; and being demanded the reason thereof, they said, Because he was but their fellow creature. Being asked the meaning of that phrase, Give honour to whom honour is due,—they said, Your mouths shall be stopped that ask such a question."[1]

Dull Bulstrode hath "set down this the more largely because it was the beginning of the appearance" of an extensive levelling doctrine, much to be "avoided" by judicious persons, seeing it is "weak persuasion." The germ of Quakerism and much else is curiously visible here. But let us look now at the military phasis of the matter; where "a weak persuasion" mounted on cavalry horses, with sabres and fire-arms in its hand, may become a very perilous one.

Friday, 20th April, 1649. The Lieutenant-General has consented to go to Ireland; the City also will lend money, and now this Friday the Council of the Army meets at Whitehall to decide what regiments shall go on that service. "After a solemn seeking of God by prayer," they agree that it shall be by lot: tickets are put into a hat, a child draws them: the regiments, fourteen of foot and fourteen of horse, are decided on in this manner. "The Officers on whom the lot fell, in all the twenty-eight regiments, expressed much cheerfulness at the decision." The Officers did:—but the common men are by no means all of that humour. The common men, blown up by Lilburn and his five small Beagles, have notions about England's *new* Chains, about the Hunting of Foxes from Triploe Heath, and in fact ideas concerning the capability that lies in man and in a free Commonwealth, which are of the most alarming description.

Thursday, 26th April. This night at the Bull in Bishopsgate there

[1] Whitlocke, p. 384.

has an alarming mutiny broken out in a troop of Whalley's regiment there. Whalley's men are not allotted for Ireland: but they refuse to quit London, as they are ordered; they want this and that first. they seize their colours from the Cornet, who is lodged at the Bull there:—the General and the Lieutenant-General have to hasten thither; quell them, pack them forth on their march; seizing fifteen of them first, to be tried by Court Martial. Tried by instant Court Martial, five of them are found guilty, doomed to die, but pardoned; and one of them, Trooper Lockyer, is doomed and not pardoned. Trooper Lockyer is shot, in Paul's Churchyard, on the morrow. A very brave young man, they say; though but three-and-twenty, "he has served seven years in these Wars," ever since the Wars began. "Religious" too, "of excellent parts and much beloved;"—but with hot notions as to human Freedom, and the rate at which the millenniums are attainable, poor Lockyer! He falls shot in Paul's Churchyard on Friday, amid the tears of men and women. Paul's Cathedral, we remark, is now a Horseguard; horses stamp in the Canons' stalls there: and Paul's Cross itself, as smacking of Popery, where in fact Alablaster once preached flat Popery, is swept altogether away, and its leaden roof melted into bullets, or mixed with tin for culinary pewter. Lockyer's corpse is watched and wept over, not without prayer, in the eastern regions of the City, till a new week come; and on Monday, this is what we see advancing westward by way of funeral to him.

"About one hundred went before the Corpse, five or six in a file; the Corpse was then brought, with six trumpets sounding a soldier's knell; then the Trooper's Horse came, clothed all over in mourning, and led by a footman, The Corpse was adorned with bundles of Rosemary, one half stained in blood; and the Sword of the deceased along with them. Some thousands followed in rank and file: all had seagreen-and-black Ribbons tied on their hats, and to their breasts: and the women brought up the rear. At the new Churchyard in Westminster, some thousands more of the better sort met them, who thought not fit to march through the City. Many looked upon this funeral as an affront to the Parliament and Army; others called these people 'Levellers,' but they took no notice of any one's sayings."[1]

That was the end of Trooper Lockyer: six trumpets wailing stern music through London streets: Rosemaries and Sword half-dipt in blood; funeral of many thousands in seagreen Ribbons and black:—testimony of a weak persuasion now looking somewhat perilous. Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburn and his five small Beagles, now in a kind of loose arrest under the Lieutenant of the Tower, make haste to profit by the general emotion; publish on the 1st of May[2] *their* "Agreement of the People,"—their Bentham-Sieyes Constitution: Annual very exquisite Parliament, and other Lilburn apparatus; whereby the Perfection of Human Nature will with a maximum of rapidity be secured, and a millennium straightway arrive, sings the Lilburn Oracle.

May 9th. Richard Cromwell is safe wedded; Richard's Father is reviewing troops in Hyde Park, "seagreen colours in some of their hats." The Lieutenant-General speaks earnestly to them. Has not the

[1] Whitlocke, p. 385. [2] Whitlocke's date, p. 385.

Parliament been diligent, doing its best? It has punished Delinquents; it has voted in these very days resolutions for dissolving itself and assembling future Parliaments.[1] It has protected trade; got a good Navy afloat. You soldiers, there is exact payment provided for you. Martial Law? Death, or other punishment, of Mutineers? Well! Whoever cannot stand Martial Law is not fit to be a soldier: *his* best plan will be to lay down his arms; he shall have his ticket and get his arrears as we others do,—we that still mean to fight against the enemies of England and this Cause.[2]—One trooper shewed signs of insolence; the Lieutenant-General suppressed him by rigour and by clemency: the seagreen Ribbons were torn from such hats as had them. The humour of the men is not the most perfect. This Review was on Wednesday: Lilburn and his five small Beagles are, on Saturday, committed close Prisoners to the Tower, each rigorously to a cell of his own.

It is high time. For now the flame has caught the ranks of the Army itself, in Oxfordshire, in Gloucestershire, at Salisbury where head-quarters are; and rapidly there is, on all hands, a dangerous conflagration blazing out. In Oxfordshire, one Captain Thompson, not known to us before, has burst from his quarters at Banbury, with a Party of Two-hundred, in these same days; has sent forth his *England's Standard Advanced;*[3] insisting passionately on the *New Chains* we are fettered with; indignantly demanding swift perfection of Human Freedom; justice on the murderers of Lockyer and Arnald:—threatening that if a hair of Lilburn and the five small Beagles be hurt, he will avenge it "seventy-and-seven fold." This Thompson's Party, swiftly attacked by his Colonel, is broken within the week; he himself escapes with a few, and still roves up and down. To join whom, or to communicate with Gloucestershire where help lies, there has in the interim open mutiny "above One-thousand strong," with subalterns, with a Cornet Thompson brother of the Captain, but without any leader of mark, broken out at Salisbury: the General and Lieutenant-General, with what force can be raised, are hastening thitherward in all speed. Now were the time for Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburn: now or never might noisy John do some considerable injury to the Cause he has at heart: but he sits, in these critical hours, fast within stone walls!

Monday, 14th May. All Sunday the General and Lieutenant-General marched in full speed by Alton, by Andover, towards Salisbury; the mutineers, hearing of them, start northward for Buckinghamshire, then for Berkshire: the General and Lieutenant-General turning also northward after them in hot chase. The mutineers arrive at Wantage; make for Oxfordshire by Newbridge; find the Bridge already seized; cross higher up by swimming; get to Burford, very weary, and "turn out their horses to grass;"—Fairfax and Cromwell still following in hot speed, "a march of near fifty miles" that Monday. What boots it; there is no leader, noisy John is sitting fast within stone walls! The mutineers lie asleep in Burford, their horses out at grass; the Lieutenant-General, having rested at a safe distance since dark, bursts into Burford

[1] 15 April, 1649, Commons Journals.
[2] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 56).
[3] Given in Walker's History of Independency, part ii. 168; dated 6 May.

as the clocks are striking midnight. He has beset some hundreds of the mutineers, "who could only fire some shots out of windows;"—has dissipated the mutiny, trodden down the Levelling Principle out of English affairs once more. Here is the last scene of the business; the rigorous Court Martial having now sat; the decimated doomed Mutineers being placed on the leads of the Church to see:

Thursday, 17*th May*. "This day in Burford Churchyard, Cornet Thompson, brother to Thompson the chief leader, was brought to the place of execution; and expressed himself to this purpose, That it was just what did befall him; that God did not own the ways he went; that he had offended the General: he desired the prayers of the people; and told the soldiers who were appointed to shoot him, that when he held out his hands they should do their duty. And accordingly he was immediately, after the sign given, shot to death. Next after him was a Corporal, brought to the same place of execution; where, looking upon his fellow-mutineers, he set his back against the wall; and bade them who were appointed to shoot, 'Shoot!' and died desperately. The third being also a Corporal, was brought to the same place; and without the least acknowledgment of error, or shew of fear, he pulled off his doublet, standing a pretty distance from the wall; and bade the soldiers do their duty; looking them in the face till they gave fire, not shewing the least kind of terror or fearfulness of spirit."—So die the Leveller Corporals; strong they, after their sort, for the Liberties of England; resolute to the very death. Misguided Corporals! But History, which has wept for a misguided Charles Stuart, and blubbered, in the most copious helpless manner, near two centuries now, whole floods of brine, enough to salt the Herringfishery,—will not refuse these poor Corporals also her tributary sigh. With Arnald of the Rendezvous at Ware, with Lockyer of the Bull in Bishopsgate, and other misguided martyrs to the Liberties of England then and since, may they sleep well!

Cornet Dean who now came forward, as the next to be shot, "expressed penitence;" got pardon from the General; and there was no more shooting. Lieutenant-General Cromwell went into the Church, called down the Decimated of the Mutineers; rebuked, admonished; said, The General in his mercy had forgiven them. Misguided men, would you ruin this cause, which marvellous Providences have so confirmed to us to be the Cause of God? Go, repent; and rebel no more, lest a worse thing befall you! "They wept," says the old Newspaper; they retired to the Devizes for a time; were then restored to their regiments, and marched cheerfully for Ireland.—Captain Thompson, the Cornet's brother, the first of all the Mutineers, he too, a few days afterwards, was fallen in with in Northamptonshire, still mutinous; his men took quarter; he himself "fled to a wood;" fired and fenced there, and again desperately fired, declaring he would never yield alive;—whereupon "a Corporal with seven bullets in his carbine" ended Captain Thompson too; and this formidable conflagration, to the last glimmer of it, was extinct.

Sansculottism, as we said above, has to lie submerged for almost two centuries yet. Levelling, in the practical, civil or military provinces of English things, is forbidden to be. In the spiritual provinces it cannot

be forbidden; for there it everywhere already is. It ceases dibbling beans on St. George's Hill near Cobham; ceases galloping in mutiny across the Isis to Burford;—takes into Quakerisms, and kingdoms which are not of this world. My poor friend Dryasdust lamentably tears his hair over the "intolerance" of that old Time to Quakerism and such like; if Dryasdust had seen the dibbling on St. George's Hill, the threatened fall of "Park-pales," and the gallop to Burford, he would reflect that Conviction in an earnest age means, not lengthy Spouting in Exeter-Hall, but rapid silent Practice on the face of the Earth; and would perhaps leave his poor hair alone.

On Thursday night, 17th of the month, the General, Lieutenant-General, and chief Officers arrive at Oxford; lodge in All-Souls College; head-quarters are to be there for some days. Solemnly welcomed by the reformed University; bedinnered, bespeeched; made Doctors, Masters, Bachelors, or what was suitable to their ranks, and to the faculties of this reformed University. Of which high doings, degrees and convocation-dinners, and eloquence by Proctor Zanchy, we say nothing,—being in haste for Ireland. This small benefit we have from the business; Anthony Wood, in his crabbed but authenic way, has given us biographical sketches of all these Graduates; biographies, very lean, very perverse, but better than are commonly going then, and in the fatal scarcity not quite without value.[1]

Neither do we speak of the thanking in the House of Commons: or of the general Day of Thanksgiving for London, which is Thursday, 7th June (the day for England at large being Thursday 21st),[2]—and of the illustrious Dinner which the City gave the Parliament and Officers, and all the Dignitaries of England, when Sermon was done. It was at Grocers' Hall, this City dinner; really illustrious. Dull Bulstrode, Keeper, or one of the Keepers, of the Commonwealth Great Seal, was there,—Keeper of that lump of dignified metal, found since all rusty in the wall at Hursley: and my Lord of Pembroke, an Earl and Member of the Council of State, "speaking very loud" as his manner was, insisted that illustrious Bulstrode should take place above him. I have given place to Bishop Williams when he was Keeper; and the Commonwealth Great Seal is as good as any King's ever was;—illustrious Bulstrode, take place above me: so![3] "On almost every dish was enamelled a bandrol with the word Welcome. No music but that of drum and trumpet;" no balderdash, or almost none, of speech without meaning; "no drinking of healths or other incivility;"—drinking of healths; a kind of invocation or prayer, addressed surely not to God, in that humour; probably therefore to the Devil, or to the Heathen gods; which is offensive to the well-constituted mind. Four hundred pounds were given to the poor of London, that they also might dine.[4]

And now for Bristol and the Campaign in Ireland.

[1] Wood's Athenæ, iv. (Fasti, ii. 127-155): the Graduates of Saturday, 19th May, 1649, are, *Fairfax*, p. 148; *Cromwell*, p. 152: Colonels *Scrope*, Grosvenor, *Sir Hardress Waller*, *Ingolasby*, *Harrison*, *Goff*, *Okey*, Adjutant-General Sedascue, Scoutmaster Rowe and of Monday, 21st, Lieutenant-Colonel *Cobbet*, p. 140; John Rushworth, Cornet *Joyce*, p. 138:—of whom those marked here in Italics have biographies worth looking at for an instant.

[2] Commons Journals, 26 May, 1649.

[3] Whitelocke, p. 391.

[4] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 59, 60).

LETTERS XCI.—XCVI.

Tuesday, 10*th July*, 1649. "This evening about five of the clock, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland began his journey by the way of Windsor, and so to Bristol. He went forth in that state and equipage as the like hath hardly been seen; himself in a coach with six gallant Flanders mares, whitish grey; divers coaches accompanying him; and very many great Officers of the Army; his Lifeguard consisting of eighty gallant men, the meanest whereof a Commander or Esquire, in stately habit;—with trumpets sounding, almost to the shaking of Charing Cross, had it been now standing. Of his Lifeguard many are Colonels; and believe me, it's such a guard as is hardly to be paralleled in the world. And now have at you, my Lord of Ormond! You will have men of gallantry to encounter; whom to overcome will be honour sufficient, and to be beaten by them will be no great blemish to your reputation. If you say, Cæsar or Nothing: they say, A Republic or Nothing. The Lord Lieutenant's colours are white."[1]

Thus has Lord Lieutenant Cromwell gone to the Wars in Ireland. But before going, and while just on the eve of going, he has had the following, among a multiplicity of other businesses, to attend to.

LETTER XCI.

BARNABAS O'BRYEN, Sixth Earl of Thomond, Twentieth-and-odd *King* of Thomond, a very ancient Irish dignitary of the Limerick regions, whom it were still worth while to conciliate, has fallen into "straits," distresses; applies to the Lord Lieutenant to help him a little. The Lord Lieutenant thinks his case good; forwards it with recommendation to Harrington, of the Council of State, the proper official person in such matters. Note, this is by no means Harrington of the *Oceana*, this "Sir James;" this is Member ("recruiter") for Rutlandshire, and only a distant cousin of the Oceana's.

What the Earl of Thomond's case was, as we have not seen the "enclosed" statement of it, shall remain somewhat vague to us. Thomond had not joined the Irish Massacre, in 1641: but neither would he join against it; he apologised to the King's Lieutenant on that occasion, said he had no money, no force; retired with many apologetic bows into England to the King himself; leaving his unmonied Castle of Bunratty to the King's Lieutenant,—who straightway found some 2,000*l.* of good money lying hidden in it, and cheerfully appropriated the same. I incline to think, it may be for this Two-thousand and odd pounds, to have it acknowledged as a debt and allowed on the Earl of Peterborough's estate, that the poor Earl, "in the modesty of his desires," is now pleading. For he has been in active Royalist services since that passive one; in Ormond Wars, cessations, sequestrations; is a much mulcted, impoverished man. And as for the Earl of Peterborough his son-in-law, he was one of poor Earl Holland's people in that fatal futile rising of St. Neot's, last year; and is now wandering in foreign parts, in a totally ruined condition. Readers who are curious may follow the indications in the note.[2] Earl Thomond's modest desire was

[1] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 62).

[2] Ludlow, i. 21; Whitlocke (2d edit.), p. 420, see also p. 201; Commons Journals vi. 279 443 (15 Aug. 1649, and 23 July, 1650); Collins's Peerage, ii, 216: &c. &c.

allowed.—Bunratty Castle, where that 2,000*l.* was found "buried in the walls," is now quite deserted by the Thomonds; is now "the largest Police-Barrack" in those Limerick regions.

'*For the Honourable Sir James Harrington, Knight, of the Council of State: These.*'

SIR, 'London,' 9th July, 1649.

You see by this Enclosed, how great damage the Earl of Thomond hath sustained by these Troubles, and what straits he and his family are reduced unto by reason thereof. You see the modesty of his desires to be such as may well merit consideration. I am confident, that which he seeks is not so much for advantage of himself, as out of a desire to preserve his son-in-law the Earl of Peterborough's fortune and family from ruin.

If the result of the favour of the House fall upon him, although but in this way, it's very probable it will oblige his Lordship to endeavour the peace and quiet of this Commonwealth. Which will be no disservice to the State;—perhaps of more advantage than the extremity of his Fine. Besides, you showing your readiness to do a good office herein will very much oblige,

Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER XCII.

HERE likewise is a Letter which the Lord-Lieutenant, in still greater haste, now in the very act of departing, has had to write,—on behalf of his "Partner" or fellow Member for Cambridge; which likewise the reader is to glance at, before going.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq.

SIR, 'London,' 10th July, 1649.

I beseech you, upon that score of favour, if I be not too bold to call it friendship, which I have ever had from you, let me desire you to promote my Partner's humble suit to the House; and obtain, as far as possibly you may, some just satisfaction for him. I know his sufferings for the Public have been great, besides the loss of his calling by his attendance here. His affections have been true and constant; and, I believe, his decay great in his Estate. It will be justice and charity to him; and I shall acknowledge it as a favour to,

Your most humble Servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

John Lowry, Esq., is Oliver's fellow Member for Cambridge. What Lowry's "losses," "estate," "calling," or history in general were, remains undiscoverable. One might guess that he had been perhaps a lawyer, some call him a "chandler" or trader,[1] of Puritan principles, and fortune already easy. He did not sit in the short Parliament of 1640, as Oliver had done; Oliver's former "Partner," one Meautys as

* Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 150).

† Harris, p. 516; Harlein MSS. no. 6988—collated, and *exact*.

[1] Cooper's Annals.

we mentioned already, gave place to Lowry when the new Election happened.

Lowry in 1645 was Mayor of Cambridge. Some controversy as to the Privileges of the University there, which was now reformed according to the Puritan scheme, had arisen with the Town of Cambridge: a deputation of Cambridge University men, with "Mr. Vines" at their head, comes up with a Petition to the House of Commons, on the 4th of August, 1645; reporting that they are like to be aggrieved, that the "new Mayor of Cambridge will not take the customary oaths," in respect to certain privileges of the University; and praying the House, in a bland and flattering way, to protect them. The House answers: "Yours is the University which is under the protection of this House;" Oxford, still in the King's hands, being in a very unreformed state: "this House can see no learning now in the Kingdom but by your eyes;"—certainly you shall be protected!—Counter-Petitions come from Lowry and the Corporation; but we doubt not the University was protected in this controversy, and Gown made good against Town.[1] What the controversy specially was, or what became of it, let no living man inquire. Lowry here vanishes into thick night again; nowhere reappears till in this Letter of Cromwell's.

Letter written, as its date bears, on the very day when he set out towards Bristol, to take the command in Ireland, "10th July, 1649, about five in the afternoon." In some Committee-room, or other such locality, in the thick press of business, Lowry had contrived to make his way to the Lord-Lieutenant, and to get this Letter out of him. Which indeed proved very helpful. For on that day week, 17th of July, 1649, we find as follows: "The humble Petition of John Lowry, Esq., was this day read. *Ordered*, That the sum of Three-hundred pounds be allowed unto the said Mr. John Lowry, for his losses in the said Petition mentioned: and that the same be charged upon the revenue: and the Committee of Revenue are authorised and appointed to pay the same: and the same is especially recommended to Sir Henry Vane, Senior, to take care the same be paid accordingly,"[2]—which we can only hope it was, to the solace of poor Mr. Lowry and the ending of these discussions.

Ten years later, in Protector Richard's time, on Friday, 22d July, 1659, a John Lowry, Esquire, now quite removed from Cambridge, turns up again; claiming to be continued "Cheque in Ward in the Port of London,"—which dignity is accordingly assured him till "the first day of October next."[3] But whether this is our old friend the Mayor of Cambridge, and what kind of provision for his old age this same Chequeship in Ward might be, is unknown to the present Editor. Not the faintest echo or vestige henceforth of a John Lowry either real or even possible. The rest—gloomy Night compresses it, and we have no more to say.

LETTER XCIII.

MAYOR of Hursley, with whom are the young Couple, is connected now with an important man: he has written in behalf of "Major Long;"

[1] See Commons Journals, vi. 229, 241.
[2] Commons Journals, vi. 263. [3] Ibid. vii. 727.

for promotion as is likely. The important man does not promote on the core of connexion ; and mildly signifies so much.

For my very loving Brother, Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These.

LOVING BROTHER, Bristol, 19th July, 1649.

I received your Letter by Major Long ; and do in answer thereunto according to my best understanding, with a due consideration to those gentlemen who have abid the brunt of the service.

I am very glad to hear of your welfare, and that our children have so good leisure to make a journey to eat cherries :—it's very excusable in my Daughter ; I hope she may have a very good pretence for it. I assure you, Sir, I wish her very well ; and I believe she knows it. I pray you tell her from me I expect she writes often to me ; by which I shall understand how all your Family doth, and she will be kept in some exercise. I have delivered my Son up to you ; and I hope you will counsel him : he will need it ; and indeed I believe he likes well what you say, and will be advised by you. I wish he may be serious ; the times require it.

I hope my sister[1] is in health ; to whom I desire my very hearty affections and service may be presented ; as also to my cousin Ann,[2] to whom I wish a good husband. I desire my affections may be presented to all your Family, to which I wish a blessing from the Lord. I hope I shall have your prayers in the Business to which I am called. My Wife, I trust, will be with you before it be long, in her way towards Bristol.—Sir, discompose not your thoughts or Estate for what you are to pay me. Let me know wherein I may comply with your occasions and mind, and be confident you will find me to you as your own heart.

Wishing your prosperity and contentment very sincerely, with the remembrance of my love, I rest,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Mayor has endorsed this Letter : "Received 27 July, 1649, per Messenger express from Newbury." He has likewise, says Harris, jotted on it "some shorthand," and "an account of his cattle and sheep." —Who the "Major Long" was, we know not : Cromwell undertakes to "do" for him what may be right and reasonable, and nothing more.

Cromwell, leaving London as we saw on Tuesday evening July 10th, had arrived at Bristol on Saturday evening, which was the 14th. He had to continue here, making his preparations, gathering his forces, for several weeks. Mrs. Cromwell means seemingly to pass a little more time with him before he go. In the end of July, he quits Bristol ; moving westward by Tenby[3] and Pembroke, where certain forces were to be taken up,—towards Milford Haven ; where he dates his next Letters, just in the act of sailing.

LETTER XCIV.

THE new Lord Lieutenant had at first designed for Munster, where it seemed his best chance lay. Already he has some regiments over, to

[1] Mrs. Mayor. [2] Miss Mayor, afterwards Mrs. Dunch of Pusey.
* Harris, p. 510 ; no. 8 of the Pusey seventeen.
[3] At Tenby, 2d August, Commons Journals, vi. 277.

reinforce our old acquaintance Colonel, now Lieutenant-General Michael Jones, at present besieged in Dublin, and enable him to resist the Ormond Army there. But on the 2d of August an important Victory has turned up for Jones: surprisal, and striking into panic and total rout, of the said Ormond Army;[1] which fortunate event, warmly recognised in the following Letter, clears Dublin of siege, and opens new outlooks for the Lord Lieutenant there. He sails thitherward; from Milford Haven, Monday, August 13th. Ireton, who is Major-General, or third in command, Jones being second, follows with another division of the force, on Wednesday. Hugh Peters also went; and "Mr. Owen" also, for another chaplain.

The good ship John is still lying in Milford waters, we suppose, waiting for a wind, for a turn of the tide. "My Son" Richard Cromwell, and perhaps Richard's Mother, we may dimly surmise, had attended the Lord Lieutenant thus far, to wish him speed on his perilous enterprise?

'*For my loving Brother, Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These.*'

'Milford Haven,' From Aboard the John,

LOVING BROTHER, 13th Aug. 1649.

I could not satisfy myself to omit this opportunity by my Son of writing to you; especially there being so late and great an occasion of acquainting you with the happy news I received from Lieutenant-General Jones yesterday.

The Marquis of Ormond besieged Dublin with Nineteen-thousand men or thereabouts; Seven-thousand Scots and Three-thousand more were coming to 'join him in' that work. Jones issued out of Dublin with Four-thousand foot and Twelve-hundred horse: hath routed this whole army; killed about Four-thousand upon the place; taken 2,517 prisoners, above Three-hundred 'of them' officers, some of great quality.[2]

This is an astonishing mercy; so great and seasonable that indeed we are like them that dreamed. What can we say! The Lord fill our souls with thankfulness, that our mouths may be full of His praise,—and our lives too: and grant we may never forget His goodness to us. These things seem to strengthen our faith and love, against more difficult times. Sir, pray for me, That I may walk worthy of the Lord in all that He hath called me unto!—

I have committed my Son to you; pray give him advice. I envy him not his contents; but I fear he should be swallowed up in them. I would have him mind and understand Business, read a little History, study the Mathematics and Cosmography:—these are good, with subordination to the things of God. Better than Idleness, or mere outward worldly contents. These fit for Public services,[3] for which a man is born.

Pardon this trouble. I am thus bold because I know you love me;

[1] Rout at Rathmines or Bagatrath: Ormond's own, Account of it, in Carte's Ormond Papers, ii. 403, 407-11: Jones's Account, in Cary's Memorials, ii. 159-62. Commons Journals, vi. 278 (14 August, 1649).

[2] The round numbers of this account have, as is usual, come over greatly exaggerated (Carte, *ubi supra*.)

[3] Services useful to all men.

as indeed I do you, and yours. My love to my dear Sister and my Cousin Ann your Daughter, and all Friends. I rest,

Sir,

Your loving brother,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' Sir, I desire you not to discommodate yourself because of the money due to me. Your welfare is as mine: and therefore let me know from time to time what will convenience you in any forbearance; I shall answer you in it, and be ready to accommodate you. And therefore do your other business; let not this hinder.*

Of Jones and his Victory, and services in Ireland, there was on the morrow much congratulating in Parliament: revival of an old Vote, which had rather fallen asleep. For settling Lands of a Thousand Pounds a-year on him; and straightway more special speedy Vote of "Lands to the value of Five-hundred Pounds a year for this last service";—which latter Vote, we hope, will not fall asleep as the former had done.[1]

LETTER XCV.

Same date, same conveyance.

To my beloved Daughter, Dorothy Cromwell, at Hursley: These.

From Aboard the John, 13th August, 1649.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER,

Your Letter was very welcome to me. I like to see anything from your hand; because indeed I stick not to say I do entirely love you. And therefore I hope a word of advice will not be unwelcome nor unacceptable to thee.

I desire you both to make it above all things your business to seek the Lord: to be frequently calling upon Him, that He would manifest Himself to you in His Son; and be listening what returns He makes to you,—for He will be speaking in your ear and in your heart, if you attend thereunto. I desire you to provoke your Husband likewise thereunto. As for the pleasures of this Life, and outward Business, let that be upon the bye. Be above all these things, by Faith in Christ; and then you shall have the true use and comfort of them,—and not otherwise.[2] I have much satisfaction in hope your spirit is this way set; and I desire you may grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and that I may hear thereof. The Lord is very near: which we see by His wonderful works: and therefore He looks that we of this generation draw near to Him. This late great Mercy of Ireland is a great manifestation thereof. Your Husband will acquaint you with it. We should be much stirred up in our spirits to thankfulness. We much need the spirit of Christ, to enable us to praise God for so admirable a mercy.

The Lord bless thee, my dear Daughter.

I rest,

Thy loving Father,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

* Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, iv. 267; from certain MSS. of Lord Nugent's.

1 Commons Journals, vi. 273, 81 (14, 18 August, 1649).

2 How true is this; equal, in its obsolete dialect, to the highest that man has yet attained to, in any dialect, old or new!

'P.S.' I hear thou didst lately miscarry. Prithee take heed of a coach by all means; borrow thy Father's nag when thou intendest to go abroad.*

Is the last phrase ironical; or had the "coach," in those ancient roads, overset, and produced the disaster? Perhaps "thy Father's nag" is really safer? Oliver is not given to irony; nor in a tone for it at this moment. These gentle domesticities and pieties are strangely contrasted with the fiery savagery and iron grimness, stern as Doom, which meets us in the next set of Letters we have from him!

On the second day following, on the 15th of August,[1] Cromwell with a prosperous wind arrived in Dublin; "where," say the old Newspapers,[2] "he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy; the great guns echoing forth their welcome, and the acclamations of the people resounding in every street. The Lord Lieutenant being come into the City,—where the concourse of the people was very great, they all flocking to see him of whom before they had heard so much,—at a convenient place he made a stand," rising in his carriage, we suppose, "and with his hat in his hand made a speech to them." Speech unfortunately lost; it is to this effect: "That as God had brought him thither in safety, so he doubted not but by Divine Providence to restore them all to their just liberties and properties," much trodden down by those unblessed Papist-Royalist combinations, and the injuries of war; "and that all persons whose hearts' affections were real for the carrying on of this great work against the barbarous and bloodthirsty Irish and their confederates and adherents, and for propagating of Christ's Gospel and establishing of Truth and Peace, and restoring of this bleeding Nation of Ireland to its former happiness and tranquillity,—should find favour and protection from the Parliament of England and him, and withal receive such rewards and gratuities as might be answerable to their merits." "This Speech," say the old Newspapers, "was entertained with great applause by the people; who all cried out, 'We will live and die with you!'"

LETTER XCVI.

SIR GEORGE AYSCOUGH, now vigilantly cruising on those coasts, "Vice-Admiral of the Irish Seas," who has done good service more than once,—he ought not to suffer in his private economics by absence on the Public Service.

'*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament: These.*'

SIR, Dublin, 22d August, 1649.

Before my coming for Ireland, I was bold to move the House on behalf of Sir George Ayscough; who then I thought had merited the favour of the Parliament, but since, much more, by his very faithful and industrious carriage in this place.

It seems, whilst he is attending your service, a Lease he holds of the

* Forster, iv. 268. From certain MSS. of Lord Nugent.

[1] Carte, ii. 83. [2] In Kimber: Life of Cromwell (London, 1724), p. 126.

Deanery of Windsor had liked to be purchased over his head, he not coming to buy it himself by the time limited. He holds a very considerable part of his estate in Church-leases; one or more being in Impropriate Tithes, which he and his ancestors have held for a good time: all which is like to determine, and go from him and his, by your Orders.

I found the Parliament well to resent the motion I made on his behalf at that time. I desire you please to revive the business; and to obtain the House's favour for him, which they intended and expressed. He will, I presume, herewith send his humble desires: for which I beg your furtherance; and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Ayscough is a Lincolnshire man. Last year, in the time of the Revolted Ships, he stood true to the Parliament; and brought his own ship off to them, in spite of perils. Serves now under Blake; is fast rising as a Sea-officer. The Lord Lieutenant's request in behalf of him has already been complied with.[1]

LETTERS XCVII.—CXII.

IRISH WAR.

THE history of the Irish War is, and for the present must continue, very dark and indecipherable to us. Ireland, ever since the Irish Rebellion broke out and changed itself into an Irish Massacre, in the end of 1641, has been a scene of distracted controversies, plunderings, excommunications, treacheries, conflagrations, of universal misery and blood and bluster, such as the world before or since has never seen. The History of it does not form itself into a picture; but remains only as a huge blot, an indiscriminate blackness; which the human memory cannot willingly charge itself with! There are Parties on the back of Parties; at war with the world and with each other. There are Catholics of the Pale, demanding freedom of religion; under my Lord This and my Lord That. There are Old-Irish Catholics, under Pope's Nuncios, under Abbas O'Teague of the excommunications, and Owen Roe O'Neil;—demanding not religious freedom only, but what we now call "Repeal of the Union;" and unable to agree with the Catholics of the English Pale. Then there are Ormond Royalists, of the Episcopalian and mixed creeds, strong for King without Covenant: Ulster and other Presbyterians, strong for King *and* Covenant: lastly, Michael Jones and the Commonwealth of England, who want neither King nor Covenant. All these plunging and tumbling, in huge discord, for the last eight years, have made of Ireland and its affairs the black unutterable blot we speak of.

At the date of Oliver's arrival, all Irish Parties are united in a combination very unusual with them; very dangerous for the incipient Commonwealth. Ormond, who had returned thither with new Com

* Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 163).

1 Commons Journals, 8 August, 1649 (vi. 276);—see *ib.* 9 July, 1649 (on which day most probably, the day of Thomond's Letter too, Cromwell had been "moving the House" for him). Whitlocke (2d edition), p. 317.

mission, in hopes to co-operate with Scotch Hamilton during the Second Civil War, arrived too late for that object; but has succeeded in rallying Ireland into one mass of declared opposition to the Powers that now rule. Catholics of the Pale, and Old-Irish Catholics of the Massacre, will at length act together; Protestant English Royalism, which has fled hither for shelter; nay, now at last Royalist Presbyterianism, and the very Scots in Ulster,—have all joined with Ormond "against the Regicides." They are eagerly inviting the young Charles Second to come thither, and be crowned and made victorious. He as yet hesitates between that and Scotland;—may probably give Scotland the preference. But in all Ireland, when Cromwell set foot on it, there remain only two Towns, Dublin and Derry, that hold for the Commonwealth; Dublin lately besieged, Derry still besieged. A very formidable combination. All Ireland kneaded together, by favourable accident and the incredible patience of Ormond, stands up in one great combination, resolute to resist the Commonwealth. Combination great in bulk; but made of iron and clay;—in meaning not so great. Oliver has taken survey and measure of it; Oliver descends on it like the Hammer of Thor; smites it, as at one fell stroke, into dust and ruin, never to reunite against him more.

One could pity this poor Irish People; their case is pitiable enough! The claim they started with, in 1641, was for religious freedom. Their claim, we can now all see, was just: essentially just, though full of intricacy; difficult to render clear and concessible;—nay, at that date of the World's History, it was hardly recognisable to any Protestant man, for just; and these frightful massacrings and sanguinary blusterings have rendered it, for the present, entirely unrecognisable. A just, though very intricate claim: but entered upon, and prosecuted, by such methods as were never yet available for asserting any claim in this world! Treachery and massacre: what could come of it? Eight years of cruel fighting, of desperate violence and misery, have left matters worse a thousandfold than they were at first. No want of daring, or of patriotism so-called; but a great want of other things! Numerous large masses of armed men have been on foot; full of fiery vehemence and audacity, but without worth as Armies: savage hordes rather; full of hatred and mutual hatred, of disobedience, falsity and noise. Undrilled, unpaid—driving herds of plundered cattle before them for subsistence; rushing down from hillsides, from ambuscadoes, passes in the mountains; taking shelter always "in bogs whither the cavalry cannot follow them." Unveracious, violent, disobedient men. False in speech;—alas, false in thought, first of all; who have never let the Fact tell its own harsh story to them; who have said always to the harsh Fact, "Thou art not that way, thou art this way!" The Fact, of course, asserts that it *is* that way: the Irish Projects end in perpetual discomfiture; have to take shelter in bogs whither cavalry cannot follow! There has been no scene seen under the sun like Ireland for these eight years. Murder, pillage, conflagration, excommunication; wide-flowing blood, and bluster high as Heaven and St. Peter;—as if wolves or rabid dogs were in fight here; as if demons from the Pit had mounted up to deface this fair green piece of God's Creation with *their* talkings and workings!

It is, and shall remain, very dark to us. Conceive Ireland wasted, torn in pieces; black Controversy as of demons and rabid wolves rushing over the face of it so long; incurable, and very dim to us: till here at last, as in the torrent of Heaven's lightning descending liquid on it, we have clear and terrible view of its affairs for a time!—

Oliver's proceedings here have been the theme of much loud criticism, and sibylline execration; into which it is not our plan to enter at present. We shall give these Twenty-three Letters of his in a mass, and without any commentary whatever. To those who think that a land overrun with Sanguinary Quacks can be healed by sprinkling it with rose-water, these Letters must be very horrible. Terrible Surgery this: but *is* it Surgery and Judgment, or atrocious Murder merely? That is a question which should be asked; and answered. Oliver Cromwell did believe in God's Judgments; and did not believe in the rose-water plan of Surgery;—which, in fact, is this Editor's case too! Every idle lie and piece of empty bluster this Editor hears, he too, like Oliver, has to shudder at it; has to think: "Thou, idle bluster, not true, thou also art shutting men's minds against the God's Fact; thou wilt issue as a cleft crown to some poor man some day; thou also wilt have to take shelter in bogs whither cavalry cannot follow!"—But in Oliver's time, as I say, there was still belief in the Judgments of God; in Oliver's time, there was yet no distracted jargon of "abolishing Capital Punishments," of Jean-Jacques Philanthropy, and universal rose-water in this world still so full of sin. Men's notion was, not for abolishing punishments, but for making laws just: God the Maker's Laws, they considered, had not yet got the Punishment abolished from them! Men had a notion, that the difference between Good and Evil was still considerable;—equal to the difference beween Heaven and Hell. It was a true notion. Which all men yet saw, and felt in all fibres of their existence, to be true. Only in late decadent generations, fast hastening towards radical change or final perdition, can such indiscriminate mashing-up of Good and Evil into one universal patent-treacle, and most unmedical electuary, of Rousseau Sentimentalism, universal Pardon and Benevolence, with dinner and drink and one cheer more, take effect in our Earth. Electuary very poisonous, as sweet as it is, and very nauseous, of which Oliver, happier than we, had not yet heard the slightest intimation, even in dreams.

The reader of these Letters, who has swept all that very ominous twaddle out of his head and heart, and still looks with a recognising eye on the ways of the Supreme Powers with this world, will find here, in the rude practical state, a Phenomenon which he will account noteworthy. An armed Soldier, solemnly conscious to himself that he is the Soldier of God the Just,—a consciousness which it well beseems all soldiers and all men to have always;—armed Soldier, terrible as Death, relentless as Doom; doing God's Judgments on the Enemies of God! It is a Phenomenon not of joyful nature; no, but of awful, to be looked at with pious terror and awe. Not a Phenomenon which you are called to recognise with bright smiles, and fall in love with at sight:—thou, art thou worthy to love such a thing; worthy to do other than hate it, and shriek over it? Darest thou wed the Heaven's lightning, then;

and say to it, Godlike One? Is thy own life beautiful and terrible to thee; steeped in the eternal depths, in the eternal splendours? Thou also, art thou in thy sphere the minister of God's Justice; feeling that thou art here to do it, and to see it done, at thy soul's peril? Thou wilt then judge Oliver with increasing clearness; otherwise with increasing darkness, misjudge him.

In fact, Oliver's dialect is rude and obsolete; the phrases of Oliver, to him solemn on the perilous battlefield as voices of God, have become to us most mournful when spouted as frothy cant from Exeter Hall. The reader has, all along, to make steady allowance for that. And on the whole, clear recognition will be difficult for him. To a poor slumberous Canting Age, mumbling to itself everywhere, Peace, Peace, where there is no peace,—such a Phenomenon as Oliver, in Ireland or elsewhere, is not the most recognisable in all its meanings. But it waits there for recognition; and can wait an Age or two. The memory of Oliver Cromwell, as I count, has a good many centuries in it yet; and Ages of very varied complexion to apply to, before all end. My reader, in this passage and others, shall make of it what he can.

But certainly, at lowest, here is a set of Military Despatches of the most unexampled nature! Most rough, unkempt; shaggy as the Numidian lion. A style rugged as crags; coarse, drossy: yet with a meaning in it, an energy, a depth; pouring on like a fire-torrent; perennial *fire* of it visible athwart all drosses and defacements: not uninteresting to see! This man has come into distracted Ireland with a God's Truth in the heart of him, though an unexpected one; the first such man they have seen for a great while indeed. He carries Acts of Parliament, Laws of Earth and Heaven, in one hand; drawn sword in the other. He addresses the bewildered Irish populations, the black ravening coil of sanguinary blustering individuals at Tredah and elsewhere: "Sanguinary blustering individuals, whose word is grown worthless as the barking of dogs; whose very thought is false, representing no fact but the contrary of fact,—behold, I am come to speak and to do the truth among you. Here are Acts of Parliament, methods of regulation and veracity, emblems the nearest we poor Puritans could make them of God's Law-Book, to which it is and shall be our perpetual effort to make them correspond nearer and nearer. Obey them, help us to perfect them, be peaceable and true under them, it shall be well with you. Refuse to obey them, I will not let you continue living! As articulate-speaking veracious orderly men, not as a blustering murderous kennel of dogs run rabid, shall you continue in this Earth. Choose!"—They chose to disbelieve him; could not understand that he, more than the others, meant any truth or justice to them. They rejected his summons and terms at Tredah: he stormed the place; and according to his promise, put every man of the Garrison to death. His own soldiers are forbidden to plunder, by paper Proclamation; and in ropes of authentic hemp they are hanged when they do it. To Wexford Garrison the like terms as at Tredah; and, failing these, the like storm. Here is a man whose word represents a thing! Not bluster this, and false jargon scattering itself to the winds: what this man speaks out of him comes to pass as a fact; speech with this man is accurately pro-

phetic of deed. This is the first King's face poor Ireland ever saw; the first Friend's face, little as it recognises him,—poor Ireland!

But let us take the Letters themselves; and read them with various emotions, in which wonder will not fail. What a rage, wide-sweeping, inexorable as Death, dwells in that heart;—close neighbour to pity, to trembling affection, and soft tears! Some readers know that softness *without* rigour, rigour as of adamant to rest upon, is but sloth and cowardly baseness; that without justice first, real pity is not possible, and only false pity and maudlin weakness is possible. Others, again, are not aware of that fact.—To our Irish friends we ought to say likewise that this Garrison of Tredah consisted mostly of Englishmen.[1] Perfectly certain this:—and therefore let "the bloody hoof of the Saxon," &c., forbear to continue itself on that matter. At its peril! Idle blustering, and untruth of every kind lead to the like terrible results in these days as they did in those.

Letter Ninety-seventh, a summons to Dundalk, will be fully understood, so soon as the Two following it are read. The two following it, on Tredah, or Drogheda as we now name it, contain in themselves especially the Second and more deliberate of the two contains, materials for a pretty complete account of the Transaction there. It requires only to be added, what Cromwell himself has forborne to do, that on the repulse of the first attack, it was he, in person, who, "witnessing it from the batteries," hastened forward and led on the new attack: My pretty men, we must positively not be repulsed; we must enter here, we cannot do at all without entering!—The rest of these Irish Letters may, I hope, tell their own tale.

LETTER XCVII.

For the Chief Officer commanding in Dundalk: These.

SIR, 'Tredah,' 12th September, 1649.

I offered mercy to the Garrison of Tredah,[2] in sending the Governor a Summons before I attempted the taking of it. Which being refused brought their evil upon them.

If you, being warned thereby, shall surrender your Garrison to the use of the Parliament of England, which by this I summon you to do, you may thereby prevent effusion of blood. If, upon refusing this Offer, that which you like not befalls you, you will know whom to blame. I rest,

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

What, in the interim, had become of Dundalk and its Chief and other Officers, will shortly appear.

LETTER XCVIII.

To the Honourable John Bradshaw, Esquire, President of the Council of State: These.

SIR, 'Dublin,' 16th September, 1649.

It hath pleased God to bless our endeavours at Tredah. After battery, we stormed it. The Enemy were about 3,000 strong in

[1] Ludlow, i. 301.

[2] "Treedagh," he writes.

* Autograph, in the possession of the Earl of Shannon, at Castle-Martyr, in the County of Cork.

the Town. They made a stout resistance; and near 1,000 of our men being entered, the Enemy forced them out again. But God giving a new courage to our men, they attempted again, and entered; beating the Enemy from their defences.

The Enemy had made three retrenchments, both to the right and left 'of' where we entered; all which they were forced to quit. Being thus entered, we refused them quarter; having the day before summoned the Town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think Thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives. Those that did, are in safe custody for the Barbadoes. Since that time, the Enemy quitted to us Trim and Dundalk. In Trim they were in such haste that they left their guns behind them.

This hath been a marvellous great mercy. The Enemy, being not willing to put an issue upon a field-battle, had put into this Garrison almost all their prime soldiers, being about 3,000 horse and foot, under the command of their best officers; Sir Arthur Ashton being made Governor. There were some seven or eight regiments, Ormond's being one, under the command of Sir Edmund Varney. I do not believe, neither do I hear, that any officer escaped with his life, save only one Lieutenant, who, I hear, going to the Enemy said, That he was the only man that escaped of all the Garrison. The Enemy upon this were filled with much terror. And truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, through the goodness of God.

I wish that all honest hearts may give the glory of this to God alone, to whom indeed the praise of this mercy belongs. 'As' for instruments, they were very inconsiderable the work throughout. * * *

Captain Brandly did with forty or fifty of his men very gallantly storm the Tenalias; for which he deserves the thanks of the State. 'I rest,

Your most humble servant,'

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"*Tenalia*," I believe, is now called *Tenaille* by engineers; a kind of advanced defensive work, which takes its name from resemblance, real or imaginary, to the lip of a pair of *pincers*.

The "Sir Edmund Varney" who perished here was the son of the Standard-bearer at Edgehill. For Sir Arthur Ashton see Clarendon. Poor Sir Arthur had a wooden leg which the soldiers were very eager for, understanding it to be full of gold coin; but it proved to be mere timber: all his gold, 200 broad pieces, was sewed into his belt, and scrambled for when that came to light.[1] There is in Wood's Life[2] an old-soldier's account of the Storm of Tredah, sufficiently emphatic, by Tom Wood, Anthony's brother, who had been there.

LETTER XCIX.

'*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*'

SIR, Dublin, 17th September, 1649.

Your Army being safely arrived at Dublin; and the Enemy endeavouring to draw all his forces together about Trim and

* Whitlocke, p. 412. [1] Ibid. [2] Prefixed to the Athenæ Oxonienses.

Tecroghan, as my intelligence gave me,—from whence endeavours were made by the Marquis of Ormond to draw Owen Roe O'Neil with his forces to his assistance, but with what success I cannot yet learn,—I resolved, after some refreshment taken for our weather-beaten men and horses, and accommodations for a march, to take the field. And accordingly, upon Friday, the 30th of August[1] last, rendezvoused with eight regiments of foot, six of horse and some troops of dragoons, three miles on the north side of Dublin. The design was, To endeavour the regaining of Tredah ; or tempting the Enemy, upon his hazard of the loss of that place, to fight.

Your Army came before the Town upon Monday following.[2] Where having pitched, as speedy course was taken as could be to frame our batteries ; which took up the more time because divers of the battering guns were on shipboard. Upon Monday, the 9th[3] of this instant, the batteries began to play. Whereupon I sent Sir Arthur Ashton, the then Governor, a summons, To deliver the Town to the use of the Parliament of England. To the which receiving no satisfactory answer, I proceeded that day to beat down the Steeple of the Church on the south side of the Town, and to beat down a Tower not far from the same place, which you will discern by the Chart enclosed.

Our guns not being able to do much that day, it was resolved to endeavour to do our utmost the next day to make breaches assaultable, and by the help of God to storm them. The place pitched upon was that part of the Town-wall next a Church called St. Mary's ; which was the rather chosen because we did hope that if we did enter and possess that Church, we should be the better able to keep it against their horse and foot until we could make way for the entrance of our horse ; and we did not conceive that any part of the Town would afford the like advantage for that purpose with this. The batteries planted were two: one was for that part of the Wall against the east end of the said Church ; the other against the Wall on the south side. Being somewhat long in battering, the Enemy made six retrenchments : three of them from the said Church to Duleek Gate : and three of them from the east end of the Church to the Town-wall and so backward. The guns, after some two or three hundred shot, beat down the corner Tower, and opened two reasonable good breaches in the east and south Wall.

Upon Tuesday, the 10th of this instant, about five o'clock in the evening, we began the Storm : and after some hot dispute we entered, about seven or eight hundred men ; the Enemy disputing it very stiffly with us. And indeed, through the advantages of the place, and the courage God was pleased to give the defenders, our men were forced to retreat quite out of the breach, not without some considerable loss ; Colonel Castle being there shot in the head, whereof he presently died ; and divers officers and soldiers doing their duty killed and wounded. There was a Tenalia to flanker the south Wall of the Town, between Duleek Gate and the corner Tower before mentioned :—which our men entered, wherein they found some forty or fifty of the Enemy, which they put to the sword. And this 'Tenalia' they held : but it being

1 Friday is 31st ; this error as to the day of the month continues through the Letter.
2 3d September. 3 10th.

without the Wall, and the sally-port through the Wall into that Tenalia being choked up with some of the Enemy which were killed in it, it proved of no use for an entrance into the Town that way.

Although our men that stormed the breaches were forced to recoil, as is before expressed; yet, being encouraged to recover their loss, they made a second attempt: wherein God was pleased so to animate them that they got ground of the Enemy, and by the goodness of God, forced him to quit his entrenchments. And after a very hot dispute, the Enemy having both horse and foot, and we only foot, within the Wall,—they gave ground, and our men became masters both of their retrenchments and 'of' the Church; which indeed, although they made our entrance the more difficult, yet they proved of excellent use to us; so that the Enemy could not 'now' annoy us with their horse, but thereby we had advantage to make good the ground, that so we might let in our own horse; which accordingly was done, though with much difficulty.

Divers of the Enemy retreated into the Mill-Mount: a place very strong and of difficult access; being exceedingly high, having a good graft, and strongly pallisadoed. The Governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable Officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the Town: and, I think, that night they put to the sword about 2,000 men;—divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the Bridge into the other part of the Town, where about 100 of them possessed St. Peter's Church-steeple, some the west Gate, and others a strong Round Tower next the Gate called St. Sunday's. These, being summoned to yield to mercy, refused. Whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's Church to be fired, when one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames: "God damn me, God confound me; I burn, I burn."

The next day, the other two Towers were summoned; in one of which was about six or seven score: but they refused to yield themselves: and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said Towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head; and every tenth man of the soldiers killed; and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other Tower were all spared, as to their lives only; and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes.

I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood; and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future. Which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. The officers and soldiers of this Garrison were the flower of their Army. And their great expectation was, that our attempting this place would put fair to ruin us; they being confident of the resolution of their men, and the advantage of the place. If we had divided our force into two quarters

to have besieged the North Town and the South Town, we could not have had such a correspondency between the two parts of our Army, but that they might have chosen to have brought their Army, and have fought with which part 'of ours' they pleased,—and at the same time have made a sally with 2,000 men upon us, and have left their walls manned ; they having in the Town the number hereafter specified, but some say near 4,000.

Since this great mercy vouchsafed to us, I sent a party of horse and dragoons to Dundalk ;[1] which the Enemy quitted, and we are possessed of,—as also 'of' another Castle they deserted, between Trim and Tredah, upon the Boyne. I sent a party of horse and dragoons to a House within five miles of Trim, there being then in Trim some Scots Companies, which the Lord of Ardes brought to assist the Lord of Ormond. But upon the news of Tredah, they ran away ; leaving their great guns behind them, which also we have possessed.

And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts, That a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the Spirit of God. And is it not so, clearly? That which caused your men to storm so courageously, it was the Spirit of God, who gave your men courage, and took it away again ; and gave the Enemy courage, and took it away again ; and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success. And therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory.

It is remarkable that these people, at the first, set up the Mass in some places of the Town that had been monasteries ; but afterwards grew so insolent that, the last Lord's day before the storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the great Church called St. Peter's, and they had public Mass there : and in this very place near 1,000 of them were put to the sword, fleeing thither for safety. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two ; the one of which was Father Peter Taaff, brother to the Lord Taaff, whom the soldiers took, the next day, and made an end of. The other was taken in the Round Tower, under the repute of a Lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that Tower had no quarter, he confessed he was a Friar ; but that did not save him.

A great deal of loss in this business fell upon Colonel Hewson's, Colonel Castle's, and Colonel Ewer's regiments. Colonel Ewer having two Field-Officers in his regiment shot ; Colonel Castle and a Captain of his regiment slain ; Colonel Hewson's Captain-Lieutenant slain. I do not think we lost 100 men upon the place, though many be wounded.

I most humbly pray the Parliament may be pleased 'that' this Army may be maintained ; and that a consideration may be had of them, and of the carrying on affairs here, 'such' as may give a speedy issue to this work. To which there seems to be a marvellous fair opportunity offered by God. And although it may seem very chargeable to the State of England to maintain so great a force ; yet surely to stretch a little for the present, in following God's providence, in hope the charge

[1] Antea, Letter XCVII.

will not be long—I trust it will not be thought by any (that have not irreconcilable or malicious principles) unfit for me to move, For a constant supply; which, in human probability as to outward things, is most likely to hasten and perfect this work. And indeed if God please to finish it here as He hath done in England, the War is like to pay itself.

We keep the field much; our tents sheltering us from the wet and cold. But yet the Country-sickness overtakes many: and therefore we desire recruits, and some fresh regiments of foot, may be sent us. For it's easily conceived by what the Garrisons already drink up, what our Field-Army will come to, if God shall give more Garrisons into our hands. Craving pardon for this great trouble, I rest,

Your most obedient servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S. Since writing of my Letter, a Major who brought off forty-three horse from the Enemy told me that it's reported in their camp that Owen Roe and they are agreed.

The defendants in Tredah consisted of: The Lord of Ormond's regiment; Sir Edmund Varney Lieutenant-Colonel's of 400; Colonel Byrn's, Colonel Warren's, and Colonel Wall's, of 2,000; the Lord of Westmeath's, of 200; Sir James Dillon's of 200; and 200 horse*

The report as to Owen Roe O'Neil is correct. Monk, who had lately in Ulster entered upon some negotiation with O'Neil and his Old-Irish Party, who, as often happened, were in quarrel with the others, found himself deserted by his very soldiers, and obliged to go to England; where this policy of his, very useful as Monk had thought, is indignantly disavowed by the Authorities, who will not hear of such a connexion.[1] Owen Roe O'Neil appears to have been a man of real ability: surely no able man, or son of Order, ever sank in a more dismal welter of confusions unconquerable by him! He did no more service or disservice henceforth; he died in some two months, of a disease in the foot,—poisoned, say some, by the gift of a "pair of russet-leather boots" which some Traitor had bestowed on him.[2]

Such was the Storm of Tredah. A thing which, if one *wanted* good assurance as to the essential meaning of it, might well "work remorse and regret:" for indisputably the outer body of it is emphatic enough! Cromwell, not in a light or loose manner, but in a very solemn and deep one, takes charge for himself, at his own peril. That it *is* a Judgment of God: and that it did "save much effusion of blood," we and all spectators can very readily testify. "The execrable policy of that Regicide," says Jacobite Carte on the occasion, "had the effect he proposed. It spread abroad the terror of his name; it cut"—In fact, it cut through the heart of the Irish War. Wexford Storm followed (not by forethought, it would seem, but by chance of war) in the same stern fashion; and there was no other storm or slaughter needed in that Country. Rose

* Newspapers; in Parliamentary History (London, 1763), xix. 201[1]

[1] 10 August, 1649 (Commons Journals, vi. 277).

[2] Carte, ii. 83.

water Surgeons might have tried it otherwise ; but that was not Oliver's execrable policy, not the Rose-water one. And so we leave it, standing on such basis as it has.

Ormond had sent orders to "burn" Dundalk and Trim before quitting them ; but the Garrisons, looking at Tredah, were in too much haste to apply the coal. They marched away at double-quick time ; the Lord Lieutenant got possession of both Towns unburnt. He has put Garrisons there, we see, which "drink up" some of his forces. He has also despatched Colonel Venables, of whom we shall here again, with a regiment or two to reduce Carlingford, Newry,—to raise what Siege there may be at Derry, and assist in settling distracted Ulster : of whose progress here are news.

LETTER C.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England : These.

MR. SPEAKER, Dublin, 27th September, 1649.

I had not received any account from Colonel Venables,—whom I sent from Tredah to endeavour the reducing of Carlingford, and so to march Northward towards a conjunction with Sir Charles Coote,—until the last night.

After he came to Carlingford, having summoned the place, both the three Castles and the Fort commanding the Harbour were rendered to him. Wherein were about Forty Barrels of powder, Seven Pieces of Cannon ; about a Thousand Muskets, and Five-hundred Pikes wanting twenty. In the entrance into the Harbour, Captain Fern, aboard your man-of-war, had some danger ; being much shot at from the Sea Fort, a bullet shooting through his main-mast. The Captain's entrance into that Harbour was a considerable adventure, and a good service ;—as also was that of Captain Brandly,[1] who, with Forty seamen, stormed a very strong Tenalia at Tredah, and helped to take it ; for which he deserves an owning by you.

Venables marched from Carlingford, with a party of Horse and Dragoons, to the Newry ; leaving the Foot to come up after him. He summoned the place, and it was yielded before his Foot came up to him. Some other informations I have received from him, which promise well towards your Northern Interest ; which, if well prosecuted, will, I trust God, render you a good account of those parts.

I have sent those things to be presented to the Council of State for their consideration. I pray God, as these mercies flow in upon you, He will give you an heart to improve them to His glory alone ; because He alone is the author of them, and of all the goodness, patience, and long-suffering extended towards you

Your Army has marched ; and I believe, this night lieth at Arklow, in the County of Wicklow, by the Seaside, between thirty and forty miles from this place. I am this day, by God's blessing, going towards it.

I crave your pardon for this trouble ; and rest

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

[1] Antea, p. 296.

P.S. I desire the Supplies moved for may be hastened. I am verily persuaded, though the burden be great, yet it is for your service. If the Garrisons we take swallow up your men, how shall we be able to keep the field? Who knows but the Lord may pity England's sufferings, and make a short work of this? It is in His Hand to do it, and therein only your servants rejoice. I humbly present the condition of Captain George Jenkin's Widow. He died presently after Tredah Storm. His Widow is in great want.

The following Officers and Soldiers were slain at the storming of Tredah:—Sir Arthur Ashton, Governor: Sir Edmund Varney, Lieutenant-Colonel to Ormond's Regiment; Colonel Fleming, Lieutenant-Colonel Finglass, Major Fitzgerald, with eight Captains, eight Lieutenants, and eight Cornets, all of Horse; Colonel's Warren, Wall, and Byrne, of Foot, with their Lieutenants, Majors, &c.; the Lord Taaff's Brother, an Augustine Friar; forty-four Captains, and all their Lieutenants, Ensigns, &c.; 220 Reformadoes and Troopers; 2,500 Foot-soldiers, besides Staff-Officers, Surgeons, &c.*

Venables went on, rapidly accomplishing his service in the North; without much hurt; though not without imminent peril,—by a camisado, or surprisal in the night-time, which is afterwards alluded to in these Letters. The Lord Lieutenant, we observe, still dates from Dublin, but is to quit it "this day;" his "Army has already marched:" Southward now, on a new series of operations.

LETTER CI.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

SIR, Wexford, 14th October, 1649.

The Army marched from Dublin, about the 23rd of September, into the County of Wicklow, where the Enemy had a Garrison about fourteen miles from Dublin, called Killincarrick; which they quitting, a Company of the Army was put therein. From thence the Army marched through almost a desolated country, until it came to a passage over the River Doro,[1] about a mile above the Castle of Arcklow, which was the first seat and honour of the Marquis of Ormond's family. Which he had strongly fortified: but it was, upon the approach of the Army, quitted;—wherein we left another Company of Foot.

From thence the Army marched towards Wexford; where in the way was a strong and large Castle, at a town called Limbrick, the ancient seat of the Esmonds; where the Enemy had a strong Garrison; which they burnt and quitted, the day before our coming thither. From thence we marched towards Ferns, an episcopal seat, where was a Castle; to which I sent Colonel Reynolds with a party to summon it. Which accordingly he did, and it was surrendered to him; where we having put

* King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 441, art. 7, "Letters from Ireland, printed by Authority," (p. 13). Parliamentary History (xix. 207-9) has copied this Letter from the old Pamphlet (as usual, giving no reference); and after the concluding "Surgeons, &c." has taken the liberty of adding these words, "*and many inhabitants,*" of which there is no whisper in the old Pamphlets;—a very considerable liberty indeed!

1 River Darragh;—a branch of what is now called the Avoca; well known to musical persons

a company,—advanced the Army to a passage over the River Slaney, which runs down to Wexford; and that night, we marched into the fields of a Village called Enniscorthy, belonging to Mr. Robert Wallop;[1] where was a strong Castle very well manned and provided for by the Enemy; and, close under it, a very fair House belonging to the same worthy person,—a Monastery of Franciscan Friars, the considerablest in all Ireland: they ran away the night before we came. We summoned the Castle; and they refused to yield at the first; but upon better consideration, they were willing to deliver the place to us: which accordingly they did; leaving their great guns, arms, ammunition and provisions behind them.

Upon Monday, the First of October, we came before Wexford. Into which the Enemy had put a Garrison, consisting of 'part of' their Army; this Town having, until then, been so confident of their own strength as that they would not, at any time, suffer a Garrison to be imposed upon them. The Commander that brought in those forces was Colonel David Sinnott; who took upon him the command of the place. To whom I sent a Summons, a copy whereof is this enclosed; between whom and me there passed Answers and Replies, copies whereof these also are;

1. "*To the Commander-in-Chief of the Town of Wexford.*

"SIR, "Before Wexford, 3rd October, 1649.

"Having brought the Army belonging to the Parliament of England before this place, to reduce it to its due obedience; to the end effusion of blood may be prevented, and the Town and country about it preserved from ruin, I thought fit to summon you to deliver the same to me, to the use of the State of England.

"By this offer, I hope it will clearly appear where the guilt will lie, if innocent persons should come to suffer with the nocent. I expect your speedy answer; and rest,

"Sir,

"Your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL"

"*For the Lord General Cromwell.*

"Wexford, 3rd October, 1649.

"SIR,—I received your Letter of Summons for the delivery of this Town into your hands. Which standeth not with my honour to do of myself; neither will I take it upon me, without the advice of the rest of the Officers, and Mayor of this Corporation; this Town being of so great consequence to all Ireland. Whom I will call together, and confer with; and return my resolution to you, tomorrow by twelve of the clock.

"In the meantime, if you be so pleased, I am content to forbear all acts of hostility, so you permit no approach to be made. Expecting

1 Wallop is Member ("recruiter") for Andover; a King's-Judge; Member of the Council of State; now and afterwards a conspicuous rigorous republican man. He has advanced money, long since, we suppose, for the Public Service in Ireland; and obtained in payment this "fair House," and superiority of Enniscorthy; properties the value or no-value of which will much depend on the Lord Lieutenant's success at present.—Wallop's representative, a Peer of the Realm, is still owner here, as it has proved.

your answer in that particular, I remain,—my Lord,—your Lordship's servant,

"D. SINNOTT."

2. "*To the Commander-in-chief of the Town of Wexford.*

"Before Wexford, 3rd October, 1649.

"SIR,—I am contented to expect your resolution by twelve of the clock to-morrow morning. Because our tents are not so good a covering as your houses, and for other reasons. I cannot agree to a cessation. I rest,—your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

"*For the Lord General Cromwell.*

"Wexford, 4th October, 1649.

"SIR,—I have advised with the Mayor and Officers, as I promised, and thereupon are content that Four, whom I shall employ, may have a Conference and Treaty with Four of yours, to see if any agreement and understanding may be begot between us. To this purpose I desire you to send mine a Safe-conduct, as I do hereby promise to send unto yours when you send me their names. And I pray that the meeting may be had to-morrow at eight of the clock in the forenoon, that they may have sufficient time to confer and debate together, and determine the matter; and that the meeting and place may be agreed upon, and the Safe conduct mutually sent for the said meeting this afternoon. Expecting your answer hereto, I rest,—my Lord,—your servant,

"D. SINNOTT.

"Send me the name of your Agents, their qualities and degrees. Those I fix upon are: Major James Byrne, Major Theobald Dillon, Alderman Nicholas Chevers, Mr. William Stafford."

3. "*To the Commander-in-Chief of the Town of Wexford.*

"SIR, "Before Wexford, 4th October, 1649.

"Having summoned you to deliver the Town of Wexford into my hands, I might well expect the delivery thereof, and not a formal Treaty; which is seldom granted but where the things stand upon a more equal foot.

"If therefore yourself or the Town have any desires to offer, upon which you will surrender the place to me, I shall be able to judge of the reasonableness of them when they are made known to me. To which end, if you shall think fit to send the Persons named in your last, entrusted by yourself and the Town, by whom I may understand your desires, I shall give you a speedy and fitting Answer. And I do hereby engage myself, that they shall return in safety to you.

"I expect your answer hereunto within an hour; and rest,

"Your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

"*For the Lord General Cromwell.*

"Wexford, 4th October, 1649.

"SIR—I have returned you a civil Answer, to the best of my judgment; and thereby, I find, you undervalue me and this place so much

that you think to have it surrendered without Capitulation or honourable Terms,—as appears by the hour's limitation in your last.

"Sir, had I never a man in this Town but the Townsmen, and Artillery here planted, I should conceive myself in a very befitting condition to make honourable conditions. And having a considerable party 'along' with them, in the place, I am resolved to die honourably, or make such conditions as may secure my honour and life in the eyes of my own Party.

"To which reasonable terms if you hearken not,—or give me 'not' time to send my Agents till eight of the clock in the forenoon to-morrow, with my Propositions, with a further Safe-conduct,—I leave you to your better judgment, and myself to the assistance of the Almighty; and so conclude.—Your servant,

"D. SINNOTT."

"*For the Lord General Cromwell.*

"Wexford, 5th October, 1649.

"SIR,—My Propositions being now prepared, I am ready to send my Agents with them unto you. And for their safe return, I pray you to send a Safe-conduct by the Bearer unto me,—in hope an honourable agreement may thereupon arise between your Lordship and,—my Lord,—your Lordship's servant,

"D. SINNOTT."

Whilst these papers were passing between us, I sent the Lieutenant-General[1] with a party of dragoons, horse and foot, to endeavour to reduce their Fort, which lay at the mouth of their harbour, about ten miles distant from us. To which he sent a troop of dragoons; but the Enemy quitted their Fort, leaving behind them about seven great guns; betook themselves, by the help of their boat, to a Frigate of twelve guns lying in the harbour, within cannon-shot of the Fort. The dragoons possessed the Fort: and some seamen belonging to your Fleet coming happily in at the same time, they bent their guns at the Frigate, and she immediately yielded to mercy,—both herself, the soldiers that had been in the Fort, and the seamen that manned her. And whilst our men were in her, the Town, not knowing what had happened, sent another small vessel to her; which our men also took.

The Governor of the Town having obtained from me a safe-conduct for the four persons mentioned in one of the papers, to come and treat with me about the surrender of the Town, I expected they should have done so. But instead thereof, the Earl of Castlehaven brought to their relief, on the north side of the river,[2] about five hundred foot. Which occasioned their refusal to send out any to treat; and caused me to revoke my Safe-conduct, not thinking it fit to leave it for them to make use of it when they pleased:

"*For the Lord General Cromwell.*

"Wexford, 5th October, 1649.

"MY LORD,—Even as I was ready to send out my Agents unto you, the Lord General of the horse came hither with a relief. Unto whom I

[1] Michael Jones. [2] Carte, ii. 92.

communicated the proceedings between your Lordship and me, and delivered him the Propositions I intended to despatch unto your Lordship ;—who hath desired a small time to consider of them, and to speed them unto me. Which, my Lord, I could not deny, he having a commanding power over me.

"Pray, my Lord, believe that I do not do this to trifle out time ; but for his present consent ;—and if I find any long delay in his Lordship's returning them back unto me, I will proceed of myself, according to my first intention. To which I beseech your Lordship give credit ; at the request,—my Lord,—of your Lordship's ready servant,

"D. SINNOTT."

4. "*To the Commander-in-Chief of the Town of Wexford.*

"SIR, "Wexford, 6th October, 1649.

"You might have spared your trouble in the account you give me of your transaction with the Lord-General of your horse, and of your resolution in case he answer not your expectation in point of time. These are your own concernments, and it behoves you to improve the relief you mention to your best advantage.

"All that I have to say is, To desire you to take notice, that I do hereby revoke my Safe-conduct from the persons mentioned therein. When you shall see cause to treat, you may send for another.—I rest,

"Sir,

"Your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Our cannon being landed,[1] and we having removed all our quarters to the south-east end of the Town, next the Castle, 'which stands without the Walls,'—it was generally agreed that we should bend the whole strength of our artillery upon the Castle ; being persuaded that if we got the Castle, the Town would easily follow.

Upon Thursday the 11th instant (our batteries being finished the night before) we began to play betimes in the morning ; and having spent near a hundred shot, the Governor's stomach came down ; and he sent to me to give leave for four persons, intrusted by him, to come unto me, and offer terms of surrender :

"*For the Lord General Cromwell.*

"Wexford, 11th October, 1649.

"SIR,—In performance of my last, I desire your Lordship to send me a Safe-conduct for Major Theobald Dillon, Major James Byrne, Alderman Nicholas Chevers, and Captain James Stafford, whom I will send to your Lordship instructed with my desires. And so I rest,—my Lord, —your servant,

"D. SINNOTT."

Which I condescending to, two Field-Officers with an Alderman of the Town, and the Captain of the Castle, brought out the Propositions enclosed,—which for their abominableness, manifesting also the impudency of the men, I thought fit to present to your views, together with my Answer :

[1] 6th October (ib.)

"*The Propositions of Colonel David Sinnott, Governor of the Town and Castle of Wexford, for and on the behalf of the Officers and Soldiers and Inhabitants in the said Town and Castle, unto General Cromwell.*

"1. *In primis*, That all and every the Inhabitants of the said Town, from time to time and at all times hereafter, shall have free and uninterrupted liberty publicly to use, exercise and profess the Roman Catholic Religion, without restriction, mulct or penalty, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

"2. That the Regular and Secular Roman Catholic Clergy now possessed of the Churches, Church-livings, Monasteries, Religious-houses and Chapels in the said Town, and in the suburbs and franchises thereof, and their successors, shall have, hold and enjoy, to them and their successors forever, the said churches, church-livings, monasteries, religious-houses and chapels, and shall teach and preach in them publicly, without any molestation, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

"3. That Nicholas, now Lord Bishop of Ferns, and his successors, shall use and exercise such jurisdiction over the Catholics of his Diocese as since his consecration hitherto he used.

"4. That all the Officers and Soldiers, of what quality or degree soever, in the said Town and Castle, and such of the Inhabitants as are so pleased, shall march with flying colours, and be conveyed safe, with their lives, artillery, ordnance, ammunition, arms, goods of all sorts, horses, moneys and what else belongs to them, to the Town of Ross, and there to be left safe with their own party; allowing each musketeer, towards their march, a pound of powder, four yards of match and twelve brace of bullets; and a strong Convoy to be sent with the said soldiers, within four-and-twenty hours after the yielding up of the said Town.

"5. That such of the Inhabitants of the said Town as will desire to leave the same at any time hereafter, shall have free liberty to carry away out of the said Town all their frigates, artillery, arms, powder, bullets, match, corn, malt, and other provision which they have for their defence and sustenance, and all their goods and chattels, of what quality or condition soever, without any manner of disturbance whatsoever, and have passes and safe-conducts and convoys for their lives and said goods to Ross, or where else they shall think fit.

"6. That the Mayor, Bailiffs, Free Burgesses and Commons of the said Town, may have, hold and enjoy the said Town and Suburbs, their commons, their franchises, their liberties and immunities, which hitherto they enjoyed; and that the Mayor, Bailiffs and Free Burgesses may have the government of the said Town, as hitherto they enjoyed the same from the Realm of England, and that they may have no other government, they adhering to the State of England, and observing their orders, and the orders of their Governors in this Realm for the time being.

"7. That all and every the Burgesses and Inhabitants, either native or strangers, of the said Town, who shall continue their abode therein, or come to live there within three months, and their heirs, shall have, hold and enjoy all and singular their several castles, messuages, houses,

lands, tenements and hereditaments within the land of Ireland, and all their goods and chattels, of what nature, quality or condition soever, to them and their heirs, to their own several uses forever, without molestation.

"8. That such Burgess or Burgesses, or other Inhabitant of the said Town, as shall at any time hereafter be desirous to leave the said Town, shall have free leave to dispose of their real and personal estates respectively to their best advantage; and further have full liberty and a safe-conduct respectively to go into England or elsewhere, according to their several pleasures who shall desire to depart the same.

"9. That all and singular the Inhabitants of the said Town, either native or strangers, from time to time and at all times hereafter, shall have, reap and enjoy the full liberty of free-born English subjects, without the least incapacity or restriction therein; and that all the Freemen of the said Town, from time to time, shall be as free in all the seaports, cities and towns in England, as the Freemen of all and every the said cities and towns; and all and every the Freemen of the said cities and towns to be as free in the said Town of Wexford as the Freemen thereof, for their greater encouragement to trade and commerce together on all hands.

"10. That no memory remain of any hostility or distance which was hitherto between the said Town and Castle on the one part, and the Parliament or State of England on the other part; but that all act and acts, transgressions, offences, depredations and other crimes, of what nature or quality soever, be they ever so transcendent, attempted or done, or supposed to be attempted or done, by the Inhabitants of the said Town or any other, heretofore or at present adhering to the said Town, either native or stranger, and every of them,—shall pass in oblivion; without chastisement, challenge, recompense, demand or questioning for them, or any of them, now or at any time hereafter.

"D. SINNOTT."

"*For the Commander-in-Chief, in the Town of Wexford.*

"SIR, 'Before Wexford,' 11th October, 1649.

"I have had the patience to peruse your Propositions; to which I might have returned an Answer with some disdain. But, to be short,—

"I shall give the Soldiers and Noncommissioned Officers quarter for life, and leave to go to their several habitations, with their wearing-clothes;—they engaging themselves to take up arms no more against the Parliament of England. And the Commissioned Officers quarter for their lives, but to render themselves Prisoners. And as for the Inhabitants, I shall engage myself That no violence shall be offered to their goods, and that I shall protect the Town from plunder.

"I expect your positive Answer instantly; and if you will upon these terms surrender and quit, 'and' shall, in one hour, send forth to me Four Officers of the quality of Field-Officers, and Two Aldermen, for

the performance thereof,—I shall thereupon forbear all acts of hostility.

"Your servant,
"OLIVER CROMWELL."*

Which 'Answer' indeed had no effect. For whilst I was preparing of it; studying to preserve the Town from plunder, that it might be of the more use to you and your Army,—the Captain, who was one of the Commissioners, being fairly treated, yielded up the Castle to us. Upon the top of which our men no sooner appeared, but the Enemy quitted the Walls of the Town; which our men perceiving, ran violently upon the Town with their ladders, and stormed it. And when they were come into the market-place, the Enemy making a stiff resistance, our forces brake them; and then put all to the sword that came in their way. Two boatfuls of the Enemy attempting to escape, being overprest with numbers, sank; whereby were drowned near three hundred of them. I believe, in all, there was lost of the Enemy not many less than Two thousand; and I believe not Twenty of yours from first to last of the Siege. And indeed it hath, not without cause, been deeply set upon our hearts, That, we intending better to this place than so great a ruin, hoping the Town might be of more use to you and your Army, yet God would not have it so; but by an unexpected providence, in His righteous justice, brought a just judgment upon them; causing *them* to become a prey to the soldier who in their piracies had made preys of so many families, and now with their bloods to answer the cruelties which they had exercised upon the lives of divers poor Protestants! Two 'instances' of which I have been lately acquainted with. About seven or eight score poor Protestants were by them put into an old vessel; which being, as some say, bulged by them, the vessel sunk, and they were all presently drowned in the Harbour. The other 'instance' was thus: They put divers poor Protestants into a Chapel (which, since, they have used for a Mass-house, and in which one or more of their priests were now killed), where they were famished to death.

The soldiers got a very got booty in this place; and had not they [1] had opportunity to carry their goods over the River, whilst we besieged it, it would have been much more:—I could have wished for their own good and the good of the Garrison, they had been more moderate.[2] Some things which were not easily portable, we hope we shall make use of to your behoof. There are great quantities of iron, hides, tallow, salt, pipe- and barrel-staves; which are under commissioners' hands, to be secured. We believe there are near a hundred cannon in the Fort, and elsewhere in and about the Town. Here is likewise some very good shipping: here are three vessels, one of them of thirty-four guns, which a week's time would fit to sea; there is another of about twenty guns, very near ready likewise. And one other Frigate of twenty guns, upon the stocks;

* The rest of the Wexford Correspondence is in *Tanner* MSS. (Cary, ii. 168-185) and elsewhere; this, which completes it, being considered hopelessly lost, must be taken as a very interesting little Document, now that it has turned up. Autograph (much interlined and very hastily written), now (March 1846) in the possession of Edward Crawford, Esq., Solicitor, Wellington Quay, Dublin.

[1] The Townsfolk.

[2] Not forced us to storm them.

made for sailing; which is built up to the uppermost deck: for her handsomeness' sake, I have appointed the workmen to finish her, here being materials to do it, if you or the Council of State shall approve thereof. The Frigate, also, taken beside the Fort, is a most excellent vessel for sailing. Besides divers other ships and vessels in the Harbour.

This Town is now so in your power, that of the former inhabitants, I believe scarce one in twenty can challenge any property in their houses. Most of them are run away, and many of them killed in this service. And it were to be wished, that an honest people would come and plant here;—where are very good houses, and other accommodations fitted to their hands, which may by your favour be made of encouragement to them. As also a seat of good trade, both inward and outward;—and of marvellous great advantage in the point of the herring and other fishing. The Town is pleasantly seated and strong, having a rampart of earth within the wall, near fifteen feet thick.

Thus it hath pleased God to give into your hands this other mercy. For which, as for all, we pray God may have all the glory. Indeed your instruments are poor and weak, and can do nothing but through believing,—and that is the gift of God also.

I humbly take leave, and rest,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' A day or two before our Battery was planted, Ormond, the Earl of Castlehaven, the Lord of Ardes and Clanneboyes were on the other side of the Water, with about 1,800 horse 'and' 1,500 foot; and offered to put in four or five hundred foot more into the Town; which the Town refusing, he marched away in all haste. I sent the Lieutenant-General after him, with about 1,400 horse; but the Enemy made haste from him.*

Young Charles II., who has got to the Isle of Jersey, decidedly inclining towards Ireland as yet, will probably be staggered by these occurrences, when the news of them reaches him. Not good quarters Ireland at present! The Scots have proclaimed him King; but clogged it with such conditions about the Covenant, about Malignants, and what not, as nothing but the throat of an ostrich could swallow. The poor young King is much at a loss:[1]—must go somewhither, and if possible take some Mrs. Barlow with him! Laird Winram, Senator of the College of Justice, is off to deal with him;[2] to see if he cannot help him down with the Covenant: the Laird's best ally, I think, will be Oliver in Ireland. At Edinburgh these are the news from that quarter.

"In October and November this year there ran and were spread frequent rumours that Lieutenant-General Oliver Cromwell was routed in Ireland, yea killed; and again that he bore all down before him like ane impetuous torrent: how that he had taken Tradaffe and Washeford," Tredah and Wexford; "and there, neither sparing sex nor age, had ex-

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 65-7), completed by Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 168-185), and the Dublin autograph given above at p. 78.

1 Carte's Ormond Papers, i. 316, &c.

2 11 October, 1649, Balfour's Historical Works (Edinb., 1825), iii. 432.

ercised all the cruelties of a merciless inhuman and bloody butcher, even brutishly against Nature. On these rumours Will Douglas," no great shakes at metre, "did write these lines :

> "'Cromwell is dead, and risen; and dead again,
> And risen the third time after he was slain;
> No wonder! For he's messenger of Hell:—
> And now he buffets us, now posts to tell
> What's past; and for more game new counsel takes
> Of his good friend the Devil, who keeps the stakes.'"[1]

LETTER CII.

UNDER date 5th November, 1649, we read in the old Newspapers: "Our affairs here have made this progress: Wexford being settled under the command of Colonel Cooke, our Army stayed not long there; but hasted further unto Ross. Which is a walled Town, situated upon the river Barrow, a very pleasant and commodious river, bearing vessels of a very considerable burden. Upon Wednesday, the 17th of this instant October, we sat down before Ross; and my Lord Lieutenant, the same day, sent in this following Summons:"

For the Commander-in-chief in Ross: These.

SIR, 'Before Ross,' 17th October, 1649.

Since my coming into Ireland, I have this witness for myself, That I have endeavoured to avoid effusion of blood; having been before no place, to which such terms have not been first sent as might have turned to the good and preservation of those to whom they were offered; this being my principle, that the people and places where I come may not suffer, except through their own wilfulness.

To the end I may observe the like course with this place and people therein, I do hereby summon you to deliver the Town of Ross into my hands, to the use of the Parliament of England. Expecting your speedy answer, I rest,

Your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"The Trumpeter that carried this summons was denied entrance into the Town. They received his paper at the gates; and told him that an answer should be returned thereunto by a drummer of their own. Hereupon we prepared our batteries, and made ready for a storm. Ormond himself, Ardes, and Castlehaven were on the other side of the River; and sent in supplies of 1,500 foot, the day before it was surrendered to us; 1,000 foot being in it before we came unto it. Castlehaven was in it that morning they delivered it, and Inchiquin too had been there not above two or three days before our advance thither. They boated over their men into the Town in our sight; and yet that did not discourage us in making ready all provisions fitting for a storm. On Friday, the 19th of this instant, our great pieces began to play, and early in the morning the Governor sent out his answer to my Lord Lieutenant's Summons:

[1] Ibid. p. 433
* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 67).

"*For General Cromwell, or, in his absence, For the Commander-in-chief of the Army now encamped before Ross.*

"Ross, 19th October, 1649.

"SIR,—I received a Summons from you, the first day you appeared before this place; which should have been answered ere now, had not other occasions interrupted me. And although I am now in far better condition to defend this place than I was at that time, yet am I, upon the considerations offered in your Summons, content to entertain a Treaty; and to receive from you those conditions that may be safe and honourable for me to accept of. Which if you listen to, I desire that pledges on both sides may be sent, for performance of such Articles as shall be agreed upon; and that all acts of hostility may cease on both sides, and each party keep within their distance. To this your immediate resolution is expected by,—Sir, your servant,

"LUCAS TAAFF."

"Hereunto my Lord immediately returned this Answer,"—which counts here as our Hundred-and-third Letter:

LETTER CIII.

For the Governor of Ross: These.

SIR, 'Before Ross,' 19th October, 1649.

If you like to march away with those under your command, with their arms, bag and baggage, and with drums and colours, and shall deliver up the Town to me,—I shall give caution to perform these conditions; expecting the like from you. As to the inhabitants, they shall be permitted to live peaceably, free from the injury and violence of the soldiers.

If you like hereof, you can tell how to let me know your mind, notwithstanding my *refusal* of a cessation. By these you will see the reality of my intentions to save blood, and to preserve the place from ruin. I rest,

Your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"Our batteries still continued, and made a great breach in the Wall. Our men were drawn out in a readiness to storm, Lieutenant-Colonel Ingoldsby being by lot chosen to lead them; but the Governor being willing to embrace conditions, sent out this his Reply:

"*For General Cromwell: These.*

"Ross, 19th October, 1649.

"SIR,—There wants but little of what I would propose;—which is, That such Townsmen as have a desire to depart, may have liberty within a convenient time to carry away themselves and goods: and liberty of conscience to such as shall stay: and that I may carry away such artillery and ammunition as I have in my command. If you be inclined to this, I will send, upon your honour as a safe-conduct, an Officer to

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 68).

conclude with you. To which your immediate answer is expected by. —Sir, your servant,

"LUCAS TAAFF."

"Hereunto my Lord gave this return,"—our Hundred-and-fourth Letter:

LETTER CIV.

For the Governor of Ross: These.

SIR, 19th October, 1649.

To what I formerly offered, I shall make good. As for your carrying away any artillery or ammunition, that you brought not with you, or 'that' hath not come to you since you had the command of that place,—I must deny you that; expecting you to leave it as you found it.

'As' for that which you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience. But if by liberty of conscience, you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, Where the Parliament of England have power, *that* will not be allowed of. As for such of the Townsmen who desire to depart, and carry away themselves and goods (as you express), I engage myself they shall have three months time so to do; and in the mean time shall be protected from violence in their persons and goods, as others under the obedience of the Parliament.

If you accept of this offer, I engage my honour for a punctual performance hereof. I rest,

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"The Governor returned this Answer:"

"*For General Cromwell: These.*

"October 19th, 1649.

"SIR,—I am content to yield up this place upon the terms offered in your last and first Letters. And if you please to send your safe-conduct to such as I shall appoint to perfect these conditions, I shall on receipt thereof send them to you. In the interval,—To cease all acts of hostility, and that all parties keep their own ground, until matters receive a full end. And so remains,—Sir, your servant,

"LUCAS TAAFF."

"Hereunto my Lord replied thus:"—

LETTER CV.

For the Governor of Ross: These.

SIR, October 19th, 1649.

You have my hand and honour engaged to perform what I offered in my first and last Letters; which I shall inviolably observe I expect you to send me immediately four persons of such quality as may be hostages for your performance; for whom you have this Safe conduct enclosed, into which you may insert their names. Without which I shall not cease acts of hostility. If any thing happen by your

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana. p. 68)

delay, to your prejudice, it will not be my fault. Those you send may see the conditions perfected. Whilst I forbear acts of hostility, I expect you forbear all actings within. I rest,

Your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"This," says the old Newspaper, "was the last message between them: the Governor sending out his four hostages to compose and perfect the Agreement, our batteries ceased; and our intentions to storm the Town were disappointed. Thus within three days we had possession of this place without the effusion of blood. A very considerable place, and a very good quarter for the refreshment of our soldiers. The Enemy marched over to the other side of the River, and did not come out of that side of the Town where we had encamped,"—which I think was a judicious movement of theirs. What English were in the Garrison, some Five or six hundred here, do, as their common custom is, "join us." Munster Royalist Forces, poor Ormond men, they had rather live, than be slain in such a Cause as this has grown.

LETTER CVI.

HERE is Cromwell's official account of the same business, in a Letter to Lenthall.

'*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*'

SIR, Ross, 25th October, 1649.

Since my last from Wexford, we marched to Ross; a walled town, situated upon the Barrow; a port-town, up to which a ship of seven or eight hundred tons may come.

We came before it upon Wednesday the 17th instant, with three pieces of cannon. That evening I sent a summons; Major-General Taaff, being Governor, refused to admit my trumpet into the town; but took the Summons in, returning me no answer. I did hear that near 1,000 foot had been put into this place some few days before my coming to it. The next day was spent in making preparations for our battery; and in our view there were boated over from the other side of the river, of English, Scots, and Irish, 1,500 more, Ormond, Castlehaven, and the Lord of Ardes, being on the other side of the water to cause it to be done.

That night we planted our battery; which began to play very early the next morning. The Governor immediately sent forth an Answer to my Summons; copies of all which I make bold herewith to trouble you 'with;'[1] the rather because you may see how God pulls down proud stomachs. The Governor desired commissioners might treat, and that in the meantime there might be a ceasing of acts of hostility on both sides. Which I refused; sending in word, That if he would march away with arms, bag and baggage, and give me hostages for performance, he should. Indeed he might have done it without my leave, by the advantage of the River. He insisted upon having the cannon with

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 69).
[1] We have just read them.

him; which I would not yield unto, but required the leaving the artillery and ammunition; which he was content to do, and marched away, leaving the great artillery, and the ammunition in the stores to me.—When they marched away, at least 500 English, many of them of the Munster forces, came to us.

Ormond is at Kilkenny, Inchiquin in Munster, Henry O'Neil, Owen Roe's Son, is come up to Kilkenny, with near 2,000 horse and foot, with whom and Ormond there is now a perfect conjunction. So that now, I trust, some angry friends will think it high time to take off their jealousy [1] from those to whom they ought to exercise more charity.

The rendition of this Garrison was a seasonable mercy, as giving us an opportunity towards Munster; and is for the present a very good refreshment for our men. We are able to say nothing as to all this, but that the Lord is still pleased to own a company of poor worthless creatures; for which we desire His name to be magnified, and 'that' the hearts of all concerned may be provoked to walk worthy of such continued favours. This is the earnest desire of

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S. Colonel Horton is lately dead of the Country-disease, leaving a Son behind him. He was a person of great integrity and courage. His former services, especially that of the last summer, I hope will be had in remembrance.*

Poor Horton; he beat the Welsh at St. Fagan's, and did good service "last summer;" and now he is dead of the "Country-disease,"—a pestilence, raging in the rear of Famine and the Spoil of War. Famine has long reigned. When the War ended, Ludlow tells us, it was found necessary to issue a Proclamation that "no lambs or calves should be killed for one year," the stock of cattle being exhausted. Such waste had there been, continues he, in burning the possessions of the English, many of the Natives themselves were driven to starvation; "and I have been informed by persons deserving credit, that the same calamity fell upon them even in the first year of the Rebellion, through the depredations of the Irish; and that they roasted men, and ate them, to supply their necessities." [2] Such a War is worth ending at some cost! —In the Lord Lieutenant's Army, we learn elsewhere, there was an abundant supply, the country crowding in as to a good market, where sure prices were given, and fair dealing enforced; all manner of depredators being, according to the paper Proclamation, hanged in very authentic hemp. "Much better supplied than any of the Irish Armies had ever been." [3]

LETTER CVII.

HERE is a small glimpse of domesticity again, due to the Pusey Seventeen; very welcome to us in these wild scenes. Mayor has endorsed it at Hursley, "Received 12th December, 1649." "Cousin Barton," I

[1] Jealousy of the Parliament's having countenanced Monk in his negotiations with Owen Roe and the Old-Irish of the Massacre

* Newspapers (in Parl. History, xix. 224-6)

[2] Ludlow, i., 338-9.

[3] Carte, ii., 90.

suppose, is the Barton who boggled at some things in the Marriage-Contracts; a respectable man, though he has his crotchets now and then.

For my beloved Brother, Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These.

DEAR BROTHER, Ross, 13th November, 1649.

I am not often at leisure, nor now, to salute my friends; yet unwilling to lose this opportunity. I take it, only to let you know that you and your Family are often in my prayers. As for Dick, I do not much expect it from him, knowing his idleness; but I am angry with my Daughter as a promise-breaker. Pray tell her so;—but I hope she will redeem herself.

It has pleased the Lord to give us (since the taking of Wexford and Ross) a good interest in Munster, by the accession[1] of Cork and Youghal, which are both submitted; their Commanders are now with me. Divers other lesser Garrisons are come in also. The Lord is wonderful in these things; it's His hand alone does them: O that all the praise might be ascribed to Him!

I have been crazy in my health; but the Lord is pleased to sustain me. I beg your prayers. I desire you to call upon my Son to mind the things of God more and more: alas, what profit is there in the things of this world;—except they be enjoyed in Christ, they are snares. I wish he may enjoy his Wife so, and she him; I wish I may enjoy them both so.

My service to my dear Sister 'and' Cousin Ann; my blessing to my Children, and love to my Cousin Barton and the rest.

Sir, I am,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER CVIII.

THE opportune Victory at Rathmines produced the revival of an old Vote, produced also a new special Vote, in favour of Lieutenant-General Jones;[2] which new Vote ought not to fall asleep again, as the old one had done. Thomas Scott, of the Council of State, whom we have already seen; "peppery Thomas," is not yet to vanish from this History. Of Broghill, "Munster Business," and the rest, there will be farther notice in next Letter, which is of the same date with this.

'*For the Honourable Thomas Scott, of the Council of State: These.*'

SIR, Ross, 14th November, 1649.

I hope you will excuse this trouble. I understand the House did vote Lieutenant-General Jones Five-hundred pounds *per annum* of lands of inheritance from Irish Lands, upon the news of the Defeat given to the enemy before Dublin, immediately before my coming over. I think it will be a very acceptable work, and very well taken at your hands, to move the House for an immediate settlement thereof: it will be very convenient at this time.

Another thing is this. The Lord Broghil is now in Munster; where

[1] "access," *orig.* * Harris, p. 511; one of the Pusey set, preserved by Dunch, as intimated above.
[2] Antea, pp. 287-289.

he, I hope, will do very good offices: all his suit is for Two-hundred pounds to bring his Wife over: such a sum would not be cast away. He hath a great interest in the men that come from Inchiquin.[1] I have made him and Sir William Fenton, Colonel Blake, and Colonel Deane, —who I believe, 'at least' one of them, will be frequently in Cork Harbour; making that a victualling place for the Irish Fleet, instead of Milford Haven,—'I have made them' and Colonel Phayr, Commissioners for a temporary management of affairs there.

This business of Munster will empty your Treasury: therefore you have need to hasten our money allotted us; lest you put us to stand with our fingers in our mouths!—I rest,

Sir,

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER CIX.

THE "General Blake" of this Letter, "Colonel Blake" of the last, is Admiral Blake: he, with Ayscough, Dean, and vigilant Sea officers, co-operating with Oliver on land, now dominates these waters. Prince Rupert, with the residue of the Revolted Ships, is lying close, for shelter from him, under the guns of Kinsale;—verging, poor Prince, to a fugitive roaming sea-life, very like piracy in some of its features. He abandoned it as desperate, before long. Poor Prince Maurice, sea-roving in like fashion, went to the bottom; sank, in the West Indies, mouse and man; and ended, none knows exactly where, when, or how. Rupert invented, or helped to invent, "pinchbeck" in subsequent years, and did no other service to the public that I know of.

The defection of Cork and Youghal, full of English influences and complex distractions, followed naturally on Cromwell's successes. In *Lady Fanshawe's Memoirs* is a vivid account of the universal hurlyburly that took place at Cork, on the verge of this occurrence there: tremulous instant decision what you will do, which side you will join; swift packing in the dead of night; swift riding off, in any carriage, cart, or ass-cart you can bargain with for love or money! Poor Lady Fanshawe got to Galway, there to try it yet a little longer.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

SIR, Ross, 14th November, 1649.

About a fortnight since, I had some good assurance that Cork was returned to its obedience; and had refused Inchiquin, who did strongly endeavour to redintegrate himself there, but without success.[2] I did hear also that Colonel Townsend was coming to me with their submission and desires, but was interrupted by a Fort at the mouth of Cork Harbour. But having sufficient grounds upon the former information, and other confirmation out of the Enemy's camp that it was true, I desired General Blake, who was here with me, that he would repair thither in Captain Mildmay's Frigate, called the Nonsuch. Who,

[1] That desert to us from Inchiquin, the Ormond Chief in Munster.

* Tanner MSS. (in Carv, ii. 188).

[2] See Carte, ii. 91.

when they came thither, received such entertainment as these enclosed will let you see.

In the meantime the Garland, one of your third-rate Ships, coming happily into Waterford Bay, I ordered her, and a great prize lately taken in that Bay, to transport Colonel Phayr [1] to Cork; whitherward he went, having along with him near Five-hundred foot, which I spared him out of this poor Army, and £1,500 in money;—giving him such instructions as were proper for the promoting of your interest there. As they went with an intention for Cork, it pleased God the wind coming cross, they were forced to ride off from Dungarvan. Where they met Captain Mildmay *returning* with the Nonsuch Frigate, with Colonel Townsend aboard, coming to me; who advertised them that Youghal had also declared for the Parliament of England. Whereupon they steered their course thither; and sent for Colonel Gifford, Colonel Warden, Major Purden (who with Colonel Townsend have been very active instruments for the return both of Cork and Youghal to their obedience, having some of them adventured their lives twice or thrice to effect it), and the Mayor of Youghal aboard them; who, accordingly, immediately came and made tender of some propositions to be offered to me. But my Lord Broghil being on board the Ship, assuring them it would be more for their honour and advantage to desire no conditions, they said they would submit. Whereupon my Lord Broghil, Sir William Fenton, and Colonel Phayr, went to the Town; and were received,—I shall give you my Lord Broghil's own words,—"*with all the real demonstrations of gladness an overjoyed people were capable of.*"

Not long after, Colonel Phayr landed his foot. And by the endeavours of the noble person [2] afore mentioned, and the rest of the gentlemen, the Garrison is put in good order; and the Munster officers and soldiers in that Garrison in a way of settlement. Colonel Phayr intends, as I hear, to leave Two-hundred men there, and to march with the rest overland to Cork. I hear by Colonel Townsend, and the rest of the gentlemen that were employed to me, that Baltimore, Castlehaven, Cappoquin, and some other places of hard names, are come in—I wish Foot come over seasonably to man them;—as also that there are hopes of other places.

From Sir Charles Coot, Lord President of Connaught, I had a Letter, about three or four days since, That he is come over the Bann, and hath taken Coleraine by storm; and that he is in conjunction with Colonel Venables,—who I hear hath besieged Carrickfergus; which if through the mercy of God it be taken, I know nothing considerable in the North of Ireland, but Charlemont, that is not in your hands.

We lie with the Army at Ross; where we have been making a bridge over the Barrow, and 'have' hardly yet accomplished 'it' as we could wish. The Enemy lies upon the Nore, on the land between the Barrow and it; having gathered together all the force they can get. Owen-Roe's men, as they report them, are Six-thousand foot, and about Four-thousand horse, beside their own Army 'in this quarter;' and they give out they

[1] He of the King's Death-Warrant.

[2] Lord Broghil The somewhat romantic story of Cromwell's first visit to him, and chivalrous conquest of him, at his lodgings in London, "in the dusk of the evening," is in Collins's Peerage (London, 1741), iv. 253; and in many other Books;—copied from Morrice's *Life of Orrery*.

will have a day for it:—which we hope the Lord in His mercy will enable us to give them, in His own good time. In whom we desire our only trust and confidence may be.

Whilst we have lain here, we have not been without some sweet taste of the goodness of God. Your ships have taken some good prizes. The last was thus: There came-in a Dunkirk man-of-war with 32 guns; who brought-in a Turkish man-of-war whom she had taken, and another ship of 10 guns laden with poor-john and oil. These two your ships took. But the man-of-war whose prizes these two were, put herself under the Fort of Duncannon, so that your ships could not come near her. It pleased God we had two demi-cannon with the foot, on the shore; which being planted, raked her through, killing and wounding her men; so that after ten shot she weighed anchor, and ran into your Fleet, with a flag of submission, surrendering herself. She was well manned, the prisoners taken being Two-hundred and thirty—I doubt the taking prisoners of this sort will cause the wicked trade of Piracy to be endless. They were landed here before I was aware; and a hundred of them, as I hear, are gotten into Duncannon, and have taken up arms there; and I doubt the rest, that are gone to Waterford, will do us no good. The seamen, being so full of prizes and unprovided of victual, knew not how otherwise to dispose of them.

Another 'mercy' was this. We, having left divers sick men, both horse and foot, at Dublin,—hearing many of them were recovered, sent them orders to march up to us; which accordingly they did. Coming to Arcklow, on Monday the first of this instant, being about 350 horse and about 800 foot,—the Enemy hearing of them (through the great advantage they have in point of intelligence), drew together a body of horse and foot near 3,000, which Inchiquin commanded. There went also, with this party, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Colonel Trevor, and most of their great ranters.[1] We sent fifteen or sixteen troops to their rescue, near eight hours too late. It pleased God we sent them word by a nearer way, To march close, and be circumspect, and to make what haste they could to Wexford,—by the sea-side. They had marched near eighteen miles, and were come within seven miles of Wexford (the foot being miserably wearied), when the Enemy gave the scouts of the rearguard an alarm. Whereupon they immediately drew up in the best order they could upon the sands, the sea on the one hand, and the rocks on the other; where the Enemy made a very furious charge; 'and' overbearing our horse with their numbers, which, as some of their prisoners confess, were Fifteen-hundred of their best horse, forced them in some disorder back to the foot. Our foot stood; forbearing their firing till the Enemy was come almost within pistol-shot, and then let fly very full in the faces of them: whereby some of them began to tumble; the rest running off in a very great disorder;—and 'they' faced not about until they got above musket-shot off. Upon this our horse took encourage-

[1] Braggarts, great guns. Trevor had given Venables, as above hinted, a dangerous camisado in the North lately; and was not far from ruining him, had the end corresponded with the beginning (see Carte ii. 89). To which Cromwell alludes, by and by, in this Letter. Lord Inchiquin, a man of Royalist-Presbyterian tendencies, has fought long, on various sides. The name Armstrong is not yet much of a "ranter;" but a new Sir Thomas will become famous under Titus Oates.—Ludlow gives a curious account of this same running-fight on the seabeach of Arcklow (i. 309).

ment ; drawing up again ; bringing up some foot to flank them. And a gentleman of ours, that had charged through before, being amongst them undiscerned, having put his signal into his hat as they did,—took his opportunity and came off ; letting our men know, That the Enemy was in great confusion and disorder, and that if they could attempt another charge, he was confident good might be done on them. It pleased God to give our men courage : they advanced ; and, falling upon the Enemy, totally routed them ; took two colours and divers prisoners, and killed divers upon the place and in the pursuit. I do not hear that we have two men killed ; and but one mortally wounded, and not five that are taken prisoners.

The quick march of our party made Inchiquin that he could reach them with nothing but his horse, hoping to put them to a stand until his foot came up ; which if he had done, there had probably been no saving of a man of this party. Without doubt Inchiquin, Trevor, and the rest of those people, who are very good at this work, had swallowed up this party ! And indeed it was, in human probability, lost ; but God, that defeated Trevor in his attempt upon Venables (which Trevor, as I hear this night from the Enemy's camp, was shot through the belly, in this service, and is carried to Kilkenny,—and Sir Thomas Armstrong is also wounded), hath disappointed them, and poured shame upon them in this defeat ; giving us the lives of a company of our dear friends, which, I hope, will be improved to His glory and their Country's good.

Sir, having given you this account, I shall not trouble you much with particular desires. Those I shall humbly present to the Council of State. Only, in the general, give me leave humbly to offer what in my judgment I conceive to be for your service, with a full submission to you. We desire recruits may be speeded to us. It is not fit to tell you how your Garrisons will be unsupplied, and no Field marching Army considerable, if but three Garrisons more were in our hands.[1] It is not well not to follow providences.[2] Your recruits, and the forces desired will not raise your charge, if your assignments already for the forces here do come to our hands in time. I should not doubt 'but' by the addition of assessments here, to have your charge in some reasonable measure borne ; and the soldier upheld, without too much neglect or discouragement,—which sickness, in this country so ill agreeing with their bodies, puts upon them ; and 'which' this Winter's-action, I believe not heretofore known by English in this country, subjects them to. To the praise of God I speak it, I scarce know one officer of forty amongst us that hath not been sick. And how many considerable ones we have lost, is no little thought of heart to us.[3]

Wherefore I humbly beg, that the monies desired may be seasonably sent over ; and those other necessaries, clothes, shoes, and stockings, formerly desired ; that so poor creatures may be encouraged : and, through the same blessed Presence that has gone along with us, I hope, before it be long, to see Ireland no burden to England, but a profitable part of its Commonwealth. And certainly the extending your help in this way, at this time, is the most profitable means speedily to effect it.

[1] Sentence omitted in the Newspaper.
[2] Beckonings of Providence
[3] Sentence omitted in the Newspaper.

And if I did not think it your best thrift, I would not trouble you at all with it.

I have sent Sir Arthur Loftus with these Letters. He hath gone along with us, testifying a great deal of love to your service. I know his sufferings are very great; for he hath lost near all: his Regiment was reduced to save your charge, not out of any exceptions to his person. I humbly therefore present him to your consideration.[1]

Craving pardon for this trouble, I rest,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER CX.

Commons Journals, 12° *Decembris*, 1649; "A Letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was this day read. *Ordered*, That the said Letter be forthwith printed and published;"—Lord Mayor to be sure and send it to all the Ministers next Lord's Day, who are to be, as they best may, the voice of our devout thankfulness for "these great mercies." Here is the Letter still extant for posterity,—with or without the thankfulness.

We cannot give the exact day of date. The Letter exists, separate or combined with other matter, in various old Pamphlets; but is nowhere dated; and in fact, as the Entry in the Commons Journals may indicate, was never dated either as to place or time. The place we learn by the context: the time was after Saturday, November 24th,[2] and before December had yet begun;—probably enough, Sunday, November 25th.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

MR. SPEAKER, 'Before Waterford,—November, 1649.'

The Enemy being quartered between the two rivers of Nore and Barrow, and masters of all the passages thereupon; and giving out their resolutions to fight us, thereby, as we conceived, labouring to get reputation in the countries, and occasion more strength,—it was thought fit our army should march towards them. Which accordingly upon Thursday the 15th instant was done. The Major-General and Lieutenant-General[3] (leaving me very sick at Ross behind them), with two battering guns, advanced towards Inistioge; a little walled Town about five miles from Ross, upon the Nore, on the south side thereof, which was possessed by the Enemy. But a party of our men under the command of Colonel Abbot, the night before, approaching the gates, and attempting to fire the same, the Enemy ran away through the River, leaving good store of provisions behind them.

Our Commanders hoped by gaining this Town to have gained a pass.[4] But indeed there fell so much sudden wet as made the River unpassable, by that time the Army was come up. Whereupon hearing that the Enemy lay about two miles off upon the River, near Thomastown, a pretty large walled Town upon the Nore, on the north side

1 Paragraph omitted.

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 67-71); Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 189-97).

2 See *postea*, pp. 322, 324; and Whitlocke, 2d edition, p. 433.

3 Ireton, and Jones.

4 A ford over the River.

thereof, having a bridge over the River,—our Army marched thither. But the Enemy had broken the bridge, and garrisoned the Town; and in view of our Army, marched away to Kilkenny,—seeming, though I believe they were double our number, to *decline* an engagement. Which they had the power to have necessitated us unto; but 'which it' was noways in our power, if they would stand upon the advantage of the Passes, to engage them unto;—nor indeed 'was it in our power' to continue two days longer, having almost spent all the bread they[1] carried with them.

Whereupon, seeking God for direction, they resolved to send a good party of horse and dragoons under Colonel Reynolds to Carrick; and to march the residue of the Army back towards Ross,—to gain more bread for the prosecution of that design, if by the blessing of God it should take. Colonel Reynolds marching with twelve troops of horse, and three troops of dragoons, came betimes in the morning to Carrick. Where, dividing himself into two parties,—whilst they were amazed with the one, he entered one of the Gates with the other. Which their soldiers perceiving, divers of them and their officers escaped over the River in boats: about an hundred officers and soldiers 'were' taken prisoners, without the loss of one man on our part. In this place is a very good Castle, and one of the ancientest seats belonging to the Lord of Ormond in Ireland: the same was rendered without any loss also, where were good store of provisions for the refreshing of our men.

The Colonel giving us speedy intelligence of God's mercy in this, we agreed to march, with all convenient speed, the residue of the Army up thither. Which accordingly was done, upon Wednesday and Thursday the 21st and 22d of this instant; and, through God's mercy, I was enabled to bear them company. Being come thither, we did look at it as an especial good hand of Providence to give us this place; inasmuch as it gives us a passage over the River Suir to the City of Waterford, and indeed into Munster to our shipping and provisions, which before were beaten from us out of Waterford Bay by the Enemy's guns. It hath given us also opportunity to besiege or block up Waterford; and we hope our gracious God will therein direct us also. It hath given us also the opportunity of our guns, ammunition, and victual; and indeed quarter for our horse, which could not have subsisted much longer: so sweet a mercy was the giving of this little place unto us.

Having rested there a night, and by noon of the next day gotten our Army over the River;—leaving Colonel Reynolds with about One-hundred and fifty foot, his own six troops of horse, and one troop of dragoons, with a very little ammunition according to the smallness of our marching store;—we marched away towards Waterford, upon Friday the 23d; and on Saturday about noon came before the City. The Enemy, being not a little troubled at this unsuspected business (which indeed was the mere guidance of God), marched down with great fury towards Carrick, with their whole Army, resolving to swallow it up; and upon Saturday the 24th, assault the place round, thinking to take it by storm. But God had otherwise determined. For the troopers and

[1] "they" and "them" mean *we* and *us*: the swift-rushing sentence here alters its personality from first person to third, and so goes on.

the rest of the soldiers, with stones[1] did so pelt them, they 'were forced to draw off; after' continuing near four hours under the walls; 'after' having burnt the Gates, which our men barricaded up with stones; and likewise 'having' digged under the walls, and sprung a small mine, which flew in their own faces. But they left about forty or fifty men dead under the Walls; and have drawn off, as some say, near four-hundred more, which they buried up and down the fields; besides what are wounded. And, as Inchiquin himself confessed in the hearing of some of their soldiers lately come to us, 'this' hath lost him above a thousand men.—The Enemy was drawing off his dead a good part of the night. They were in such haste upon the assault, that they killed their own trumpeter as he was returning with an Answer to the Summons sent by them. Both in the taking and defending of this place Colonel Reynolds his carriage was such as deserves much honour.[2]

Upon our coming before Waterford, I sent the Lieutenant-General with a regiment of horse, and three troops of dragoons, to endeavour the reducing of the Passage Fort: a very large Fort with a Castle in the midst of it, having five guns planted in it, and commanding the River better than Duncannon; it not being much above musket-shot over, where this Fort stands; and we can bring up hither ships of three-hundred tons, without any danger from Duncannon. Upon the attempt, though our materials were not very apt for the business, yet the Enemy called for quarter,—and had it, and we the place. We also possessed the guns which the Enemy had planted to beat our ships out of the Bay, two miles below. By the taking of this Fort, we shall much straiten Duncannon from provisions by water, as we hope they are not in a condition to get much by land; besides the advantage it is to us to have provisions to come up the River.[3]

It hath pleased the Lord, whilst these things have been thus transacting here, to add to your interest in Munster, Bandon Bridge; the Town (as we hear) upon the matter, thrusting out young Jephson,[4] who was their Governor; or else he deserting it upon that jealousy. As also Kinsale, and the Fort there:—out of which Fort Four-hundred men marched upon articles, when it was surrendered. So that now, by the good hand of the Lord, your interest in Munster is near as good already as ever it was since this War began. I sent a party about two days ago to my Lord of Broghil; from whom I expect to have an account of all.

Sir, what can be said in these things? Is it an arm of flesh that hath done these things? Is it the wisdom, and counsel, or strength of men? It is the Lord only. God will curse that man and his house that dares to think otherwise! Sir, you see the work is done by a Divine leading. God gets into the hearts of men, and persuades them to come under you. I tell you, a considerable part of your Army is fitter for an hospital than the field: if the Enemy did not know it, I should have

1 Having only "a very little ammunition" and small use of guns (see Whitlocke, p. 418; Ludlow, &c.).

2 We shall hear of Reynolds again.

3 Appendix, No. 10.

4 "Young Jephson," I suppose, is the son of Jephson, Member for Stockbridge, Hants; one of those whom Pride purged away;—not without reason, as is here seen.

held it impolitic to have writ this. They know it, yet they know not what to do.

I humbly beg leave to offer a word or two. I beg of those that are faithful, that they give glory to God. I wish it may have influence upon the hearts and spirits of all those that are now in place of Government, in the greatest trust,—that they may all in heart draw near to God; giving Him glory by holiness of life and conversation; 'and' that these unspeakable mercies may teach dissenting brethren on all sides to agree, at least, in praising God. And if the Father of the family be so kind, why should there be such jarrings and heart-burnings amongst the children? And if it will not be received That these are the seals of God's approbation of your great Change of Government,—which indeed was no more yours than these victories and successes are ours,—yet let them with us say, even the most unsatisfied heart amongst them, That both are the righteous judgments and mighty works of God. That he hath pulled the mighty from his seat, and calls to an account 'for' innocent blood. That He thus breaks the enemies of His Church in pieces. And let them not be sullen, but praise the Lord,—and think of us as they please; and we shall be satisfied, and pray for them, and wait upon our God. And we hope we shall seek the welfare and peace of our native Country: and the Lord give them hearts to do so too. Indeed, Sir, I was constrained in my bowels to write this much. I ask your pardon, and rest,

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

An Able Editor in the old Newspapers has been inexpressibly favoured with the sight of a Letter to "an Honourable Member of the Council of State;" Letter dated "Cork, 18th December, 1649;" wherein this is what we still read: "Yesterday my Lord Lieutenant came, from Youghal the head-quarter, unto Cork; my Lord Broghil, Sir William Fenton, and divers other Gentlemen and Commanders attending his Excellency. Who hath received here very hearty and noble entertainment. Tomorrow the Major-General" Ireton "is expected here:—both in good health, God be praised. This week, I believe, they will visit Kinsale, Bandon Bridge, and other places in this Province that have lately declared for us, and that expect a return of his affection and presence, which joys many. Some report here that the Enemy burns towns and provisions near our quarters: but the example may at length turn to their own greatest prejudice. Colonel Deane and Colonel Blake, our Sea-generals, are both riding in Cork Harbour."[1]

Dated on the morrow is this Letter:

LETTER CXI.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

MR. SPEAKER, Cork, 19th December, 1649.

Not long after my last to you from before Waterford,—by reason of the tempestuousness of the weather, we thought fit, and it was

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 71-73).
1 Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 73).

agreed, To march away to Winter-quarters, to refresh our men until God shall please to give further opportunity for action.

We marched off, the 2d of this instant; it being so terrible a day as ever I marched in all my life. Just as we marched off in the morning, —unexpected to us, the Enemy had brought an addition of near Two-thousand horse and foot to the increase of their Garrison: which we plainly saw at the other side of the water. We marched that night some ten or twelve miles through a craggy country, to Kilmac Thomas; a castle some eight miles from Dungarvan. As we were marching off in the morning from thence, the Lord Broghil,—I having sent before to him to march up to me,—sent a party of horse, to let me know, He was, with about Twelve or Thirteen hundred of the Munster horse and foot, about ten miles off, near Dungarvan, which was newly rendered to him.

In the midst of these good successes, wherein the kindness and mercy of God hath appeared, the Lord, in wisdom, and for gracious ends best known to Himself, hath interlaced some things which may give us cause of serious consideration what His mind therein may be. And we hope we wait upon Him, desiring to know, and to submit to His good pleasure. The noble Lieutenant-General,[1]—whose finger, to our knowledge, never ached in all these expeditions,—fell sick; we doubt, upon a cold taken upon our late wet march, and ill accommodation: and went to Durgarvan, where, struggling some four or five days with a fever, he died; having run his course with so much honour, courage, and fidelity, as his actions better speak than my pen. What England lost hereby, is above me to speak. I am sure, I lost a noble friend, and companion in labours. You see how God mingles out the cup unto us. Indeed we are at this time a crazy company:—yet we live in His sight; and shall work the time that is appointed us, and shall rest after that in peace.[2]

But yet there hath been some sweet at the bottom of the cup;—of which I shall now give you an account. Being informed that the Enemy intended to take in the Fort of Passage, and that Lieutenant-General Ferral with his Ulsters[3] was to march out of Waterford, with a considerable party of horse and foot, for that service,—I ordered Colonel Zanchy, who lay on the north side of the Blackwater, To march with his regiment of horse, and two pieces of two troops of dragoons to the relief of our friends. Which he accordingly did; his party consisting in all of about three-hundred and twenty. When he came some few miles from the place, he took some of the Enemy's stragglers in the villages as he went; all which he put to the sword: seven troopers of his killed thirty of them in one house. When he came near the place, he found the Enemy had close begirt it, with about five-hundred Ulster foot under Major O'Neil; Colonel Wogan also, the Governor of Duncannon, with a party of his, with two great battering guns and a mortar-piece, and Captain Browne, the Governor of Ballihac, were there. Our men furiously charged them; and beat them from the place. The Enemy got into a place where they might draw up; and the Ulsters, who bragged much of their pikes, made indeed for the time a good resistance: but the horse, pressing sorely upon them, broke them; killed near

[1] Michael Jones: Ludlow (i. 304) is a little misinformed.
[2] Yes, my brave one: even so!
[3] Ulster-men.

an Hundred upon the place ; took Three-hundred and fifty prisoners,—amongst whom, Major O'Neil, and the Officers of Five-hundred Ulster foot, all but those which were killed ; the renegado Wogan with twenty-four of Ormond's kurisees, and the Governor of Ballihac, &c. Concerning some of these, I hope I shall not trouble your justice.

This mercy was obtained without the loss of one on our part, only one shot in the shoulder. Lieutenant-General Ferral was come up very near, with a great party to their relief ; but our handful of men marching toward him, he shamefully hasted away, and recovered Waterford. It is not unworthy taking notice, That having appointed a Day of public Thanksgiving throughout our territories in Ireland, as well as a week's warning would permit, for the recovery of Munster,—which proves a sweet refreshment to us, even prepared by God for us, after our weary and hard labour,—That that very day, and that very time, while men were praising God, was this deliverance wrought.

Though the present state of affairs bespeaks a continuance of charge, yet the same good hand of Providence, which hath blessed your affairs hitherto, is worthy to be followed to the uttermost. And who knows, or rather who hath not cause to hope, that He may in His goodness, put a short period to your whole charge. Than which no worldly thing is more desired, and endeavoured by

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Ormond witnessed this defeat at Passage, from some steeple, or "place of prospect" in Waterford ; and found the "Mayor," whom he sent for, a most unreasonable man.[1]

"The renegado Wogan :" Captain Wogan, once in the Parliament service, joined himself to Hamilton and the Scots in 1648 ; "bringing a gallant troop along with him." His maraudings, pickeerings, onslaughts, and daring chivalries became very celebrated after that. He was not slain or hanged here at Passage ;[2] there remained for him yet, some four years hence, his grand feat which has rendered all the rest memorable : "that of riding right through England, having rendezvoused at Barnet, with a Party of Two-hundred horse," to join Middleton's new Scotch Insurrection in the Highland Hills ; where he, soon after, died of consumption and some slight hurt.[3]—What "kurisees" are, I do not know ; may be *cuirassiers*, in popular locution : some nickname for Ormond's men,—whom few loved ; whom the Mayor of Waterford, this very day, would not admit into his Town even for the saving of Passage Fort.[4] With certain of these "*your* justice" need not be troubled.

This Letter, with two others, one from Ireton and one from Broghil, all dated Cork, 19th December, were not received in the Commons House till Tuesday, 8th January ; such were then the delays of the winter post. On which same day it is resolved, That the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland be desired to come over, and give his attendance here in Parliament.[5] Speaker is ordered to write him a letter to that effect.

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 73, 74).
1 Carte, ii. 103 ; whose account is otherwise very deficient.
2 Appendix No. 11. 3 Clarendon, iii. 679 ; Whitlocke, Heath's Chronicle, &c.
4 Carte, ibid. 5 Commons Journals, vi. 343, 4

"The ground of this resolution," says Whitlocke, "was That the news of the King's coming to Scotland became more probable than formerly." Laird Winram's dealings with him, and Cromwell's successes, and the call of Necessity are proving effectual! "And," continues Whitlocke, "the proceedings of the Scots in raising of new forces gave an alarm to the Parliament: and some of their Members who had discoursed with the Lord General Fairfax upon those matters and argued how necessary it would be to send an Army into Scotland to divert the war from England,—had found the General wholly averse to any such thing; and by means of his Lady, who was a strict Presbyterian, to be more a friend to the Scots than they," those Members, "wished. Therefore they thought this a fit time to send for the Lieutenant of Ireland, the rather as his Army was now drawn into winter-quarters."[1]

The Lord Lieutenant thought, or was supposed to think, of complying straightway, as the old Newspapers instruct us; but on better counsel, the Scotch peril not being very imminent as yet, decided "to settle Ireland in a safe posture" first. Indeed the Letter itself is long in reaching him; and the rumour of it, which arrives much sooner, has already set the Enemy on false schemes, whereof advantage might be taken.[2]

Meanwhile, in Munster, in Ireland generally, there is much to be done, on the great scale and on the small. Some days before the last Letter gets into the Speaker's hands, here is another, a private one, travelling towards Philip Lord Wharton, whom we transiently saluted last year at Knaresborough.

LETTER CXII.

LORD WHARTON, when we last saw him, was of the Derby-House Committee, a busy man and manager; but he is not now of the Council of State; having withdrawn from all management, into a painful inquiring condition. One of our zealous Puritans and Patriots, but much troubled with cautious dubitations; involved in "reasonings," in painful labyrinths of constitutional and other logic, for the present. Of which sort there are now many. Who indignantly drew the sword, and long zealously fought and smote with it, nothing doubting; and are now somewhat astonished at the issue that has come of it! Somewhat uncertain whether these late high actings, executing judgment on your King, abolition on your House of Lords, and so forth, are owned by the Eternal Powers or not owned. Of Temporal Powers there is clearly none that will own them; and unless the other do—? The Lord Lieutenant intimates, in his friendliest way, that surely it is indispensable to have "satisfaction" on that score; also that it is perilous not to get it; and furthermore that labyrinths of constitutional and other logic are by no means the course towards that.

For the Right Honourable the Lord Wharton: These.

MY DEAR FRIEND, MY LORD, Cork, 1st January, 1649.

If I know my heart, I love you in truth: and therefore if, from the jealousy of un eigned love, I

[1] Whitlocke, p. 422.

[2] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 77).

play the fool a little, and say a word or two at guess, I know you will pardon it.

It were a vain thing, by Letter, to dispute-over your doubts, or undertake to answer your objections. I have heard them all; and *I* have rest from the trouble of them, and 'of' what has risen in my own heart; for which I desire to be humbly thankful. I do not condemn your reasonings; I doubt them. It's easy to object to the glorious Actings of God, if we look too much upon Instruments! I have heard computations made of the Members in Parliament: "The good kept out, the worst left in,"[1] &c.: —it has been so these nine years: yet what hath God wrought? The greatest works *last;* and still is at work! Therefore take heed of this scandal.

Be not offended at the manner 'of God's working;' perhaps no other way was left. What if God accepted *their* zeal, 'even' as He did that of Phinehas,[2] whom *reason* might have called before a jury! What if the Lord have witnessed His approbation and acceptance to this 'zeal' also,—not only by signal outward acts, but to the heart 'of good men' too? What if I fear, my Friend should withdraw his shoulder from the Lord's work, —Oh, it's grievous to do so!—through scandals, through false mistaken reasonings—?

"There's difficulty, there's trouble; here, in the other way, there's safety, ease, wisdom: in the one no clearness"—this is an objection indeed,—"in the other satisfaction."— —"Satisfaction:" it's well if we thought of that first, and 'as' severed from the other considerations,[3] which do often bias, if not bribe the mind. Whereby mists are often raised in the way we should walk in, and we call it darkness or "dissatisfaction:" Oh, our deceitful hearts! Oh this flattering world! How great is it to be the Lord's servant in any drudgery[4] — —(I thought not to have written near 'so far as' the other side: love will not let me alone; I have been often provoked 'to it by you')— —in all hazards His worst is far above the world's best! He makes us able, in truth, to say so; we cannot of ourselves. How hard a thing is it to *reason* ourselves up to the Lord's service, though it be so honourable; how easy to put ourselves out there, where the flesh has so many advantages!—

You were desired to go along with us: I wish it still.[5] Yet we are not triumphing;—we may, for aught flesh knoweth, *suffer* after all this: the Lord prepare us for His good pleasure! You were with us in the Power of things: why not in the Form? I am persuaded your heart hankers after the hearts of your poor Friends; and will, until you can

[1] Original has, "most bad remaining:" "These nine years means, ever since the Parliament first met.

[2] "And behold, one of the Children of Israel came, and brought unto his brethren a Midianitish woman; in the sight of Moses, and in the sight of all the Congregation of the Children of Israel, who were weeping before the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation,"—by reason of those very sins. "And when Phinehas the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the Priest, saw it, he rose up from among the Congregation, and took a javelin in his hand; and he went after the man of Israel into the tent, and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel and the woman through the belly. So the plague was stayed from the Children of Israel." (*Numbers*, xxv.6-8.)

[3] of "safety," profit, &c.

[4] Turns the leaf, we perceive.

[5] Shadow of condescension, implied in this, strikes his Excellency; which he hastens to retract.

find others to close with : which, I trust, though we in ourselves be contemptible, God will not let you do !

My service to the little Lady : I wish you make her not a greater temptation 'to you, in this matter,' than she is ! Take heed of all relations. Mercies should not be temptations : yet we too oft make them so. The Lord direct your thoughts into the obedience of His will, and give you rest and peace in the Truth. Pray for

Your most true and affectionate
Servant in the Lord,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Of Wharton and his dubitations, which many share in, we shall again hear. Of Wharton, young Colonel Hammond, young Colonel Montague, Tom Westrow, Henry Lawrence, idle Dick, men known to us, and men unknown ;—of them and their abstruse "reasonings," and communings with the Lord Lieutenant in St. James's Park, we shall have a hint by and by. Some of whom received full "satisfaction," and others never could.

Here follows a kind of Epistle General, in a quite other tone, intended to give "satisfaction" to a quite other class, if they are capable of it.

DECLARATION

OF THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND FOR THE UNDECEIVING OF DELUDED PEOPLE.

THE "Supreme Council of Kilkenny," still more the Occult "Irish Hierarchy" which was a main element thereof, remains, and is like to remain, a very dark entity in History : little other, after all one's reading, than a featureless gaunt shadow ; extinct, and the emblem to us of huge noises that are also extinct. History can know that it *had* features once :—of fierce dark-visaged Irish Noblemen and Gentlemen ; dark-visaged Abbases O'Teague, and an Occult Papist Hierarchy ; earnestly planning, perorating, excommunicating, in a high Irish tone of voice : alas, with general result which Nature found *untrue*. Let there be noble pity for them in the hearts of the noble. Alas, there was withal some glow of real Irish Patriotism, some light of real human valour, in those old hearts : but it had parted company with Fact : came forth enveloped in such huge embodiment of headlong ferocity, of violence, hatred, noise, and general unveracity and incoherency, as—as brought a Cromwell upon it at last : These reflections might lead us far.—

What we have to say here is, that in the present expiring condition of the Irish Rebellion, nearly trodden to destruction now, it has been judged very fitting, That there be an end of excommunication for the present, and a real attempt at union instead. For which object there has, with much industry, been brought-about a "Conventicle," or general Meeting of the Occult Hierarchy, at a place called Clonmacnoise, in the month of December last. Clonmacnoise, "Seven Churches of Clon-

* Gentleman's Magazine (London, 1814), lxxxiv. p. 418. Given there without editing : no notice whence : clearly genuine.

macnoise;" some kind of Abbey then; now a melancholy tract o ruins, "on some bare gravely hills," among the dreary swamps of the Shannon; nothing there but wrecks and death,—for the bones of the Irish Kings lie there, and burial there was considered to have unspeakable advantages once:—a Ruin now, and dreary Golgotha among the bogs of the Shannon; but an Abbey then, and fit for a Conventicle of the Occult Hierarchy, "which met on the 4th of December, 1649," for the purpose above said. There of a certainty, in the cold days of December, 1649, did the Occult Hierarchy meet,—warmed, we hope, by good log-fires and abundant turf,—and "for somewhat less than three weeks" hold consultation. The real issue of which has now, after Two-hundred years, come to be very different from the then apparent one!

The then apparent issue was a "Union;" worthless "superficial Union," as Carte [1] calls it; skin-deep, which was broken again within the month, and is of no interest to us here. But it chanced also that, to usher-in this worthless "Union," the Occult Hierarchy published in print a Manifesto, or general Injunction and Proclamation to the Irish People; which Manifesto, coming under the eye of the Lord Lieutenant, provoked an Answer from him. And this Answer, now resuscitated, and still fit to be read by certain earnest men, Irish and other: this we may define as the real issue for us, such as it is. One of the remarkablest State-Papers ever issued by any Lord Lieutenant; which, if we could all completely *read* it, as an earnest Editor has had to try if he could do, till it became completely luminous again, and glowed with its old veracity and sacred zeal and fire again, might do us all some good perhaps!—

The Clonmacnoise Manifesto exists also, as a small brown Pamphlet of six leaves, "printed at Kilkenny and reprinted at London in January 1649;" [2] but is by no means worth inserting here. It is written in a very smooth, indeed vague and faint style, the deeply discrepant humours at Clonmacnoise not admitting of any other for their "superficial Union;" and remains, in the perusal, mostly insignificant, and as if obliterated into dim-grey,—till once, in the Lord Lieutenant's fiery illumination, some traits of it do come forth again. Here is our short abstract of it, more than sufficient for present purposes.

"The Kilkenny Pamphlet starts by a preamble headed 'Declaration,' as most such documents are called in those days; setting forth, with some brevity, That whereas various differences had existed in the Catholic Party, said differences do now and shall, blessed be Heaven, all reconcile themselves into a real 'Union;' real Union now, by these presents, established, decreed, and bound to continue:—signed duly by all the Occult Hierarchy, twenty Bishops more or less, *Antonius Clonmacnosensis* among the rest. That is the *first* part of the Clonmacnoise Manifesto: this is to be read in every Church for certain Sundays; and do what good it can.—Follows *next*, similarly signed, a short set of 'Acts,' special Orders to Priests and People at large, What they are to do by way of furthering said Union, and bringing good success to the

[1] Life of Ormond, ii. 105-110.

[2] King's Pamphlets, large 4to, no. 43, sec. 5; the London Reprint, or the day of purchasing it by the Old Collector, is dated with the pen "31 January," 1649-50.

Cause. Among which Orders we recognise one For masses, universal prayers (not wholly by machinery, we hope); and, with still more satisfaction, another For decisively putting down, or at least in every way discountenancing those bands called 'Idle-Boys' (ancestors of Captain Rock, one perceives); who much infest the country at present.

"Our Manifesto then, *thirdly*, winds up with an earnest admonition, called also 'Declaration,' to the people of Ireland high and low, Not to be deceived, 'with any shew of clemency exercised upon them hitherto;' inasmuch as it is the known intention of the English Parliament to exterminate the whole of them; partly by slaughter, partly by banishment 'to the Tobacco Islands,' and hot West-India localities, whither many have already been sent. Known intention; as can be deduced by the discerning mind from clear symptoms, chiefly from these two: *First*, that they, the English Parliament, have passed an 'Act of Subscription,' *already* disposing of Irishmen's estates to English Money-lenders: and then *second*, That they have decided to extirpate the Catholic Religion,—which latter fact, not to speak of their old Scotch Covenant and so forth, may be seen with eyes, even from this Lord Lieutenant's own expressions in his Letter to the Governor of Ross;[1] which are quoted. To extirpate the Catholic Religion: how can they effect this but by extirpating the professors thereof? Let all Irishmen high and low, therefore, beware; and stand upon their guard, and adhere to the superficial Union; slaughter, or else banishment to the Tobacco Islands, being what they have to expect."— It is by this *third* or concluding portion of the Clonmacnoise Manifesto that the Lord Lieutenant's wrath has been chiefly kindled: but indeed he blazes athwart the whole Document, athwart it and along it, as we shall see, like a destroying sword, and slashes in pieces it and its inferences, and noxious delusions and deludings, in a very characteristic style.

What perhaps will most strike the careless modern reader, in the Clonmacnoise Manifesto with its "inferences" of general extermination, is that "shew of clemency;" and the total absence of those "many Inhabitants" butchered at Drogheda lately: total absence of those; and also of the "Two-hundred Women in the Marketplace of Wexford," who in modern times have even grown "Two-hundred beautiful Women" (all young, and in their Sunday clothes for the occasion), and figure still, in the Irish Imagination, in a very horrid manner. They are known to Abbé Macgeohegan, these interesting Martyrs, more or less; to Pater Irenæus, to my Lord Clarendon, Jacobite Carte, and other parties divided by wide spaces and long centuries from them; but not to this Occult Hierarchy sitting deliberative close at hand, and doing their best in the massacre way, who are rather concerned to guard us against "shews of clemency exercised hitherto!" This circumstance, and still more what Cromwell himself says on the subject of "massacring," will strike the modern reader; and the "Two-hundred women," and some other things, I persuade myself, will profitably vanish from the Marketplace henceforth!

That wretched Chimera will vanish; and also, I think, a certain

[1] Antea, p. 313.

terrible Fact, which the Irish Imagination pretends to treat sometimes as a chimera, will profitably reassert its place there. The Massacre of 1641 was not, we will believe, premeditated by the Leaders of the Rebellion; but it is an awful truth, written in sun-clear evidence, that it did happen; and the noble-minded among the men in Ireland are called to admit it, and to mourn for it, and learn from it! To the ear of History those "ghosts" still shriek from the Bridge of Portnadown,[1] if not now for just vengeance on their murderers, yet for pity on them, for horror at them: and no just man, whatever his new feelings may be, but will share more or less the Lord Lieutenant Cromwell's old feelings on that matter. It must not be denied, it requires to be admitted! As an act of blind hysterical fury, very blind and very mad and weak, it remains on the face of Irish History; and will have to remain till Ireland cease, much more generally than it has yet done, to mistake loud bluster for inspired wisdom, and spasmodics and hysteric frenzy for strength;—till, let us say, Ireland *do an equal act* of magnanimous Forbearance, and of Valour in the silent kind! Of which also we have by no means lost hope. No:—and if among the true hearts of Ireland there chanced to be found one who, across the opaque angry whirlwind in which all Cromwell matters are enveloped for him, could recognise, in this thunder-clad figure of a Lord Lieutenant now about to speak to him, the veritable Heaven's Messenger clad in thunder; and accept the stern true message *he* brings—!—Who knows? That too, we believe, is coming; and with it many hopeful things. But to our Declaration, however that may be.

A Declaration of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, For the Undeceiving of Deluded and Seduced People: which may be satisfactory to all that do not willfully shut their eyes against the light. In answer to certain late Declarations and Acts, framed by the Irish Popish Prelates and Clergy, in a Conventicle at Clonmacnoise.

HAVING lately perused a Book printed at Kilkenny in the year 1649, containing divers Declarations and Acts of the Popish Prelates and Clergy, framed in a late Conventicle at Clonmacnoise, the 4th day of December in the year aforesaid,—I thought fit to give a brief Answer unto the same.

And first to the first;—which is a Declaration, wherein (having premised the reconciliation of some differences among themselves, 'and the hearty "Union" they have now attained to') they come to state 'the reasons of' their War, 'grounding it' upon "the interest of their Church, of his Majesty and the Nation," and their resolution to prosecute the same with unity. All which will deserve a particular survey.

The Meeting of the Archbishops, Bishops and other Prelates at Clonmacnoise is by them said to be *proprio motu*. By which term they would have the world believe that the Secular Power hath nothing to do to appoint, or superintend, their Spiritual Conventions, as they call

[1] Affidavits, taken in 1641-44: in Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Massacre and Rebellion (Maseres's edition, London, 1812), pp. 85-123; May's History of the Long Parliament, and the contemporary Books *passim*.

them ;—although in the said meetings they take upon them to intermeddle in all Secular Affairs ; as by the sequel appears.—But first for their "Union" they so much boast of. If any wise man shall seriously consider what they pretend the grounds of their "differences" to have been, and the way and course they have taken to reconcile the same ; and their expressions thereabout, and the ends for which, and their resolutions how to carry on their great Design declared for ; he must needs think slightly of their said "union."[1] And also for this, That they resolve all other men's consent 'and reconciliation' into their own ; without consulting *them* at all !

The subject of this reconciliation was, as they say, "the Clergy and Laity." The discontent and division itself was grounded on the late difference of opinion happening amongst the "Prelates and Laity."—I wonder not at differences in opinion, at discontents and divisions, where so Antichristian and dividing a term as "Clergy and Laity" is given and received. A term unknown to any save the Antichristian Church, and such as derive themselves from her: *ab initio non fuit sic.* The most pure and primitive Times, as they best know what true *union* was, so in all addresses to the several Churches they wrote unto, not one word of this. The members of the Churches are styled "Brethren, and Saints of the same household of Faith:" 'and' although they had orders and distinctions amongst them for administration of ordinances,—of a far different use and character from yours,—yet it nowhere occasioned them to say, *contemptim*, and by way of lessening in contradistinguishing, "Laity and Clergy." It was your pride that begat this expression. And it is for filthy lucre's sake that you keep it up : that by making the People believe that they are not so holy as yourselves, they might for their penny purchase some sanctity from you ; and that you might bridle, saddle and ride them at your pleasure ; and do (as is most true of you) as the Scribes and Pharisees of old did by their "Laity," keep the knowledge of the Law from them, and then be able in their pride to say, "This people, that know not the Law, are cursed."

And no wonder,—to speak more nearly to your "differences" and "union,"—if it lie in the Prelates' power to make the Clergy and the Laity go together by the ears when they please, but that they may as easily make a simple and senseless reconciliation ! Which will last until the next Nuncio comes from Rome with supermandatory advices ; and then this Gordian knot must be cut, and the poor "Laity" forced to dance to a new tune.

I say not this as being troubled at your "union." By the grace of God, we fear not, we care not for it. Your covenant, 'if you understood it,' is with Death and Hell ! Your union is like that of Simeon and Levi : "Associate yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces ; take counsel together, and it shall come to nought !"—For though it becomes us to be humble in respect of ourselves, yet we can say to you : God is not with you. You say, Your union is "against a common enemy :" and to this if you will be talking of "union," I will give you some wormwood to bite on ; by which it will appear God is not with you

[1] "it" in *orig.*

Who is it that created this "common enemy" (I suppose you mean Englishmen)? The English? Remember, ye hypocrites, Ireland was once united to England. 'That was the original "union."' Englishmen had good inheritances which many of them purchased with their money; they and their ancestors, from you and your ancestors. They had good Leases from Irishmen, for long times to come; great stocks thereupon; houses and plantations erected at their own cost and charge. They lived peaceably and honestly amongst you. You had generally equal benefit of the protection of England with them; and equal justice from the Laws,—saving what was necessary for the State, out of reasons of State, to put upon some few people, apt to rebel upon the instigation of such as you. You broke *this* "union!" You, unprovoked, put the English to the most unheard-of and most barbarous Massacre (without respect of sex or age) that ever the Sun beheld. And at a time when Ireland was in perfect Peace. And when, through the example of English Industry, through commerce and traffic, that which was in the Natives' hands was better to them than if all Ireland had been in their possession, and not an Englishman in it. And yet then, I say, was this unheard-of villany perpetrated,—by your instigation, who boast of "peace-making" and "union against this common enemy." What think you: by this time, is not my assertion true. Is God, will God be, *with* you?

I am confident He will not! And though you would comprehend Old English, New English, Scotch, or whom else you will, in the bosom of your catholic charity, yet shall not this save you from breaking. I tell you and them, You will fare the *worse* for their sakes. Because I cannot but believe some of them go against, some stifle, their consciences. And it is not the fig-leaf of pretence "that they fight for their King," will serve their turn; when really they fight in protection of men of so much prodigious 'guiltiness of' blood; and with men who have declared the ground of their "union" and fighting, as you have stated it in this your Declaration, to be *Bellum Prælaticum et Religiosum*, in the first and primary intention of it. Especially when they shall consider your principles: 'and' that except what fear makes you comply with,—viz. that alone without their concurrence you are not able to carry on your work of War,—you are ready, whenever you shall get the power into your hands, to kick them off too, as some late experiences have sufficiently manifested!—And thus we come to the Design, you being thus wholesomely "united," which is intended to be prosecuted by you.

Your words are these: "That all and every of us the above Archbishops, Bishops and Prelates, are now, by the blessing of God, as one body united. And that we will, as becometh charity and our pastoral charge, stand all of us as one entire body, for the interest and immunities of the Church, and of every the Bishops and Prelates thereof; and for the honour, dignity, estate, right and possessions of all and every of the said Archbishops, Bishops and other Prelates. And we will, as one entire and united body, forward by our counsels, actions and devices, the advancement of his Majesty's Rights, and the good of this Nation, in general and in particular occasions, to our power. And that none of

us, in any occasion whatsoever concerning the Catholic religion, or the good of this Kingdom of Ireland, will in any respect single himself; or be or seem opposite to the rest of us; but will hold firm and entire in one sense, as aforesaid, &c."

And now, if there were no other quarrel against you but this, which you make to be the principal and first ground of your Quarrel:—to wit, As so standing for the rights of your "Church," falsely so called, and for the rights of your "Archbishops, Bishops and Prelates," as to engage People and Nations into blood therefor:—this alone would be your confusion. I ask you, Is it for the "Lay-fee," as you call it, or for the Revenue belonging to your Church, that you will after this manner contend? Or is it your Jurisdiction, or the exercise of your Ecclesiastical Authority? Or is it for the Faith of your Church? Let me tell you, Not for all or any of these is it lawful for the Ministers of Christ, as you would be thought to be, thus to contend. And therefore we will consider them apart.

For the first, if it were "St. Peter's Patrimony," as you term it,—that would be somewhat that you lawfully came by! But I must tell you, Your predecessors cheated poor seduced men in their weakness on their deathbeds; or otherwise *un*lawfully came by most of this you pretend to. 'Not St. Peter's Patrimony therefore, whosesoever it may be!' And Peter, though he was somewhat too forward to draw the sword in a better cause,—yet if that weapon, not being proper to the business in hand, was to be put up in *that* case,—he must not, nor would be, have drawn it in *this*. And that blessed Apostle Paul, who said, "the labourer was worthy of his hire," chose rather to make tents than be burdensome to the Churches. I would you had either of those Good Men's spirits; on condition your Revenues were doubled to what the best times ever made them to your predecessors!—The same answer may be given to that of your "Power and Jurisdiction;" and to that preeminence of Prelacy you so dearly love. Only consider what the Master of these same Aposties said to them: "So it shall not be amongst *you*. Whoever will be chief shall be servant of all!" For He himself came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. And by this he that runs may read of what tribe you are.

And 'now' surely if these, that are outward things, may not thus be contended for; how much less may the Doctrines of Faith, which are the works of Grace and the Spirit, be endeavoured by so unsuitable means! He that bids us "contend for the Faith once delivered to the Saints," tells us that we should do it by "avoiding the spirit of Cain, Corah, and Balaam;" and by "building up *ourselves* in the most holy Faith," not pinning it upon other men's sleeves. Praying "in the Holy Ghost;" not mumbling over Matins. Keeping "ourselves in the love of God;" not destroying men because they will not be of our Faith. "Waiting for the mercy of Jesus Christ;" not cruel, but merciful!—But, alas, why is this said? Why are these pearls cast before you? You are resolved not to be charmed from "using the instrument of a foolish shepherd!" You are a part of Antichrist, whose Kingdom the Scripture so expressly speaks should be "laid in blood;" yea "in the blood of the Saints." You have shed great store of that already:—and ere it be long, you must all

of you have "blood to drink;" "even the dregs of the cup of the fury and the wrath of God, which will be poured out unto you!"[1]

In the next place, you state the "interest of his Majesty," as you say, 'for a ground of this War.' And this you hope will draw some English and Scotch to your party. But what "Majesty" is it you mean? Is it France, or Spain or Scotland? Speak plainly! You have, some of you lately, been harping,—or else we are misinformed,—upon his Majesty of *Spain* to be your Protector. Was it because his Majesty of Scotland was too little a Majesty for your purpose? We know you love great Majesties! Or is it because he is not fully come over to you in point of religion? If he be short in that, you will quickly find out, upon that score, another "Majesty." His Father, who complied with you too much, you rejected; and now would make the world believe you would make the Son's interest a great part of the state of your Quarrel.—How can we but think there is some reserve in this? And that the Son has agreed to do somewhat more for you than ever his Father did? Or else tell us, Whence this new zeal is? That the Father did too much for you, in all Protestant judgments,—instead of many instances let this be considered: what one of your own Doctors, Dr. Enos of Dublin 'says;' who, writing against the Agreement made between the Lord of Ormond and the Irish Catholics, finds fault with it, and says it was "nothing so good as that 'which' the Earl of Glamorgan had warrant from the King to make; but exceeding far short of what the Lord George Digby had warrant to agree 'to,' with the Pope himself at Rome, in favour of the Irish Catholics."[2]—I intend not this to you; but to such Protestants as may incline to you, and join with you upon *this* single account, which is the only appearing inducement to them: 'to them I intend it,' seeing there is so much probability of ill in this abstracted. 'In this by itself so much probability of ill.' And so much certainty of ill in fighting for the Romish Religion against the Protestant; and fighting 'along' with men under the guilt of so horrid a Massacre. From participating in which Guilt, whilst they take part with them, they will never be able to assoil themselves, either before God or good men.

In the last place, you are pleased,—having, after your usual manner, remembered yourselves *first*, and "his Majesty," as you call him, next; like a man of your tribe, with his *Ego et Rex meus*,—you are pleased to take the People into consideration. Lest they should seem to be forgotten; or rather you would make me believe they are much in your thoughts. Indeed I think they are! Alas, poor "Laity!" That you and your King might ride them, and jade them, as your Church hath done, and as your King hath done by your means, almost in all ages!—But it would not be hard to prophecy, That the beasts being stung and kicking, this world will not last always. Arbitrary power 'is a thing' men begin to be weary of, in Kings and Churchmen; their juggle between them mutually to uphold Civil and Ecclesiastical Tyranny begins to be transparent. Some have cast off *both;* and hope by the grace of God to keep so. Others are at it! Many thoughts are laid up about it, which will have their issue and vent.[3] This principle, That People are for Kings and Churches, and Saints are for the Pope or Churchmen,

[1] Read in your Bibles, and consider that! [2] Antea, p. 159. [3] Paris City, A.D 1789-95.

as you call them, begins to be exploded ;—and therefore I wonder not to see the Fraternity so much enraged. I wish "the People" wiser than to be troubled at *you;* or solicitous for what you say or do.

But it seems notwithstanding all this you would fain have them believe it is their good you seek. And to cozen them, indeed and in truth, is the scope of your whole Declaration, and of your Acts and Decrees in your foresaid Printed Book. Therefore to discover and unveil those falsities, and to let them, 'the People,' know what they are to trust to from me, is the principal end of this my Declaration. That if I be not able to do good upon them, which I most desire,—and yet in that I shall not seek to gain them by flattery ; but tell them the worst, in plainness, and that which I am sure will not be acceptable to *you;* and if I *cannot* gain them, 'I say,'—I shall have comfort in this, That I have freed my own soul from the guilt of the evil that shall ensue. And on this subject I hope to leave nothing unanswered in all your said Declarations and Decrees at Clonmacnoise.

And because you carry on your matter somewhat confusedly, I shall therefore bring all that you have said into some order ; that so we may the better discern what every thing signifies, and give answer thereunto.

You forewarn the People of their danger ; which you make to consist : First, "in the extirpation of the Catholic Religion ;" Secondly, "in the destruction of their Lives ;" Thirdly, "in the ruin of their Fortunes."—To avoid all which evils you forewarn them : *First*, That they be not deceived by the Commander-in-Chief of the Parliament Forces : And in the *next* place,—having stated 'the ground of' your War, as aforesaid,—you give them your positive advice and counsel To engage in blood : And 'then' *lastly* 'you' bestow upon them a small collation in Four Ecclesiastical Decrees or Orders,—which will signify as little, being performed by your spirit, as if you had said nothing. And the obligation 'that lay on you' to all this you make to be your Pastoral relation to them, "over your Flocks."

To which last a word or two.[1] I wonder how this relation was brought about ! If they *be* "Flocks," and you ambitious of the relative term ! 'Yes,' you are *Pastors* : but it is by an antiphrasis,—*a minime pascendo !* You either teach the People not at all ; or else you do it, as some of you came to this Conventicle who were sent by others, *tanquam Procuratores*,—'teach them,' as your manner is, by sending a company of silly ignorant Priests, who can but say the Mass, and scarcely that intelligibly ; or with such stuff as these your senseless Declarations and Edicts !—But how dare you assume to call these men your "Flocks," whom you have plunged into so horrid a Rebellion, by which you have made them and the Country almost a ruinous heap ? And whom you have fleeced and polled and peeled hitherto, and make it your business to do so still. You cannot feed them ! You poison them with your false, abominable and Antichristian doctrine and practices. You keep the Word of God from them ; and instead thereof give them your senseless Orders and Traditions. You teach them "implicit belief :"—he that goes amongst them may find many that do not understand any-

[1] The Lord Lieutenant is very impatient with "this last ;' flies at it *first*.

thing in the matters of your Religion. I have had few better answers from any since I came into Ireland that are of your Flocks than this, "That indeed they did not trouble themselves about matters of Religion, but left that to the Church." Thus are your "Flocks" fed; and such credit have you of them. But they must take heed of "losing their Religion." Alas, poor creatures, what have they to "lose?"

Concerning this, 'of losing their Religion,' is your grand caveat, 'however.' And to back this, you tell them of "Resolutions and Covenants to extirpate the Catholic Religion out of all his Majesty's Dominions." And you instance in "Cromwell's Letter of the 19th October, 1649, to the then Governor of Ross,"[1] repeating his words, which are as follows, viz. "For that which you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience. But if by liberty of conscience, you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, Where the Parliament of England have power, *that* will not be allowed of." And this you call a "tyrannical Resolution;" which you say hath been put in execution in Wexford, Ross and Tredah.

Now let us consider. First, you say, The design is, to extirpate the Catholic Religion. Let us see your honesty herein. Your word "extirpate" is as ill collected from these grounds, and as senseless as the word "Catholic," ordinarily used by you when you mention Catholic Roman Church. The word "extirpate" means 'ruin of' a thing already *rooted* and established: which word 'is' made good by the proof of "Covenants," by that Letter expressing the non-toleration of the Mass (wherein, it seems, you place all the "Catholic Religion," and *there* you shew some ingenuity[2]), and 'by' your instance of what was practised in the three Towns aforementioned: do these prove, either considered apart or all together, the "extirpation" of the Catholic Religion?

By what Law was the Mass 'ever *rooted*, or' exercised in these places, or in any the Dominions of England or Ireland, or Kingdom of Scotland? You were *intruders* herein; you were open violators of the known Laws! And yet you call the "Covenant," and that 'refusal' in the Letter, and these practices 'at Wexford, Ross and Tredah,' "extirpation" of the Catholic Religion,—'which had' thus again 'been' set on foot by you, by the advantage of your Rebellion, and shaking-off the just Authority of the State of England over you! Whereas, I dare be confident to say, You durst not own the saying of one Mass, 'for' above these eighty years in Ireland. And 'only' through the troubles you made, and through the miseries you brought on this Nation and the poor People thereof,—your numbers, which is very ominous, increasing with the 'numbers of the' *wolves*, through the desolations you made in the Country:—'only by all this' did you recover again the public exercise of your Mass! And for the maintenance of this, thus gained, you would make the poor People believe that it is ghostly counsel, and given in love to them as your "Flocks," That they should run into Wars, and venture lives, and all upon such a

[1] Antea, p. 313.
[2] Means "ingenuousness," as usual.

ground as this! But if God be pleased to unveil you of your sheeps-clothing, that they, 'the People,' may see how they have been deluded, and by whom, I shall exceedingly rejoice; and indeed for their sakes only have I given you these competent characters,—for *their* good, if God shall so bless it.

And now for them, 'the People of Ireland,' I do particularly declare what they may expect at my hands in this point. Wherein you will easily perceive that, as I neither have 'flattered' nor shall flatter you, so neither shall I go about to delude them with specious pretences, as you have ever done.

First, therefore: I shall not, where I have power, and the Lord is pleased to bless me, suffer the exercise of the Mass, where I can take notice of it. 'No,' nor 'in any way' suffer you that are Papists, where I can find you seducing the People, or by any overt act violating the Laws established; but if you come into my hands, I shall cause to be inflicted the punishments appointed by the Laws,—to use your own term, *secundum gravitatem delicti*,[1]—upon you; and 'shall try' to reduce things to their former state on this behalf.[2] As for the People, what thoughts they have in matters of Religion in their own breasts I cannot reach; but shall think it my duty, if they walk honestly and peaceably, Not to cause them in the least to suffer for the same. And shall endeavour to walk patiently and in love towards them, to see if at any time it shall please God to give them another or a better mind. And all men under the power of England, within this Dominion, are hereby required and enjoined strictly and religiously to do the same.

To the *second* 'danger threatened;' which is "the destruction of the Lives of the Inhabitants of this Nation:"—to make it good that this is designed, they[3] give not one reason. Which is either because they have none to give; or else for that they believe the People will receive everything for truth they say,—which they have too well taught them, and God knows the People are too apt, to do. But I will a little help them. They speak indeed of "rooting out the Common-People;" and also, by way of consequent, that the extirpating the Catholic Religion is not to be effected without the "massacring, destroying or banishing the Catholic Inhabitants." Which how analogical an argument this is, I shall easily make appear by and by.

Alas, the generality of "the Inhabitants" are poor "Laity," as you call them, and ignorant of the grounds of the "Catholic Religion."[4] Are they then so interwoven with your Church Interest as that the absence of *them* makes your "Catholic Religion" fall to the ground? We know you think not so. You reckon yourselves, and yourselves only, the pillars and supporters thereof; and the Common-People 'useful' as far as they have the exercise of club-law, and, like the ass you ride on, obey your commands. But concerning these relations of your Religion, 'and your right to practise it,' enough has been spoken in another place;—only you love to mix things for your advantage.

But 'now' to your logic. Here is your argument: The design is to

[1] A phrase in their Pamphlet. [2] No cozening here!

[3] Is now addressing the People; has unconsciously turned away from the Priests, and put them into the third person.

[4] Unimportant they, to the vigour or decline of it.

extirpate the Catholic Religion; but this is not to be done but by the massacring, banishing or otherwise destroying the Catholic Inhabitants: *ergo* it is designed to massacre, banish and destroy the Catholic Inhabitants.—To try this no-concluding argument,—'nothing-concluding,' but yet well enough agreeing with your learning,—I give you this dilemma; by which it will appear That, whether your Religion be true or false, this will not follow:

If your Religion be the true Religion, yet if a Nation may degenerate from the true Religion, and apostatise, as too many have 'evidently' *done*,—(through the seducements of your Roman Church, 'think *we*'), —then it will not follow that men must be "massacred, banished or otherwise destroyed," necessarily; no, not as to the change of the *true* Religion in a Nation or Country![1] Only, this argument doth wonderfully well agree with your principles and practice; you having chiefly made use of fire and sword, in all the changes in Religion that you have made in the world. 'But I say,' if it be change of your Catholic Religion so-called, it will not follow: because there may be found out another means than "massacring, destruction and banishment;" to wit, the Word of God; which is able to convert. A means which you as little know as practise; which indeed you deprive the People of! 'That means may be found;' together with humanity, good life, equal and honest dealing with men of a different opinion;—which we desire to exercise towards this poor People, if you, by your wicked counsel, make them not incapable to receive it, by putting them into blood!

And therefore, by this also, 'this that you talk of massacring,' your false and twisted dealing may be a little discovered. Well; your words are, "massacre, destroy and banish."—Good now: *give us an instance of one man since my coming into Ireland, not in arms, massacred, destroyed or banished; concerning the massacre or the destruction of whom justice hath not been done, or endeavoured to be done.*[2] As for the other of banishment, I must now speak unto the People, whom you would delude, and whom this most concerns; that they may know in this also what to expect at my hands.

The question is of the destruction of life; or of that which is but little inferior to it, to wit, of banishment. 'Now *First:*' I shall not willingly take or suffer to be taken away the life of any man not in arms, but by the trial to which the People of this Nation are subject by Law, for offences against the same. And '*Secondly*,' as for the banishment, it hath not hitherto been inflicted on any but such who, being in arms, might justly, upon the terms they were taken 'under,' have been put to death:—as 'might' those who are instanced in your Declaration to be "sent to the Tobacco Islands." And therefore I do declare, That if the People be ready to run to arms by the instigation of their Clergy or

[1] A subtle "dilemma," and very Oliverian; seems to *eat* itself like a Serpent-of-eternity, and be very *circular* reasoning; yet grounds itself, if examined, upon sharp just insight, and has real logical validity. "Call your Religion true, men *have* changed from it without being massacred; admit it to be false, will you say they need massacring? Whatever Religion you may have, I think you have not much Logic to spare!"

[2] "Concerning the two first of which," in *orig.* The italics, in this passage, are mine; and can be removed so soon as Macgeohegan, Carte, Clarendon and Company, have got to be well understood.

otherwise, such as God by His providence shall give into my hands may expect that or worse measure from me; but not otherwise.

Thirdly, as to that of "the ruin of their Fortune." You instance the Act of Subscription,[1] "whereby the estates of the Inhabitants of this Nation are sold, so as there remaineth now no more but to put the Purchasers in possession;" and that for this cause are the Forces drawn out of England. And that you might carry the Interest far, 'so as' to engage the Common sort of People with you, you further say to them, That "the moderate usage 'hitherto' exercised to them is to no other end but to our private advantage, and for the better support of our Army;" 'we' intending at the close of our "Conquest," as you term it, "to root out the Common-People also, and to plant the land with Colonies to be brought hither out of England." This, consisting of divers parts, will ask distinct answers.

And first, to the Act of Subscription. It's true there is such an Act;—and it was a just one. For when, by your execrable Massacre and Rebellion, you had not only raised a bloody War to justify the same; and thereby occasioned the exhausting the Treasure of England in the prosecution of so just a War against you,—was it not a wise and just act in the State to raise money by escheating the Lands of those who had a hand in the Rebellion? Was it not fit to make their Estates to defray the charge, who had caused the trouble? The best therefore that lies in this argument is this,—and that only reaching to them who have been in arms, for further it goes not: "You have forfeited your Estates, and it is likely they will be escheated to make satisfaction; and therefore you had better fight it out than repent or give off now;—or 'else,' see what mercy you may find from the State of England. And seeing holy Church is engaged in it, we will, by one means or another, hook-in the Commons, and make them sensible that they are as much concerned as you, though they were never in arms, or came quickly off!"—And for this cause doubtless are these two coupled together; by which your honest dealing is manifest enough.

But what? Was the English Army brought over for *this* purpose, as you allege? Do you think that the State of England will be at Five or Six Millions charge merely to procure Purchasers to be invested in that for which they did disburse little above a Quarter of a Million? Although there be a Justice in that also, which ought, and I trust will be seasonably performed toward them.—No, I can give you a better reason for the Army coming over than this. England hath had experience of the blessing of God in prosecuting just and righteous Causes, whatever the cost and hazard be![2] And if ever men were engaged in a righteous

[1] At the first breaking out of the Irish Rebellion into an Irish Massacre, the King's Exchequer being void, and the case like a case of conflagration, an Act was passed, engaging the Public Faith, That whoever would "subscribe" money towards suppressing the said Rebellion in Ireland, and detestable and horrible Massacre of Protestants there, should, with liberal interest, be repaid from the forfeited Estates of the Rebels,—so soon as they were got. This is the "Act of Subscription" spoken of here. His Majesty said: "How will that answer? It is like selling the bear's skin before you have caught your bear." A bargain, nevertheless, which hundreds and thousands entered into, with free purse and overflowing heart; "above a Quarter of a Million" raised by it; generous emotion, and tragic terror and pity, lending sanction to doubtful profit-and-loss. A very wise and just Act of Parliament, the Lord Lieutenant thinks; which did also fulfil its engagements by and by.

[2] Hear this Lord Lieutenant.

Cause in the world, this will scarce be a second to it. We are come to ask an account of the innocent blood that hath been shed; and to endeavour to bring to an account,—by the blessing and presence of the Almighty, in whom alone is our hope and strength,—all who, by appearing in arms, seek to justify the same. We come to break the power of a company of lawless Rebels, who having cast-off the Authority of England, live as enemies to Human Society; whose principles, the world hath experience, are, To destroy and subjugate all men not complying with them. We come, by the assistance of God, to hold forth and maintain the lustre and glory of English Liberty[1] in a Nation where we have an undoubted right to do it;—wherein the People of Ireland (if they listen not to such seducers as you are) may equally participate in all benefits; to use 'their' liberty and fortune equally with Englishmen, if they keep out of arms.

And now, having said this to you, I have a word to *them*; that in this point, which concerns them in their estates and fortunes, they may know what to trust to. Such as have been formerly in arms, may, submitting themselves, have their cases presented to the State of England;—where no doubt the State will be ready to take into consideration the nature and quality of their actings, and deal mercifully with them. As for those now in arms, who shall come in, and submit, and give Engagements for their future quiet and honest carriage, and submission to the State of England, I doubt not but they will find like merciful consideration;—except only the Leading Persons and Principal Contrivers of this Rebellion, whom I am confident they will reserve to make examples of Justice, whatsoever hazards they incur thereby.—And as for such Private Soldiers as lay down their arms, and shall live peaceably and honestly at their several homes, they shall be permitted so to do.—And, 'in general,' for the first two sorts, 'for such as have been or as now are in arms and shall submit,' I shall humbly and effectually represent their cases to the Parliament, as far as becomes the duty and place I bear. But as for those who, notwithstanding all this, persist and continue in arms, they must expect what the Providence of God, in that which is falsely called the Chance of War, will cast upon them.

For such of the Nobility, Gentry and Commons of Ireland as have not been actors in this Rebellion, they shall and may expect the protection in their Goods, Liberties and Lives which the Law gives them; and in their husbandry, merchandising, manufactures and other trading whatsoever, the same. They behaving themselves as becomes honest and peaceable men; testifying their good affections, upon all occasions, to the service of the State of England, equal justice shall be done them with the English. They shall bear proportionably with them in taxes. And if the Soldiery be insolent upon them, upon complaint and proof, it shall be punished with utmost severity, and they protected equally with Englishmen.

[1] "Liberty," here, which much astonishes our Irish friends, is very far from meaning what in most modern dialects it now does. "Liberty," with this Lord Lieutenant, means "rigorous settled Obedience to Laws that are just." Which it is very noble indeed to settle, "and hold forth and maintain" against all men. Laws grounded on the eternal Fact of Things,—which is a much preferable "ground" to the temporary Fiction of Things, as set forth at any Clonmacnoise, Kilkenny, or other Supreme Centre-of-Jargon, there or elsewhere, that has been or that can be!

And having said this, and purposing honestly to perform it,—if this People shall headily run on after the counsels of their Prelates and Clergy and other Leaders, I hope to be free from the misery and desolation, blood and ruin that shall befall them; and shall rejoice to exercise utmost severity against them.

'OLIVER CROMWELL.'*

'Given at Youghal,—January, 1649.'

This Declaration, as appears here, does not date or even expressly sign itself; but by search, chiefly in a certain Manuscript Fragment, which will by and by concern us farther,[1] we find that it was drawn up at Youghal, after the 15th, and came forth printed at Cork before the 29th of January; on which latter day the Army took the field again. And so we leave his Declaration;—probably the remarkablest State-Paper ever published in Ireland since Strongbow, or even since St. Patrick, first appeared there.

LETTERS CXIII.-CXIX.

THE Speaker's Letter of Recall has never yet reached Ireland; and the rumour of it already has; which, as we intimated, sets the Enemy on fresh schemes, whereof advantage might be taken. The unwearied Lord Lieutenant, besides his labours known to us, has been rehabilitating Courts of Justice in Dublin, settling contributions, and doing much other work; and now, the February or even January weather being unusually good, he takes the field again, in hopes of perhaps soon finishing. The unhappy Irish are again about excommunicating one another; the Supreme Council of Kilkenny is again one wide howl; and Ormond is writing to the King to recall him. Now is the Lieutenant's time; the February weather being good!

LETTER CXIII.

HERE is another small excerpt from Bulstrode, which we may take along with us: a small speck of dark Ireland and its affairs rendered luminous for an instant. To which there is reference in this Letter. We saw Enniscorthy taken on the last day of September, the "Castle and Village of Enniscorthy," "which belongs to Mr. Robert Wallop;" a Garrison was settled there; and this in some three months time is what becomes of it.

January 9th, 1649, Letters reached Bulstrode, perhaps a fortnight after date, "That the Enemy surprised Enniscorthy Castle in this manner: Some Irish Gentlemen feasted the Garrison Soldiers; and sent-in women to sell them strong-water, of which they drank too much; and then the Irish fell upon them, took the Garrison, and put all the

* *Declaration*, &c. as above given. *Licensed by the Secretary of the Army. Printed at Cork: and reprinted at London, by E. Griffin, and are to be sold in the Old Bailey; March* 21, 1649. King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 462, sec. 6. In Ayscough MSS. no. 4769 (a Fragment of an anonymous Contemporary Narrative, which will by and by be more specially referred to), are some two pages of this *Declaration*, transcribed from the Cork Edition: the concluding words are not, "exercise utmost severity against them," but "act severity against them," which probably is the true reading.

[1] Ayscough MSS. no. 4769 (Fragment of a Narrative, referred to in the previous Note), pp. 100 *et seqq.*

Officers and Soldiers to the sword." Sharp practice on the part of the Irish Gentlemen; and not well advised! Which constrained the Lord Lieutenant, when he heard of it, to order "that the Irish," Papist suspected Irish, "should be *put out* of such Garrisons as were in the power of Parliament," [1]—ordered to seek quarters elsewhere.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

MR. SPEAKER, Castletown, 15th February, 1649.

Having refreshed our men for some short time in our Winter-quarters,[2] and health being pretty well recovered, we thought fit to take the field; and to attempt such things as God by His providence should lead us to upon the Enemy.

Our resolution was to fall into the Enemy's quarters two ways. The one party, being about fifteen or sixteeen troops of horse and dragoons and about two-thousand foot, were ordered to go up by the way of Carrick into the the County of Kilkenny under the command of Colonel Reynolds; whom Major-General Ireton was to follow with a reserve. I myself was to go by the way of Mallow,[3] over the Blackwater, towards the County of Limerick and the County of Tipperary, with about twelve troops of horse, and three troops of dragoons, and between two and three hundred foot.

I began my march upon Tuesday the Nine-and-twentieth of January, from Youghal: and upon Thursday the One-and-thirtieth, I possessed a Castle called Kilkenny, upon the edge of the County of Limerick; where I left thirty foot. From thence I marched to a Strong-house belonging to Sir Richard Everard (called Clogheen),[4] who is one of the Supreme Council; where I left a troop of horse and some dragoons. From thence I marched to Roghill Castle, which was possessed by some Ulster foot, and a party of the Enemy's horse; which upon summons (I having taken the Captain of horse prisoner before) was rendered to me. These places being thus possessed gave us much command (together with some other holds we have) of the White-Knights' and Roche's Country; and of all the land from Mallow to the Suir-side;—especially by 'help of' another Castle called Old Castletown, 'which,' since my march, 'was' taken by my Lord of Broghil. Which I had sent to his Lordship to endeavour; as also a Castle of Sir Edward Fitzharris, over the Mountains in the County of Limerick;—I having left his Lordship at Mallow, with about six or seven hundred horse, and four or five hundred foot, to protect those parts, and your interest in Munster; lest while we were abroad, Inchiquin, whose forces lay about Limerick and the County of Kerry, should fall in behind us. His Lordship drew two cannon to the foresaid Castle; which having summoned, they refused. His Lordship, having bestowed about ten shot upon it, which made their stomachs come down,—he gave all the soldiers quarter for life; and shot all the Officers, being six in number, to death.

1 Whitlocke, p. 421.
2 Youghal had been the head-quarter.
3 "Muyallo" he writes, and "Mayallo."
4 "Cloghern" in the old Newspaper; but it seems to be misprinted, as almost all these names are. "Roghill" I find nowhere now extant.

Since the taking of these Garrisons, the Irish have sent their commissioners to compound for their contribution as far as the walls of Limerick.

I marched from Roghill Castle over the Suir, with very much difficulty; and from thence to Fethard, almost in the heart of the County of Tipperary; where was a Garrison of the Enemy. The Town is most pleasantly seated; having a very good Wall with round and square bulwarks, after the old manner of fortifications. We came thither in the night, and indeed were very much distressed by sore and tempestuous wind and rain. After a long march, we knew not well how to dispose of ourselves; but finding an old Abbey in the suburbs, and some cabins and poor houses,—we got into them, and had opportunity to send 'the Garrison' a summons. They shot at my trumpet; and would not listen to him, for an hour's space: but having some Officers in our party whom they knew, I sent them, To let them know I was there with a good part of the Army. We shot not a shot at them; but they were very angry, and fired very earnestly upon us; telling us, It was not a time of night to send a summons. But yet in the end, the Governor was willing to send out two commissioners,—I think rather to see whether there was a force sufficient to force him, than to any other end. After almost a whole night spent in treaty, the Town was delivered to me the next morning, upon terms which we usually call honourable; which I was the willinger to give, because I had little above Two-hundred foot, and neither ladders nor guns, nor any thing else to force them. That night, there being about Seventeen companies of the Ulster foot in Cashel, above five miles from thence, they quit it in some disorder; and the Sovereign and the Aldermen sent to me a petition, desiring that I would protect them. Which I have also made a quarter.

From thence I marched towards Callan; hearing that Colonel Reynolds was there, with the Party before mentioned. When I came thither, I found he had fallen upon the Enemy's horse, and routed them (being about a hundred), with his forlorn; 'he' took my Lord of Ossory's Captain-Lieutenant, and another Lieutenant of horse, prisoners; —and one of those who betrayed our Garrison of Enniscorthy; whom we hanged. The Enemy had possessed three Castles in the Town; one of them belonging to one Butler, very considerable; the other two had about a hundred or hundred-and-twenty men in them,—which 'latter' he attempted; and they, refusing conditions seasonably offered, were put all to the sword. Indeed some of your soldiers did attempt very notably in this service:—I do not hear there were six men of ours lost. Butler's Castle was delivered up on conditions, for all to march away, leaving their arms behind them. Wherein I have placed a company of foot, and a troop of horse, under the command of my Lord Colvil; the place being six miles from Kilkenny. From hence Colonel Reynolds was sent with his regiment to remove a Garrison of the Enemy's from Knocktofer (being the way of our communication to Ross); which accordingly he did.

We marched back with the rest of the body to Fethard and Cashel: where we are now quartered,—having good plenty both of horse meat and man's meat for a time; and being indeed, we may say, even almost

in the heart and bowels of the Enemy; ready to attempt what God shall next direct. And blessed be His name only for this good success; and for this 'also,' That we do not find our men are at all considerably sick upon this expedition, though indeed it hath been very blustering weather.—

I had almost forgot one business: the Major-General was very desirous to gain a Pass over the Suir; where indeed we had none but by boat, or when the weather served. Wherefore, on Saturday in the evening, he marched with a party of horse and foot to Ardfinnan; where was a Bridge, and at the foot of it a strong Castle. Which he, about four o'clock the next morning, attempted;—killed about thirteen of the Enemy's outguard; lost but two men, and eight or ten wounded: the Enemy yielded the place to him, and we are possessed of it,—being a very considerable Pass, and the nearest to our Pass at Cappoquin over the Blackwater, whither we can bring guns, ammunition, or other things from Youghal by water, and 'then' over this Pass to the Army. The County of Tipperary have submitted to 1,5000*l.* a-month contribution, although they have six or seven of the Enemy's Garrisons yet upon them.

Sir, I desire the charge of England as to this War may be abated as much as may be, and as we know you do desire, out of your care to the Commonwealth. But if you expect your work to be done, if the marching Army be not constantly paid, and the course taken that hath been humbly represented,—indeed it will not be for the thrift of England, as far as England is concerned in the speedy reduction of Ireland. The money we raise upon the Counties maintains the Garrison forces; and hardly that. If the active force be not maintained, and all contingencies defrayed, how can you expect to have but a lingering business of it? Surely we desire not to spend a shilling of your treasury, wherein our consciences do not prompt us. We serve you; we are willing to be out of [1] our trade of war; and shall hasten, by God's assistance and grace, to the end of our work, as the labourer doth to be at rest. This makes us bold to be earnest with you for necessary supplies:—that of money is one. And there be some other things,—which indeed I do not think for your service to speak of publicly, which I shall humbly represent to the Council of State,—wherewith I desire we may be accommodated.

Sir, the Lord, who doth all these things, gives hopes of a speedy issue to this business; and, I am persuaded, will graciously appear in it. And truly there is no fear of the strength and combination of enemies round about, nor of slanderous tongues at home. God hath hitherto fenced you against all those, to wonder and amazement; they are tokens of your prosperity and success:—only it will be good for you, and us that serve you, to fear the Lord; to fear unbelief, self-seeking, confidence in an arm of flesh, and opinion of any instruments that they are other than as dry bones. That God be merciful in these things, and bless you, is the humble prayer of, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[1] to have done with.

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 77); see also Commons Journals, 25 February, 1949-50.

Commons Journals, 25th February, 1649-50: "A Letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, from Castletown, 15° *Februarii*, 1649, was this day read; and ordered to be forthwith printed and published. *Ordered*, That a Letter of Thanks be sent to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and that Mr. Scott do prepare the Letter; and that Mr. Speaker do sign the same. *Resolved*, That the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland have the use of the Lodgings called the Cockpit, of the Spring Garden and St. James's House, and the command of St. James's Park."

This Letter of Thanks, and very handsome *Resolution* did, as we shall find, come duly to hand. The Cockpit was then and long afterwards a sumptuous Royal "Lodging" in Whitehall; Henry the Eighth's place of cock-fighting:—stood till not very long ago, say the Topographers, where the present Privy-Council Office is. The Cromwell Family hereupon prepared to remove thither; not without reluctance on Mrs. Cromwell's part, as Ludlow intimates.

LETTER CXIV.

DEEP sunk among the Paper-Masses of the British Museum is an anonymous Fragment of a *Narrative of Oliver's Campaign in Ireland;* Fragment copied, as would seem, several generations ago, from an earlier Original, the beginning and end of which were already lost,—torn off by careless hands, and consumed as waste paper. The Copyist, with due hopeful punctuality, has left blank leaves at the beginning and end: but to no purpose; they are and continue blank leaves. In this mutilated obscure state, it lies among the Manuscripts of the British Museum;—will perhaps be printed by some Dryasdust Society, in time. It is by no means a Narrative of much merit: entirely anonymous, as we say, without specific date or outward indication of any kind; but written as if by a contemporary or even a fellow-actor, in a flat, diffuse, but authentic and exact manner. In obscure cases, as we have already found, it is worth consulting here and there;—contains, in particular, the following and some other unimportant Cromwell Letters, not found elsewhere, which we make a duty of preserving.

For the Governor of Cahir Castle: These.

SIR, 'Before Cahir,' 24th February, 1649.

Having brought the Army and my cannon near this place,—according to my usual manner in summoning places, I thought fit to offer you Terms, honourable for soldiers: That you may march away, with your baggage, arms and colours; free from injury or violence. But if I be necessitated to bend my cannon upon you, you must expect the extremity usual in such cases.

To avoid blood, this is offered to you by,

Your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

What became of Cahir Castle, of it and of others, will appear in the next Letter.

* Narrative Fragment (in Ayscough MSS. no. 4769, cited above).

LETTER CXV.

'For the Honourable John Bradshaw, Esquire, President of the Council of State: These.'

'SIR,' Cashel, 5th March, 1649.

* * * It pleaseth God still to enlarge your interest here. The Castle of Cahir, very considerable, built upon a rock, and seated in an island in the midst of the Suir, was lately rendered to me. It cost the Earl of Essex, as I am informed, about eight weeks siege with his army and artillery.[1] It is now yours without the loss of one man. So also in the Castle of Kiltinan; a very large and strong Castle of the Lord of Dunboyne's: this latter I took in with my cannon, without the loss of a man.

We have taken the Castle of Golden Bridge, another pass upon the Suir; as also the Castle of Dundrum, at which we lost about six men,—Colonel Zanchy, who commanded the party, being shot through the hand. We have placed another strong Garrison at Ballynakill, upon the edge of King's and Queen's Counties. We have divers Garrisons in the County of Limerick; and by these we take away the Enemy's subsistence, and diminish their contributions. By which in time, I hope they will sink.

* * *

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER CXVI.

HENRY CROMWELL, "Colonel Henry," and the Lord Broghil are busy with Inchiquin in Limerick County, to good purpose; as other Colonels are with other rebels elsewhere, everywhere; "and our Enemies will not stand, but have marched to Kilkenny." Kilkenny once taken, "it is not thought they will be able to recruit their Army, or take the field again this summer."

To the Governor, and Mayor and Aldermen, of the City of Kilkenny: These.

GENTLEMEN, 'Before Kilkenny,' 22d March, 1649.

My coming hither is to endeavour, if God so please to bless me, the reduction of the City of Kilkenny to their obedience to the State of England;—from which, by an unheard-of Massacre of the innocent English, you have endeavoured to rend yourselves. And as God hath begun to judge you with His sore plagues, so will He follow you until He hath destroyed you, if you repent not. Your Cause hath been judged already in England upon them who did abet your evils:[2] what may the Principals then expect?—

By this free dealing, you see I entice you not to a compliance. You

[1] In 1599 (Camden; in Kennet, ii. 614); but the "eight weeks" are by no means mentioned in Camden! The ruins of the Castle now stand "on a rock *overlooking*" the River: the "island," I conclude, had been artificial.

* Newspapers, in Cromwelliana, p. 77: see also Commons Journals (vi, 381), 12 March, 1649-50.

[2] Connor Lord Macguire (*State Trials*, iv. 654-754, Feb. 7, 1644-5), he and others have had public trial, doom and death, long since, for that; by the Law of England, well ascertained, known, and acted on, this long while, it is death to have been concerned in that.

may have Terms 'such as' may save you in your lives, liberties and estates, according to what may be fitting for me to grant and you to receive. If you choose for the worst, blame yourselves. In confidence of the gracious blessing and presence of God with His own Cause, which by many testimonies this is,—I shall hope for a good issue upon my endeavours.

Expecting a return from you, I rest,

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The Governor of Kilkenny, "Sir Walter Butler," we shall find, saw good to surrender; chose not "the worst," but the bad-best in those intricate circumstances. The last struggles of this poor Governor, and of various others, are particularised in the next Letter.

LETTER CXVII.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

MR. SPEAKER, Carrick, 2d April, 1650.

I think the last Letter I troubled you with, was about the taking of Cahir, since which time there were taken, by beating-up their quarters, two Colonels, a Lieutenant-Colonel, Major and divers Captains, all of horse: Colonel Johnson, Lieutenant-Colonel Laughern, and Major Simes, were shot to death, as having served under the Parliament, but now taken up arms with the Enemy.

Hearing that Castlehaven and Lieutenant-General Ferral were about Kilkenny, with their Army lying there quartered, and about Carlow and Leighlin Bridge; and hearing also that Colonel Hewson, with a good Party from Dublin, was come as far as Ballysonan,[1] and had taken it, —we thought fit to send an express to him, To march up towards us for a conjunction. And because we doubted the sufficiency of his Party to march with that security that were to be wished, Colonel Shilbourn was ordered to go with some troops of horse out of the County of Wexford, which was his station, to meet him. And because the Enemy was possessed of the fittest places upon the Barrow for our conjunction, we sent a Party of seven or eight hundred horse and dragoons, and about five-hundred foot, to attempt upon Castlehaven in the rear, if he should have endeavoured to defend the places against Colonel Hewson.

Our Party, being a light nimble Party, was at the Barrow-side before Colonel Hewson could be heard of; and possessed a House, by the Graigue: they marched towards Laughlin, and faced Castlehaven at a pretty distance; but he shewed no forwardness to engage. Our Party not being able to hear of Colonel Hewson, came back as far as Thomastown, a small walled Town, and a pass upon the Nore, between Kilkenny and Ross. Which our men attempting to take, the Enemy made no great resistance; but, by the advantage of the bridge, quitted the Town, and fled to a Castle about half a mile distant off; which they had formerly possessed. That night the President of Munster[2] and

* Narrative Fragment (in Ayscough MSS. no. 4769).

1 See Whitlocke, p. 430; Carte, ii. 113.

2 Ireton (Commons Journals, 4 December, 1649).

myself came up to the Party. We summoned the Castle; and, after two days, it was surrendered to us; the Enemy leaving their arms, drums, colours, and ammunition behind them, and engaging never to bear arms more against the Parliament of England.

We lay still after this about two or three days. The President went back to Fethard, to bring up some great guns, with a purpose to attempt upon the Granny,[1] and some Castles thereabouts, for the better blocking up of Waterford; and to cause to advance up to us some more of our foot. In the end we had advertisement that Colonel Hewson was come to Leighlin; where was a very strong Castle and pass over the Barrow. I sent him word that he should attempt it; which he did; and, after some dispute, reduced it. By which means we have a good pass over the Barrow, and intercourse between Munster and Leinster. I sent Colonel Hewson word that he should march up to me; and we, advancing likewise with our Party, met 'him,'—near by Gowran; a populous Town, where the Enemy had a very strong Castle, under the command of Colonel Hammond; a Kentishman, who was a principal actor in the Kentish Insurrection,[2] and did manage the Lord Capel's business at his Trial. I sent him a civil invitation to deliver up the Castle unto me; to which he returned me a very resolute answer, and full of height. We planted our artillery; and before we had made a breach considerable, the Enemy beat a parley for a Treaty; which I having offered so fairly to him, refused; but sent him in positive conditions, That the soldiers should have their lives, and the Commission Officers to be disposed of as should be thought fit; which in the end was submitted to. The next day, the Colonel, the Major, and the rest of the Commission Officers were shot to death; all but one, who, being a very earnest instrument to have the Castle delivered, was pardoned. In the same Castle also we took a Popish Priest, who was chaplain to the Catholics in this regiment; who was caused to be hanged. I trouble you with this the rather, because this regiment was the Lord of Ormond's own regiment. In this Castle was good store of provisions for the Army.

After the taking of this Castle, it was agreed amongst us to march to the City of Kilkenny. Which we did upon Friday, the 22d of March: and coming with our body within a mile of the Town, we advanced with some horse very near unto it; and that evening I sent Sir Walter Butler and the Corporation a Letter. We took the best view we could where to plant our batteries; and upon Monday the 25th, our batteries, consisting of three guns, began to play. After near a hundred shot, we made a breach, as we hoped stormable. Our men were drawn out ready for the attempt; and Colonel Ewer 'was' ordered, with about one-thousand foot, to endeavour to possess the Irish-Town, much about the time of our storming;—which he accordingly did, with the loss of not above three or four men. Our men upon the signal fell on upon the breach: which indeed was not performed with usual courage nor success; for they were beaten off, with the loss of one Captain, and about

[1] Now a ruin near Waterford; he spells it "Graune."
[2] In 1648. None of our Hammonds.

twenty or thirty men killed and wounded. The Enemy had made two retrenchments or counter-works, which they had strongly palisadoed and both of them did so command our breach, that indeed it was a mercy to us we did not farther contend for an entrance there; it being probable that, if we had, it would have cost us very dear.

Having possessed the Irish-Town; and there being another Walled Town on the other side of the River, eight companies of foot were sent over the River to possess that. Which accordingly was effected, and not above the like number lost that were in possessing the Irish-Town. The officer that commanded this party in chief, attempted to pass over the Bridge into the City, and to fire the Gate; which indeed was done with good resolution;—but, lying too open to the Enemy's shot, he had forty or fifty men killed and wounded; which was a sore blow to us. We made our preparations for a second battery; which was well near perfected; 'but' the Enemy, seeing himself thus begirt, sent for a Treaty; and had it; and, in some hours, agreed to deliver up the Castle upon the Articles enclosed. Which, 'accordingly,' we received upon Thursday the 28th of March.—We find the Castle exceeding well fortified by the industry of the Enemy; being also very capacious: so that if we had taken the Town, we must have had a new work for the Castle, which might have cost much blood and time. So that, we hope, the Lord hath provided better for us; and we look at it as a gracious mercy that we have the place for you upon these terms.[1]

Whilst these affairs were transacting, a Lieutenant-Colonel, three Majors, eight Captains, being English, Welsh and Scotch with others, possessed of Cantwell Castle,[2]—a very strong Castle, situated in a bog, well furnished with provisions of corn,—were ordered by Sir Walter Butler to come to strengthen the Garrison of Kilkenny. But they sent two officers to me, to offer me the place, and their service,—that they might have passes to go beyond sea to serve foreign states, with some money to bear their charges: the last whereof 'likewise' I consented to; they promising to do nothing to the prejudice of the Parliament of England. Colonel Abbot also attempted Ennisnag; where were gotten a company of rogues which 'had' revolted from Colonel Jones.[3] The Soldiers capitulated for life, and their two Officers were hanged for revolting. Adjutant-General Sadler was commanded with two guns to attempt some Castles in the County of Tipperary and Kilkenny; which being reduced 'would' exceedingly tend to the blocking-up of two considerable Towns. He summoned Pulkerry, a Garrison under Clonmel; battered it; they refusing to come out, stormed it; put thirty or forty of them to the sword, and the rest remaining obstinate were fired in the Castle. He took Ballopoin; the Enemy marching away, leaving their arms behind them. He took also the Granny and Donkill, two very considerable places to Waterford, upon the same terms.—We have advanced our quarters towards the Enemy, a considerable way above Kilkenny; where we hope, by the gaining of ground, to get sub-

[1] Carte, ii., 113.

[2] "Cantwell," still known among the peasantry by that name, is now called Sandford's Court; close upon Kilkenny: "Donkill" seems to be Donhill, a ruined Strength not far from Waterford. Of Pulkerry and Ballopoin, in this paragraph, I can hear no tidings.

[3] The late Michael Jones.

sistence: and still to grow upon the Enemy, as the Lord shall bless us.

Sir, I may not be wanting to tell you, and renew it again, That our hardships are not a few; that I think in my conscience, if monies be not supplied, we shall not be able to carry on your work:—I would not say this to you, if I did not reckon it my duty so to do. But if it be supplied, and that speedily, I hope, through the good hand of the Lord, it will not be long before England will be at an end of this charge;—for the saving of which, I beseech you help as soon as you can! Sir, our horse have not had one month's pay of five. We strain what we can that the foot may be paid, or else they would starve. Those Towns that are to be reduced, especially one or two of them, if we should proceed by the rules of other states, would cost you more money than this Army hath had since we came over. I hope, through the blessing of God, they will come cheaper to you: but how we should be able to proceed in our attempts without reasonable supply, is humbly submitted and represented to you. I think I need not say, that a speedy period put to this work will break the expectation of all your enemies. And seeing the Lord is not wanting to you, I most humbly beg it, that you would not be wanting to yourselves.

In the last place, it cannot be thought but the taking of these places, and keeping but what is necessary of them, must needs swallow up our foot: and I may humbly repeat it again, That I do not know of much above Two-thousand of your Five-thousand recruits come to us.—Having given you this account concerning your affairs, I am now obliged to give you an account concerning myself, which I shall do with all clearness and honesty.

I have received divers private intimations of your pleasure to have me come in person to wait upon you in England; as also copies of Votes of the Parliament to that purpose. But considering the way they came to me was but 'by' private intimations, and the Votes did refer to a Letter to be signed by the Speaker,—I thought it would have been too much forwardness in me to have left my charge here, until the said Letter came: it being not fit for me to prophesy whether the Letter would be an absolute command, or having limitations with a liberty left by the Parliament to me, to consider in what way to yield my obedience. Your Letter came to my hands upon Friday the 22d of March, the same day that I came before the City of Kilkenny, and when I was near the same. And I understood by Dr. Cartwright, who delivered it to me, that reason of cross winds, and the want of shipping in the West of England where he was, hindered him from coming with it sooner; it bearing date the 8th of January, and not coming to my hands until the 22d of March.

The Letter supposed your Army in Winter-quarters, and the time of the year not suitable for present action; making this as the reason of your command. And your Forces have been in action ever since the 29th of January; and your Letter, which was to be the rule of my obedience, coming to my hands after our having been so long in action,—with respect had to the reasons you were pleased to use therein, 'I

knew not what to do.' And having received a Letter signed by yourself, of the 26th of February,[1] which mentions not a word of the continuance of your pleasure concerning my coming over, I did humbly conceive it much consisting with my duty, humbly to beg a positive signification what your will is; professing (as before the Lord) that I am most ready to obey your commands herein with all alacrity; rejoicing only to be about that work which I am called to by those whom God hath set over me, which I acknowledge you to be; and fearing only in obeying you, to disobey you.

I most humbly and earnestly beseech you to judge for me, Whether your Letter doth not naturally allow me the liberty of begging a more clear expression of your command and pleasure. Which, when vouchsafed unto me, will find most ready and cheerful obedience from,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER CXVIII.

HERE, of the same date, is a Letter to Mayor; and then a Letter to Richard; which concludes what we have in Ireland.

For my very loving Brother, Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley in Hampshire: These.

DEAR BROTHER, Carrick, 2d April, 1650.

For me to write unto you the state of our affairs here were more indeed than I have leisure well to do; and therefore I hope you do not expect it from me; seeing when I write to the Parliament I usually am, as becomes me, very particular with them; and usually from thence the knowledge thereof is spread.

Only this let me say, which is the best intelligence to Friends that are truly Christian: The Lord is pleased still to vouchsafe us His presence, and to prosper His own work in our hands;—which to us is the more eminent because truly we are a company of poor weak worthless creatures. Truly our work is neither from our own brains nor from our courage and strength: but we follow the Lord who goeth before, and gather what He scattereth, that so all may appear to be from Him.

The taking of the City of Kilkenny hath been one of our last works; which indeed I believe hath been a great discomposing the Enemy—it's so much in their bowels. We have taken many considerable places lately, without much loss. What can we say to these things! If God be for us, who can be against us? Who can fight against the Lord and prosper? Who can resist His will? The Lord keep us in His love.

I desire your prayers; your Family is often in mine. I rejoice to hear how it hath pleased the Lord to deal with my daughter.[2] The Lord bless her, and sanctify all His dispensations to them and us. I have committed my Son to you; I pray counsel him. Some Letters I

[1] Antea, p. 347.

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 78-81).

[2] In a hopeful way, I conclude! Richard's first child, according to Noble's registers, was not born till 3d November, 1652 (Noble, i. 189); a boy, who died within three weeks. Noble's registers, as we shall soon see, are very defective.

have lately had from him have a good savour: the Lord treasure up grace there, that out of that treasury he may bring forth good things.

Sir, I desire my very entire affection may be presented to my dear Sister, my Cousin Ann and the rest of my Cousins,—and to idle Dick Norton when you see him. Sir, I rest,

Your most loving Brother,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER CXIX.

For my beloved Son, Richard Cromwell, Esquire, at Hursley in Hampshire: These.

DICK CROMWELL, Carrick, 2nd April, 1650.

I take your Letters kindly: I like expressions when they come plainly from the heart, and are not strained nor affected.

I am persuaded it's the Lord's mercy to place you where you are: I wish you may own it and be thankful, fulfilling all relations to the glory of God. Seek the Lord and His face continually:—let this be the business of your life and strength: and let all things be subservient and in order to this! You cannot find nor behold the face of God but in Christ; therefore labour to know God in Christ; which the Scripture makes to be the sum of all, even Life Eternal. Because the true knowledge is not literal or speculative; 'no,' but inward; transforming the mind to it. It's uniting to, and *participating of*, the Divine Nature (*Second Peter*, i. 4): 'That by these ye might be partakers of the Divine Nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.' It's such a *knowledge* as Paul speaks of (*Philippians*, iii. 8-10): 'Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord. For whom I have suffered the loss of all things; and do count them but dung That I may win Christ, and be found in Him,—not having mine own righteousness which is of the Law, but that which is through the Faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by Faith;—that I may know Him, and the power of His Resurrection, and the fellowship of His Sufferings; being made conformable unto His death.'[1] How little of this knowledge is among us! My weak prayers shall be for you.

Take heed of an unactive vain spirit! Recreate yourself with Sir Walter Raleigh's History: it's a Body of History; and will add much more to your understanding than fragments of Story.—Intend[2] to understand the Estate I have settled: it's your concernment to know it all, and how it stands. I have heretofore suffered much by too much trusting others. I know my Brother Mayor will be helpful to you in all this.

You will think, perhaps, I need not advise you To love your Wife! The Lord teach you how to do it;—or else it will be done ill-favouredly. Though Marriage be no instituted Sacrament, yet where the undefiled bed is, and love, this union aptly resembles 'that of' Christ and His

* Harris, p. 512.

[1] These sentences,—well known to Oliver; familiar to him in their phraseology, and in their sense too: and never to be *finally* forgotten by the earnest-hearted of the Sons of Men,—are not quoted in the Original, but merely indicated

[2] Old word for "endeavour."

Church. If *you* can truly love your Wife, what 'love' doth Christ bear to His Church and every poor soul therein,—who "gave Himself" for it and to it!——Commend me to your Wife; tell her I entirely love her, and rejoice in the goodness of the Lord to her. I wish her every-way fruitful. I thank her for her loving Letter.

I have presented my love to my Sister and Cousin Ann, &c. in my Letter to my Brother Mayor. I would not have him alter his affairs because of my debt. My purse is as his: my present thoughts are but To lodge such a sum for my two little Girls;—it's in his hand as well as anywhere. I shall not be wanting to accommodate him to his mind; I would not have him solicitous.—Dick, the Lord bless you every way. I rest,

Your loving Father,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

In the end of this month, "the President Frigate," President Bradshaw Frigate, sails from Milford Haven "to attend his Excellency's pleasure," and bring him home if he see good to come. He has still one storm to do there first; that of Clonmel, where "Two-thousand foot, all Ulster men," are gathered for a last struggle;—the death-agony of this War, after which it will fairly die, and be buried. A very fierce storm, and fire-whirlwind of last agony; whereof take this solid account by an eye-witness and hand-actor; and so leave this part of our subject. The date is 10th May, 1650; "a Letter from Clonmel in Ireland:"

"Worthy Sir,—Yesterday," Thursday, 9th May, "we stormed Clonmel: in which work both officers and soldiers did as much and more than could be expected. We had, with our guns, made a breach in their works;—where, after an hot fight, we gave back a while; but presently charged up to the same ground again. But the Enemy had made themselves exceeding strong, by double-works and traverse, which were worse to enter than the breach; when we came up to it, they had cross-works, and were strongly flanked from the houses within their works. The Enemy defended themselves against us that day, until towards the evening, our men all the while keeping up close to their breach; and many on both sides were slain." The fierce death-wrestle, in the breaches here, lasted four hours: so many hours of hot storm and continuous tug of war, "and many men were slain." "At night, the Enemy drew out, on the other side, and marched away undiscovered to us; and the Inhabitants of Clonmel sent out for a parley. Upon which, Articles were agreed on, before we knew the Enemy was gone. After signing of the Conditions, we discovered the Enemy to be gone; and, very early this morning, pursued them; and fell upon their rear of stragglers, and killed above 200,—besides those we slew in the storm. We entered Clonmel this morning, and have kept our Conditions with them. The place is considerable; and very advantageous to the re-

* *Memoirs of the Protector Oliver Cromwell*, by Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, a Descendant of the Family (London, 1822), i. 369. An incorrect, dull, insignificant Book; contains this Letter, and one or two others, "in possession of the Cromwell Family."—Another Descendant, Thomas Cromwell, Esquire's *Oliver Cromwell and his Times* (London, 1821), is of a vaporous, gesticulative, dull-*aërial*, still more insignificant character; and contains nothing that is not common elsewhere

ducing of these parts wholly to the Parliament of England."[1] Whitlocke has heard by other Letters, "That they found in Clonmel the stoutest Enemy this Army had ever met in Ireland; and that there was never seen so hot a storm of so long continuance, and so gallantly defended, either in England or Ireland."[2]

The Irish Commander here was Hugh O'Neil, a kinsman of Owen Roe's:—vain he too, this new brave O'Neil! It is a lost Cause. It is a cause he has not yet seen into the secret of, and cannot prosper in. Fiery fighting cannot prosper in it; no, there needs something other first, which has never yet been done! Let the O'Neil go elsewhither, with his fighting talent; here it avails nothing, and less. To the surrendered Irish Officers the Lord Lieutenant granted numerous permissions to embody regiments, and go abroad with them into any Country not at war with England. Some "Five-and-Forty Thousand" *Kurisees*, or whatever name they had, went in this way to France, to Spain, and fought there far off; and their own land had peace.

The Lord Lieutenant would fain have seen Waterford surrender before he went: but new Letters arrive from the Parliament; affairs in Scotland threaten to become pressing. He appoints Ireton his Deputy, to finish the business here; rapidly makes what survey of Munster, what adjustment of Ireland, military and civil, is possible;—steps on board the President Frigate, in the last days of May, and spreads sail for England. He has been some nine months in Ireland; leaves a very handsome spell of work done there.

At Bristol, after a rough passage, the Lord Lieutenant is received with all the honours and acclamations, "the great guns firing thrice;" hastens up to London, where, on Friday 31st May, all the world is out to welcome him. Fairfax, and chief Officers, and Members of Parliament, with solemn salutation, on Hounslow Heath: from Hounslow Heath to Hyde Park, where are Trainbands and Lord Mayors; on to Whitehall and the Cockpit, where are better than these,—it is one wide tumult of salutation, congratulation, artillery-volleying, human shouting; —Heroworship after a sort, not the best sort. It was on this occasion that Oliver said, or is reported to have said, when some sycophantic person observed, "What a crowd come out to see your Lordship's triumph!"—"Yes, but if it were to see me hanged, how many would there be!"[3]—

Such is what the Irish common people still call the "Curse of Cromwell;" this is the summary of his work in that country. The remains of the War were finished out by Ireton, by Ludlow: Ireton died of fever, at Limerick, in the end of the second year;[4] and solid Ludlow, who had been with him for some ten months, succeeded. The ulterior arrangements for Ireland were those of the Commonwealth Parliament and the proper Official Persons; not specially Oliver's arrangements,

[1] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 81). [2] Whitlocke, p. 441.
[3] Newspapers (in Kimber, p. 148; Whitlocke, p. 441).
[4] 26 November, 1651 (Wood *in vace*); Ludlow had arrived in January of the same year (Memoirs, i. 322, 332, &c.).

though of course he remained a chief authority in that matter, and nothing could well be done that he with any emphasis deliberately condemned.

There goes a wild story, which owes its first place in History to Clarendon, I think, who is the author of many such, How the Parliament at one time had decided to "exterminate" all the Irish population; and then, finding this would not quite answer, had contented itself with packing them all off into the Province of Connaught, there to live upon the moorlands; and *so* had pacified the Sister Island.[1] Strange rumours no doubt were afloat in the Council of Kilkenny, in the Conventicle of Clonmacnoise, and other such quarters, and were kept up for very obvious purposes in those days; and my Lord of Clarendon at an after date, seeing Puritanism hung on the gallows and tumbled in heaps in St. Margaret's, thought it safe to write with considerable latitude respecting its procedure. My Lord had, in fact, the story all his own way for about a hundred and fifty years; and, during that time, has set afloat through vague heads a great many things. His authority is rapidly sinking; and will now probably sink deeper than even it deserves.

The real procedure of the Puritan Commonwealth towards Ireland is not a matter of conjecture, or of report by Lord Clarendon; the documentary basis and scheme of it still stands in black-on-white and can be read by all persons.[2] In this Document the reader will find, set forth in authentic business-form, a Scheme of Settlement somewhat different from that of "extermination;" which, if he be curious in that matter, he ought to consult. First, it appears by this Document, "all husbandmen, ploughmen, labourers, artificers and others of the meaner sort" of the Irish Nation are to be,—not exterminated; no, but rendered exempt from punishment and question, as to these Eight Years of blood and misery now ended: which is a very considerable exception from the Clarendon Scheme! Next, as to the Ringleaders, the rebellious Landlords, and Papist Aristocracy; as to these also, there is a carefully graduated scale of punishments established, that punishment and guilt may in some measure correspond. All that can be proved to have been concerned in the Massacre of Forty-one; for these, and for certain other persons of the turncoat species, whose names are given, there shall be no pardon:—"extermination," actual death on the gallows, or perpetual banishment and confiscation for these; but not without legal inquiry and due trial first had, for these or for any one. Then certain others, who have been in arms at certain dates aginst the Parliament, but not concerned in the Massacre: these are declared to have forfeited their estates; but lands to the value of one-third of the same, as a modicum to live upon, shall be assigned them, where the Parliament thinks safest,—in the moorlands of Connaught, as it turned out. Then another class, who are not open Papists and have *not* manifested their good affection to the Parliament: these are to forfeit one-third of their estates; and continue quiet at their peril. Such is the Document; which was regularly acted on; fulfilled with as much exactness as the

[1] Continuation of Clarendon's Life (Oxford, 1761), pp. 119. &c. &c.
[2] Scobell, Part ii. p. 197 (12 August, 1652); see also p. 317 (27 June, 1656).

case, now in the hands of very exact men, admitted of. The Catholic Aristocracy of Ireland have to undergo this fate, for their share in the late miseries; this and no other: and as for all "ploughmen, husbandmen, artificers and people of the meaner sort," they are to live quiet where they are, and have no questions asked.

In this way, not in the way of "extermination," was Ireland settled by the Puritans. Five-and-forty thousand armed "kurisees" are fighting, not without utility we hope, far off in foreign parts. Incurably turbulent ringleaders of revolt are sent to the moorlands of Connaught. Men of the Massacre, where they can be convicted, of which some instances occur, are hanged. The mass of the Irish Nation lives quiet under a *new* Land Aristocracy; new and in several particulars very much improved indeed: under these lives now the mass of the Irish Nation; ploughing, delving, hammering: with their wages punctually paid them; with the truth spoken to them, and the truth done to them, so as they had never before seen it since they were a Nation! Clarendon himself admits that Ireland flourished, to an unexampled extent, under this arrangement. One can very well believe it. What is to hinder poor Ireland from flourishing, if you will do the truth to it and speak the truth, instead of doing the falsity and speaking the falsity?

Ireland, under this arrangement, would have grown up gradually into a sober diligent drabcoloured population; developing itself, most probably, in some form of Calvinistic Protestantism. For there was hereby a Protestant *Church* of Ireland, of the most irrefragable nature, preaching daily in all its actions and procedure a real Gospel of Veracity, of piety, of fair dealing and good order to all men; and certain other "Protestant Churches of Ireland," and unblessed real-imaginary Entities, of which the human soul is getting weary, had of a surety never found footing there! But the Ever-blessed Restoration came upon us. All that arrangement was torn up by the roots; and Ireland was appointed to develop itself as we have seen. Not in the drabcoloured Puritan way;—in what other way is still a terrible dubiety, to itself and to us! It will be by some Gospel of Veracity, I think, when the Heavens are pleased to send such. This "Curse of Cromwell," so-called, is the only Gospel of that kind I can yet discover to have ever been fairly afoot there.

PART VI.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

1650-1651.

THE Scotch People, the first beginners of this grand Puritan Revolt, which we may define as an attempt to bring the Divine Law of the Bible into actual practice in men's affairs on the Earth, are still one and all resolute for that object; but they are getting into sad difficulties as to realising it. Not easy to realise such a thing: besides true will, there need heroic gifts, the highest that Heaven gives, for realising it! Gifts which have not been vouchsafed the Scotch People at present. The

letter of their Covenant presses heavy on these men ; traditions, formulas, dead letters of many things press heavy on them. On the whole, they too are but what we call Pedants in conduct, not Poets : the sheepskin record failing them, and old use-and-wont ending, they cannot farther ; they look into a sea of troubles, shoreless, starless, on which there seems no navigation possible.

The faults or misfortunes of the Scotch People, in their Puritan business, are many : but properly their grand fault is this, That they have produced for it no sufficiently heroic man among them. No man that has an eye to see beyond the letter and the rubric ; to discern, across many consecrated rubrics of the Past, the inarticulate divineness of the Present and the Future, and dare all perils in the faith of that ! With Oliver Cromwell born a Scotchman ; with a Hero King and a unanimous Hero Nation at his back, it might have been far otherwise. With Oliver born Scotch, one sees not but the whole world might have become Puritan ; might have struggled, yet a long while, to fashion itself according to that divine Hebrew Gospel,—to the exclusion of other Gospels not Hebrew, which also are divine, and will have their share of fulfilment here !—But of such issue there is no danger. Instead of inspired Olivers, glowing with direct insight and noble daring, we have Argyles, Loudons, and narrow, more or less opaque persons of the Pedant species. Committees of Estates, Committees of Kirks, much tied up in formulas, both of them : a bigoted Theocracy *without* the inspiration ; which is a very hopeless phenomenon indeed ! The Scotch People are all willing, eager of heart : asking, Whitherward ? But the Leaders stand aghast at the new forms of danger ; and in a vehement discrepant manner some calling, Halt ! others calling, Backward ! others, Forward !—huge confusion ensues. Confusion which will need an Oliver to repress it : to bind it up in tight manacles, if not otherwise ; and say, "There, sit there and consider thyself a little !"—

The meaning of the Scotch Covenant was, That God's divine Law of the Bible should be put in practice in these Nations : verily *it*, and not the Four Surplices at Allhallowtide, or any Formula of cloth or sheepskin here or elsewhere which merely pretended to be it : but then the Covenant says expressly, there is to be a Stuart King in the business ; we cannot do without our Stuart King ! Given a divine Law of the Bible on one hand, and a Stuart King, Charles First or Charles Second, on the other : alas, did History ever present a more irreducible case of equations in this world ? I pity the poor Scotch Pedant Governors ; still more the poor Scotch People who had no other to follow ! Nay, as for that, the People did get through, in the end ; such was their indomitable pious constancy, and other worth and fortune : and Presbytery became a Fact among them, to the whole length possible for it ; not without endless results. But for the poor Governors this irreducible case proved, as it were, fatal ! They have never since, if we will look narrowly at it, governed Scotland, or even well known that they were there to attempt governing it. Once they lay on Dunse Hill, "each Earl with his Regiment of Tenants round him," *For Christ's Crown and Covenant* : and never since had they any noble National act which it was given them to do. Growing desperate of

Christ's Crown and Covenant, they, in the next generation when our *Annus Mirabilis* arrived, hurried up to Court, looking out for other Crowns and Covenants; deserted Scotland and her Cause, somewhat basely; took to *booing* and *booing* for Causes of their own unhappy mortals;—and Scotland and all Causes that were Scotland's have had to go on very much without *them* ever since! Which is a very fatal issue indeed, as I reckon;—and the time for settlement of accounts about it, which could not fail always, and seems now fast drawing nigh, looks very ominous to me. For in fact there is no creature more fatal than your Pedant; safe as he esteems himself, the terriblest issues spring from him. Human crimes are many: but the crime of being deaf to the God's voice, of being blind to all but parchments and antiquarian rubrics when the Divine Handwriting is abroad on the sky,—certainly there is no crime which the Supreme Powers do more terribly avenge!

But leaving all that,—the poor Scotch Governors, we remark, in that old crisis of theirs, have come upon the desperate expedient of getting Charles Second to adopt the Covenant the best he can. Whereby our parchment formula is indeed saved; but the divine fact has gone terribly to the wall! The Scotch Governors hope otherwise. By treaties at Jersey, treaties at Breda, they and the hard Law of Want together have constrained this poor young Stuart to their detested Covenant; as the Frenchman said, they have "compelled him to adopt it voluntarily." A fearful crime, thinks Oliver, and think we. How dare you enact such mummery under high Heaven! exclaims he. You will prosecute Malignants; and, with the aid of some poor varnish, transparent even to yourselves, you adopt into your bosom the Chief Malignant? My soul come not into your secret; mine honour be not united unto you!—

In fact, his new Sacred Majesty is actually under way for the Scotch court; will become a Covenanted King there. Of himself a likely enough young man;—very unfortunate he too. Satisfactorily descended from the Steward of Scotland and Elizabeth Muir of Caldwell (whom some have called an improper female);[1] satisfactory in this respect, but in others most unsatisfactory. A somewhat loose young man; has Buckingham, Wilmot and Company, at one hand of him, and painful Mr. Livingston and Presbyterian ruling-elders at the other; is hastening now, as a Covenanted King, towards such a Theocracy as we described. Perhaps the most anomalous phenomenon ever produced by Nature and Art working together in this World!—He had sent Montrose before him, poor young man, to try if war and force could effect nothing; whom instantly the Scotch Nation took, and tragically hanged.[2] They now, winking hard at that transaction, proffer the poor young man their Covenant; compel him to sign it voluntarily, and be Covenanted King over them.

The result of all which for the English Commonwealth cannot be doubtful. What Declarations, Papers, Protocols, passed on the occasion,—numerous, flying thick between Edinburgh and London in

[1] Horseloads of Jacobite, Anti-Jacobite Pamphlets; Goodall, Father Innes, &c. &c. How it was settled, I do not recollect.

[2] Details of the business, in Balfour, iv. 9-22.

late months,—shall remain unknown to us. The Commonwealth has brought Cromwell home from Ireland; and got forces ready for him: that is the practical outcome of it. The Scotch also have got forces ready; will either invade us, or (which we decide to be preferable) be invaded by us.[1] Cromwell must now take up the Scotch coil of troubles, as he did the Irish, and deal with that too. Fairfax, as we heard, was unwilling to go; Cromwell, urging the Council of State to second him, would fain persuade Fairfax; gets him still nominated Commander-in-chief; but cannot persuade him;—will himself have to be Commander-in-chief, and go.

In Whitlocke and Ludlow[2] there is record of earnest intercessions, solemn conference held with Fairfax in Whitehall, duly prefaced by prayer to Heaven; intended on Cromwell's part to persuade Fairfax that it is his duty again to accept the chief command, and lead us into Scotland. Fairfax, urged by his Wife, a Vere of the fighting Veres, and given to Presbyterianism, dare not and will not go;—sends "Mr. Rushworth, his Secretary," on the morrow, to give up his Commission,[3] that Cromwell himself may be named General-in-chief. In this preliminary business, says Ludlow, "Cromwell acted his part so to the life that I really thought he wished Fairfax to go." Wooden-headed that I was, I had reason to alter that notion by and by!

Wooden Ludlow gives note of another very singular interview he himself had with Cromwell, "a little after," in those same days or hours. Cromwell whispered him in the House; they agreed "to meet that afternoon in the Council of State" in Whitehall, and there withdraw into a private room to have a little talk together. Oliver had cast his eye on Ludlow as a fit man for Ireland, to go and second Ireton there; he took him, as by appointment, into a private room, "the Queen's Guard-chamber" to wit; and there very largely expressed himself. He testified the great value he had for me, Ludlow; combatted my objections to Ireland; spake somewhat against Lawyers, what a tortuous ungodly jungle English Law was; spake of the good that might be done by a good and brave man;—spake of the great Providences of God now abroad on the Earth; in particular "talked for almost an hour upon the Hundred-and-tenth Psalm;" which to me, in my solid wooden head, seemed extremely singular![4]

Modern readers, not in the case of Ludlow, will find this fact illustrative of Oliver. Before setting out on the Scotch Expedition, and just on the eve of doing it, we too will read that Psalm of Hebrew David's, which had become English Oliver's: we will fancy in our minds, not without reflections and emotions, the largest soul in England looking at this God's World with prophet's earnestness through that Hebrew Word,—two Divine phenomena accurately correspondent for Oliver; the one accurately the prophetic symbol, and articulate interpretation of the other. As if the Silences had at length found utterance, and this was their Voice from out of old Eternity:

[1] Commons Journals, 26 June, 1650.
[2] Whitlocke, pp. 444-6 (25 June, 1650); Ludlow. i. 317.
[3] Commons Journals, *ubi supra*. [4] Ludlow, i. 319.

"The Lord said unto my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool. The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies. Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power; in the beauties of holiness, from the womb of the morning: thou hast the dew of thy youth. The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek. The Lord, at thy right hand, shall strike through Kings in the day of his wrath. He shall judge among the Heathen; he shall fill the places with the dead bodies; he shall wound the heads over many countries. He shall drink of the brook in the way: therefore shall he lift up the head."

In such spirit goes Oliver Cromwell to the Wars. "A god-intoxicated man," as Novalis elsewhere phrases it. I have asked myself, if anywhere in Modern European History, or even in Ancient Asiatic, there was found a man practising this mean World's affairs with a heart more filled by the Idea of the Highest? Bathed in the Eternal Splendours,—it is so he walks our dim Earth: this man is one of few. He is projected with a terrible force out of the Eternities, and in the Times and their arenas there is nothing that can withstand him. It is great;—to us it is tragic; a thing that should strike us dumb! My brave one, thy old noble Prophecy *is* divine; older than Hebrew David; old as the Origin of Man;—and shall, though in wider ways than thou supposest, be fulfilled!—

LETTERS CXX.—CXXV.

HOOKE and his small business, in rapid public times, will not detain us. Humphry Hooke, Alderman of Bristol, was elected to the Long Parliament for that City in 1640; but being found to have had concern in "Monopolies," was, like a number of others, expelled, and sent home again under a cloud. The "service" he did at Bristol Storm, though somewhat needing "concealment," ought to rehabilitate him a little in the charity, at least in the pity, of the Well-affected mind. At all events, the conditions made with him must be kept;—and we doubt not, were.

LETTER CXX.

'*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons: These.*'

MR. SPEAKER, London, 20th June, 1650.

When we lay before Bristol in the Year 1645, we considered the season of the year, the strength of the place, and of what importance the reducement thereof would be to the good of the Commonwealth, and accordingly applied ourselves to all possible means for the accomplishment of the same; which received its answerable effect. At which time, for something considerable done in order to that end, by Humphry Hooke, Alderman of that place,—which, for many reasons, is desired to be concealed,—his Excellency the Lord General Fairfax and myself gave him an Engagement under our hands and seals, That he should be secured and protected, by the authority of the Parliament, in the enjoyment of his life, liberty and estate, as freely as in former times, and as any other person under the obedience of the Parliament:

notwithstanding any past acts of hostility, or other thing done by him, in opposition to the Parliament or assistance of the Enemy. Which Engagement, with a Certificate of divers godly persons of that City, concerning the performance of his part thereof, is ready to be produced.

I understand, that lately an Order is issued out to sequester him, whereby he is called to Composition. I thought it meet therefore to give the honourable Parliament this account, that he may be preserved from anything of that nature. For the performance of which, in order to the good of the Commonwealth, we stand engaged in our faith and honour. I leave it to you; and remain,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

ON *Wednesday, 26th June*, 1650, the Act appointing "That Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, be constituted Captain-General and Commander-in-chief of all the Forces raised or to be raised by authority of Parliament within the Commonwealth of England"[1] was passed. "Whereupon," says Whitlocke, "great ceremonies and congratulations of the new General were made to him from all sorts of people; and he went on roundly with his business." Roundly, rapidly; for in three days more, on Saturday the 29th, "the Lord General Cromwell went out of London towards the North: and the news of him marching northward much startled the Scots."[2]

He has Lambert for Major-General, Cousin Whalley for Commissary-General; and among his Colonels are Overton whom we knew at Hull, Pride whom we have seen in Westminster Hall: and a taciturn man, much given to chewing tobacco, whom we have transiently seen in various places, Colonel George Monk by name.[3] An excellent officer; listens to what you say, answers often by a splash of brown juice merely, but punctually does what is doable of it. Pudding-headed Hodgson the Yorkshire Captain is also there; from whom perhaps we may glean a rough lucent-point or two. The Army, as my Lord General attracts it gradually from the right and left on his march northward, amounts at Tweedside to some Sixteen-thousand horse and foot.[4] Rushworth goes with him as Secretary; historical John; having now done with Fairfax: —but, alas, his Papers for this Period are all lost to us: it was not safe to print them with the others; and they are lost! The *Historical Collections*, with their infinite rubbish and their modicum of jewel, cease at the Trial of the King; leaving us, fallen into far worse hands, to repent of our impatience, and regret the useful John!

The following Letters, without commentary, which stingy space will not permit, must note the Lord General's progress for us as they can; and illuminate with here and there a rude gleam of direct light at first-hand, an old scene very obsolete, confused, unexplored and dim for us.

LETTER CXXI.

DOROTHY CROMWELL, we are happy to find, has a "little brat:"—but

* Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 222.)

1 Commons Journals, *in die.*

2 Whitlocke, pp. 446, 7.

3 *Life of Monk*, by Gumble, his Chaplain

4 Train, 690; horse, 5,415; foot, 10,249; *in toto*, 16,354 (Cromwelliana, p. 85).

the poor little thing must have died soon; in Noble's inexact lists there is no trace of its ever having lived. The Lord General has got into Northumberland. He has a good excuse for being "silent this way"—the way of Letters.

For my very loving Brother, Richard Mayor, Esquire, at his House at Hursley: These.

DEAR BROTHER, Alnwick, 17th July, 1650.

The exceeding crowd of business I had at London is the best excuse I can make for my silence this way. Indeed, Sir, my heart beareth me witness I want no affection to you or yours; you are all often in my poor prayers.

I should be glad to hear how the little Brat doth. I could chide both Father and Mother for their neglects of me: I know my Son is idle, but I had better thoughts of Doll. I doubt now her husband hath spoiled her; pray tell her so from me. If I had as good leisure as they, I should write sometimes. If my Daughter be breeding, I will excuse her; but not for her nursery! The Lord bless them. I hope you give my Son good counsel; I believe he needs it. He is in the dangerous time of his age, and it's a very vain world. O how good it is to close with Christ betimes; there is nothing else worth the looking after. I beseech you call upon him,—I hope you will discharge my duty and your own love: you see how I am employed. I need pity. I know what I feel. Great place and business in the world is not worth the looking after: I should have no comfort in mine but that my hope is in the Lord's presence. I have not sought these things; truly I have been called unto them by the Lord; and therefore am not without some assurance that He will enable His poor worm and weak servant to do His will, and to fulfil my generation. In this I desire your prayers. Desiring to be lovingly remembered to my dear Sister, to our Son and Daughter, to my Cousin Ann and the good Family, I rest,

Your very affectionate Brother,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

On *Monday, 22d July*, the Army, after due rendezvousing and reviewing, passed through Berwick; and encamped at Mordington across the Border, where a fresh stay of two days is still necessary. Scotland is bare of resources for us. That night, "the Scotch beacons were all set on fire; the men fled, and drove away their cattle." Mr. Bret his Excellency's Trumpeter returns from Edinburgh without symptom of pacification. "The Clergy represent us to the people as if we were monsters of the world." "Army of Sectaries and Blasphemers," is the received term for us among the Scots.[1]

Already on the march hitherward, and now by Mr. Bret in an official way, have due manifestos been promulgated: Declaration *To all that are saints and Partakers of the Faith of God's elect in Scotland*, and Proclamation *To the People of Scotland* in general. Asking of the mistaken *People*, in mild terms, Did you not see us, and try us, what kind of men we were, when we came among you two years ago? Did you

* Harris, p. 513: one of the Pusey stock.
[1] Balfour, iv. 67. 100, &c.: "Cromwell the Blasphemer" (ib. 88).

find us plunderers, murderers, monsters of the world? "Whose ox have we stolen?" To the mistaken *Saints of God in Scotland*, again, the Declaration testifies and argues, in a grand earnest way, That in Charles Stuart and his party there can be no salvation; that *we* seek the real substance of the Covenant, which it is perilous to desert for the mere outer form thereof;—on the whole that we are not sectaries and blasphemers; and that it goes against our heart to hurt a hair of any sincere servant of God.—Very earnest Documents; signed by John Rushworth in the name of General and Officers; often printed and reprinted.[1] They bear Oliver's sense in every feature of them; but are not distinctly of his composition: wherefore, as space grows more and more precious, and Oliver's sense will elsewhere sufficiently appear, we omit them.

"The Scots," says Whitlocke,[2] "are all gone with their goods towards Edinburgh, by command of the Estates of Scotland, upon penalty if they did not remove; so that mostly all the men are gone. But the wives stay behind; and some of them do bake and brew, to provide bread and drink for the English Army." The public functionaries "have told the people, 'That the English Army intends to put all the men to the sword, and to thrust hot irons through the women's breasts;' —which much terrified them, till once the General's Proclamations were published." And now the wives do stay behind, and brew and bake,—poor wives!

That Monday night while we lay at Mordington, with hard accommodation out of doors and in,—my puddingheaded friend informs me of a thing. The General has made a large Discourse to the Officers and Army, now that we are across; speaks to them "as a Christian and a Soldier, To be doubly and trebly diligent, to be wary and worthy, for sure enough we have work before us! But have we not had God's blessing hitherto? Let us go on faithfully, and hope for the like still!"[3] The Army answered "with acclamations," still audible to me.—Yorkshire Hodgson continues:

"Well; that night we pitched at Mordington, about the House. Our Officers," General and Staff Officers, "hearing a great shout among the soldiers, looked out of window. They spied a soldier with a Scotch *kirn*" (churn) "on his head. Some of them had been purveying abroad, and had found a vessel filled with Scotch cream: bringing the reversion of it to their tents, some got dishfuls, and some hatfuls; and the cream being now low in the vessel, one fellow would have a modest drink, and so lifts the kirn to his mouth: but another canting it up, it falls over his head; and the man is lost in it, all the cream trickles down his apparel, and his head fast in the tub! This was a merriment to the Officers; as Oliver loved an innocent jest."

A week after, we find the General very serious; writing thus to the Lord President Bradshaw.

LETTER CXXII.

"COPPERSPATH," of which the General here speaks, is the country pro-

[1] Newspapers (in Parliamentary History vix 298, 310); Commons Journals, 19 July, 1650.
[2] p 450. [3] Hodgson, p. 130; Whitlocke, p. 450.

nunciation of Cockburnspath; name of a wild rock-and-river chasm, through which the great road goes, some miles to the eastward of Dunbar. Of which we shall hear again. A very wild road at that time, as may still be seen. The ravine is now spanned by a beautiful Bridge called *Pease Bridge*, or Path's Bridge, which pleasure-parties go to visit.—The date of this Letter, in all the old Newspapers, is 30th July; and doubtless in the Original too;[1] but the real day, as appears by the context, is Wednesday 31st.

To the Right Honourable the Lord President of the Council of State: These.

MY LORD, Musselburgh, 30th July, 1650.

We marched from Berwick upon Monday, being the 22d of July; and lay at my Lord Mordington's house, Monday night, Tuesday, and Wednesday. On Thursday we marched to Copperspath; On Friday to Dunbar, where we got some small pittance from our ships; from whence we marched to Haddington.

On the Lord's day, hearing that the Scottish Army meant to meet us at Gladsmoor, we laboured to possess the Moor before them; and beat our drums very early in the morning. But when we came there, no considerable body of the Army appeared. Whereupon Fourteen-hundred horse, under the command of Major-General Lambert and Colonel Whalley, were sent as a vanguard to Musselburgh, to see likewise if they could find out and attempt any thing upon the Enemy; I marching in the heel of them with the residue of the Army. Our party encountered with some of their horse; but they could not abide us. We lay at Musselburgh, encamped close, that night; the Enemy's Army lying between Edinburgh and Leith, about four miles from us, entrenched by a Line flankered from Edinburgh to Leith; the guns also from Leith scouring most part of the Line, so that they lay very strong.

Upon Monday, 29th instant, we were resolved to draw up to them, to see if they would fight with us. And when we came upon the place, we resolved to get our cannons as near them as we could; hoping thereby to annoy them. We likewise perceived that they had some force upon a Hill that overlooks Edinburgh, from whence we might be annoyed; 'and' did resolve to send up a party to possess the said Hill;—which prevailed: but, upon the whole, we did find that their Army were not easily to be attempted. Whereupon we lay still all the said day; which proved to be so sore a day and night of rain as I have seldom seen, and greatly to our disadvantage; the Enemy having enough to cover them, and we nothing at all considerable.[2] Our soldiers did abide this difficulty with great courage and resolution, hoping they should speedily come to fight. In the morning, the ground being very wet, 'and' our provisions scarce, we resolved to draw back to our quarters at Musselburgh, there to refresh and revictual.

[1] "Letter from the General dated 30° Julii" (Commons Journals, vi. 451).

[2] "Near a little village named, I think, Lichnagarie,"—means, Lang Niddery (Hodgson, p. 132); the *Niddery* near Cuddingston, still deservedly called *Lang* by the people, though mapmakers append the epithet elsewhere.

The Enemy, when we drew off, fell upon our rear; and put them into some little disorder: but our bodies of horse being in some readiness, came to a grabble with them;—where indeed there was a gallant and hot dispute; the Major-General[1] and Colonel Whalley being in the rear; and the Enemy drawing out great bodies to second their first affront. Our men charged them up to the very trenches, and beat them in. The Major-General's horse was shot in the neck and head; himself run through the arm with a lance, and run into another place of his body,—was taken prisoner by the Enemy, but rescued immediately by Lieutenant Empson of my regiment. Colonel Whalley, who was then nearest to the Major-General, did charge very resolutely; and repulsed the Enemy, and killed divers of them upon the place, and took some prisoners, without any considerable loss. Which indeed did so amaze and quiet them, that we marched off to Musselburgh, but they dared not send out a man to trouble us. We hear their young King looked on upon all this, but was very ill satisfied to see their men do no better.

We came to Musselburgh that night; so tired and wearied for want of sleep, and so dirty by reason of the wetness of the weather, that we expected the Enemy would make an infall upon us. Which accordingly they did, between three and four of the clock this morning; with fifteen of their most select troops, under the command of Major-General Montgomery and Strahan, two champions of the Church:—upon which business there was great hope and expectation laid. The Enemy came on with a great deal of resolution; beat in our guards, and put a regiment of horse in some disorder: but our men, speedily taking the alarm, charged the Enemy; routed them, took many prisoners, killed a great many of them; did execution 'to' within a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh; and, I am informed, Strahan[2] was killed there, besides divers other Officers of quality. We took the Major to Strahan's regiment, Major Hamilton; a Lieutenant-Colonel, and divers other Officers, and persons of quality, whom yet we know not. Indeed this is a sweet beginning of your business, or rather the Lord's; and I believe is not very satisfactory to the Enemy, especially to the Kirk party. We did not lose any in this business, so far as I hear, but a Cornet; I do not hear of four men more. The Major-General will, I believe, within few days be well to take the field. And I trust this work, which is the Lord's, will prosper in the hands of His servants.

I did not think advisable to attempt upon the Enemy, lying as he doth: but surely this would sufficiently provoke him to fight if he had a mind to it. I do not think he is less than Six or Seven thousand horse, and Fourteen or Fifteen thousand foot. The reason, I hear, that they give out to their people why they do not fight us, is, Because they expect many bodies of men more out of the North of Scotland; which when they come, they give out they will then engage. But I believe they would rather tempt us to attempt them in their fastness, within which they are entrenched; or else hoping we shall famish for want of provis-

1 Lambert.

2 We shall hear of Strahan again, not "killed." This Montgomery is the Earl of Eglington's son Robert, of whom we heard before (Letter LXXII. p. 242), neither is he "slain," as will be seen by and by.

ions;—which is very likely to be, if we be not timely and fully supplied.

I remain,

My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' I understand since writing of this Letter, that Major-General Montgomery is slain.[1]

Cautious David Lesley lies thus within his Line "flankered" from Leith shore to the Calton Hill, with guns to "scour" it; with outposts or flying parties, as we see, stationed on the back slope of Salisbury Crags or Arthur's Seat; with all Edinburgh safe behind him, and indeed all Scotland safe behind him for supplies: and nothing can tempt him to come out. The factions and distractions of Scotland, and its Kirk Committees and State Committees, and poor Covenanted King and Courtiers, are many: but Lesley, standing steadily to his guns, persists here. His Army, it appears, is no great things of an Army: "altogether governed by the Committee of Estates and Kirk," snarls an angry *Un*covenanted Courtier, whom the said Committee has just ordered to take himself away again; "altogether governed by the Committee of Estates and Kirk," snarls he, "and they took especial care in their levies not to admit any *Malignants* or *Engagers*" (who had been in Hamilton's Engagement); "placing in command, for most part, Ministers' Sons, Clerks and other sanctified creatures, who hardly ever saw or heard of any sword but that of the spirit!"[2] The more reason for Lesley to lie steadily within his Line here. Lodged in "Bruchton Village," which means Broughton, now a part of Edinburgh New Town; there in a cautious solid manner lies Lesley; and lets Cromwell attempt upon him. It is his history, the military history of these two, for a month to come.

Meanwhile the General Assembly have not been backward with their Answer to the Cromwell Manifesto, or "Declaration of the English Army to all the Saints in Scotland," spoken of above. Nay, already while he lay at Berwick, they had drawn up an eloquent Counter-Declaration, and sent it to him; which he, again, has got "some godly Ministers" of his to declare against and reply to: the whole of which Declarations, Replies and Re-replies shall, like the primary Document itself, remain suppressed on the present occasion.[3] But along with this "Reply by some godly Ministers," the Lord General sends a Letter of his own, which is here:

[1] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 85, 6).
[2] Sir Edward Walker: Historical Discourses (London, 1705), p. 162.
[3] Titles of them, copies of several of them, in Parliamentary History, xix.

LETTER CXXIII.

To the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland; or, in case of their not sitting, To the Commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland: These.

SIRS, Musselburgh, 3d August, 1650.

Your *Answer to the Declaration of the Army* we have seen. Some godly Ministers with us did, at Berwick, compose this *Reply*;[1] which I thought fit to send you.

That you or we, in these great Transactions, answer the will and mind of God, it is only from His grace and mercy to us. And therefore, having said as in our Papers, we commit the issue thereof to Him who disposeth all things, assuring you that we have light and comfort increasing upon us, day by day; and are persuaded that, before it be long, the Lord will manifest His good pleasure, so that all shall see Him; and His People shall say, *This is the Lord's work, and it is marvellous in our eyes: this is the day that the Lord hath made; we will be glad and rejoice therein.*—Only give me leave to say, in a word, 'thus much:'

You take upon you to judge us in the things of our God, though you know us not,—though in the things we have said unto you, in that which is entitled the Army's Declaration, we have spoken our hearts as in the sight of the Lord who hath tried us. And by your hard and subtle words you have begotten prejudice in those who do too much, in matters of conscience,—wherein every soul is to answer for itself to God,—depend upon you. So that some have already followed you, to the breathing-out of their souls:[2] 'and' others continue still in the way wherein they are led by you,—we fear, to their own ruin.

And no marvel if you deal thus with us, when indeed you can find in your hearts to conceal from your own people the Papers we have sent you; who might thereby see and understand the bowels of our affections to them, especially to such among them as fear the Lord. Send as many of your Papers as you please amongst ours;[3] they have a free passage. I fear them not. What is of God in them, would it might be embraced and received!—One of them lately sent, directed *To the Under-officers and Soldiers in the English Army*, hath begotten from them this enclosed *Answer*;[4] which they desired me to send to you: not a crafty politic one, but a plain simple spiritual one;—*what* kind of one it is God knoweth, and God also will in due time make manifest.

[1] The Scotch "Answer" which "we have seen," dated Edinburgh, 22 July, 1650, "Answer unto the Declaration of the Army;" and then this English "Reply" to it now sent, entitled "*Vindication* of the Declaration of the Army:" in King's Pamphlets, small 4to. no. 475. sec. 15, (Printed, London, 16 August, 1650).

[2] In the Musselburgh Skirmish, &c.

[3] Our people.

[4] The Scotch Paper "To the Under-officers" &c. received on the last day of July, and close following on it, this "Answer" which it "hath begotten from them," addressed *To the People of Scotland (especially those among them that know and fear the Lord) from whom yesterday we received a Paper directed To the Under-officers, &c.*; of date "Musselburgh, 1 August, 1650," in King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 475, sec. 10 (Printed, London, 12 August, 1650). This *Answer* "by the Under-officers," a very pious and zealous Piece, seems to have found favour among the pious Scots, and to have circulated among them in Manuscript Copies. A most mutilated unintelligible Fragment, printed in *Analecta Scotica* (Edinburgh, 1834), ii. 271, as "a Proclamation by Oliver Cromwell," turns out to be in reality a fraction of *this* "Answer by the Under-officers:"—printed there from a "Copy evidently made at the time," evidently a most ruinous Copy, "and now in the possession of James Macknight, Esq."

And do we multiply these things,[1] as men; or do we them for the Lord Christ and His People's sake? Indeed we are not, through the grace of God, afraid of your numbers, nor confident in ourselves. We could,—I pray God you do not think we boast,—meet your Army, or what you have to bring against us. We have given,—humbly we speak it before our God, in whom all our hope is,—some proof that thoughts of that kind prevail not upon us. The Lord hath not hid His face from us since our approach so near unto you.

Your own guilt is too much for you to bear: bring not therefore upon yourselves the blood of innocent men,—deceived with pretences of King and Covenant; from whose eyes you hide a better knowledge! I am persuaded that divers of you, who lead the People, have laboured to build yourselves in these things; wherein you have censured others, and established yourselves "upon the Word of God." Is it therefore infallibly agreeable to the Word of God, all that *you* say? I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken. Precept may be upon precept, line may be upon line, and yet the Word of the Lord may be to some a Word of Judgment; that they may fall backward and be broken, and be snared and be taken![2] There may be a spiritual fulness, which the World may call drunkenness;[3] as in the second Chapter of the *Acts*. There may be, as well, a carnal confidence upon misunderstood and misapplied precepts, which may be called spiritual drunkenness. There may be a *Covenant* made with Death and Hell![2] I will not say yours was so. But judge if such things have a politic aim: To avoid the overflowing scourge;[2] or, To accomplish worldly interests? And if therein we[4] have confederated with wicked and carnal men, and have respect for them, or otherwise 'have drawn them in to associate with us, Whether this be a Covenant of God, and spiritual? Bethink yourselves; we hope we do.

I pray you read the 28th of Isaiah, from the fifth to the fifteenth verse. And do not scorn to know that it is the Spirit that quickens and giveth life.

The Lord give you and us understanding to do that which is well-pleasing in His sight. Committing you to the grace of God, I rest,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Here is the passage from Isaiah: I know not whether the General Assembly read it and laid it well to heart, or not, but it was worth their while,—and is worth our while too:

"In that day shall the Lord of Hosts be for a crown of glory, and for a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of His people. And for a spirit of judgment to him that sitteth in judgment, and for strength to them that turn the battle to the gate.

"But they also have erred through wine, and through strong drink are out of the way! The Priest and the Prophet have erred through strong drink; they are swallowed up of wine; they are out of the way through

[1] Papers and Declarations.
[2] Bible phrases.
[3] As you now do of us; while it is rather you that are "drunk."
[4] *i.e.*, you.
* Newspapers (in Parliamentary History, xix. 320-323).

strong drink. They err in vision, they stumble in judgment. For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness; so that there is no place clean.

"Whom shall He teach knowledge? Whom shall He make to understand doctrine? Them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts. For precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little and there a little. For with stammering lips and another tongue will He speak to this people. To whom He said, This is the rest wherewith ye may cause the weary to rest, and this is the refreshment;—yet they would not hear." No. "The Word of the Lord was unto them precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little, That they might go, and fall backward, and be broken and snared and taken!—Wherefore hear ye the Word of the Lord, ye scornful men that rule this people which is in Jerusalem!"

Yes, hear it, and not with the outward ear only, ye Kirk Committees, and Prophesying and Governing Persons everywhere: it may be important to you! If God have said it, if the Eternal Truth of things have said it, will it not need to be done, think you? Or will the doing some distracted shadow of it, some Covenanted Charles Stuart of it, suffice?—The Kirk Committee seems in a bad way.

David Lesley, however, what as yet is in their favour, continues within his Line; stands steadily to his guns; and the weather is wet; Oliver's provision is failing. This Letter to the Kirk was written on Friday: on the Monday following,[1] "about the 6th of August," as Major Hodgson dates it, the tempestuous state of the weather not permitting ship-stores to be landed at Musselburgh, Cromwell has to march his Army back to Dunbar, and there provision it. Great joy in the Kirk-and-Estates Committee thereupon: Lesley steadily continues in his place.

The famine among the Scots themselves, at Dunbar, is great; picking our horses' beans, eating our soldiers' leavings: "they are much enslaved to their Lords," poor creatures; almost destitute of private capital,—and ignorant of soap to a terrible extent![2] Cromwell distributes among them "pease and wheat to the value of £240." On the 12th he returns to Musselburgh; finds, as heavy Bulstrode spells it in good Scotch, with a friskiness we hardly looked for in him, That Lesley has commanded "The gude women should awe come away with their gear, and not stay to brew or bake, any of them for the English;"—which makes it a place more forlorn than before.[3] Oliver decides to encamp on the Pentland Hills, which lie on the other side of Edinburgh, overlooking the Fife and Stirling roads; and to try whether he cannot force Lesley to fight by cutting off his supplies. Here, in the meantime, is a Letter from Lesley himself; written in "Broughton Village," precisely while Oliver is on march towards the Pentlands:

"*For his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell.*

"Bruchton, 13th August, 1650.

"My Lord,—I am commanded by the Committee of Estates of this Kingdom, and desired by the Commissioners of the General Assembly

[1] Balfour iv. 89. [2] Whitlocke, p. 452. [3] Ibid, p. 453.

to send unto your Excellency this enclosed *Declaration*, as that which containeth the State of the Quarrel; wherein we are resolved, by the Lord's assistance, to fight your Army, when the Lord shall be pleased to call us thereunto. And as you have professed you will not conceal any of our Papers, I do desire that this *Declaration* may be made known to all the Officers of your Army. And so I rest,—your Excellency's most humble servant,—DAVID LESLEY."[1]

This Declaration, done by the Kirk, and endorsed by the Estates, we shall not on the present occasion make known, even though it is brief. The reader shall fancy it a brief emphatic disclaimer, on the part of Kirk and State, of their having anything to do with Malignants;—disclaimer in emphatic words, while the emphatic facts continue as they were. Distinct hope, however, is held out that the Covenanted King will testify openly his sorrow for his Father's Malignancies, and his own resolution for a quite other course. To which Oliver, from the slope of the Pentlands,[2] returns this answer:

LETTER CXXIV.

For the Right Honourable David Lesley, Lieutenant-General of the Scots Army: These.

From the Camp at Pentland Hills,
14th August, 1650.

SIR,

I received yours of the 13th instant; with the Paper you mentioned therein, enclosed,—which I caused to be read in the presence of so many Officers as could well be gotten together; to which your Trumpet can witness. We return you this answer. By which I hope, in the Lord, it will appear that we continue the same we have professed ourselves to the Honest People in Scotland; wishing to them as to our own souls; it being no part of our business to hinder any of them from worshipping God in that way they are satisfied in their consciences by the Word of God they ought, though different from us—but shall therein be ready to perform what obligation lies upon us by the Covenant.[3]

But that under the pretence of the Covenant, mistaken, and wrested from the most native intent and equity thereof, a King should be taken in by you, to be imposed upon us; and this 'be' called "the Cause of God and the Kingdom;" and this done upon "the satisfaction of God's People in both Nations," as is alleged,—together with a disowning of Malignants; although he[4] who is the head of them, in whom all their hope and comfort lies, be received; who, at this very instant, hath a Popish Army fighting for and under him in Ireland; hath Prince Rupert, a man who hath had his hand deep in the blood of many innocent men of England, now in the head of our Ships, stolen from us upon a Malignant account; hath the French and Irish ships daily making depredations on our coasts; and strong combinations by the Malignants in England, to raise Armies in our bowels, by virtue of his commissions, who hath of late issued out very many to that purpose:—How the

[1] Newspapers (in Parliamentary History, xix. 330). [2] "About Colinton" (Balfour, iv. 90).
[3] Ungrammatical, but intelligible and characteristic. [4] Charles Stuart.

'Godly' Interest you pretend you have received him upon, and the Malignant Interest in their ends and consequences 'all' centering in this man, can be secured, we cannot discern! And how we should believe that whilst known and notorious Malignants are fighting and plotting against us on the one hand, and you declaring for him on the other, it should *not* be an "espousing of a Malignant-Party's Quarrel or Interest;" but be a mere "fighting upon former grounds and principles, and in defence of the Cause of God and the Kingdoms, as hath been these twelve years last past," as you say: how this should be "for the security and satisfaction of God's People in both Nations;" or 'how' the opposing of this should render us enemies to the Godly with you, we cannot well understand. Especially considering that all these Malignants take their confidence and encouragement from the late transactions of your Kirk and State with your King. For as we have already said, so we tell you again, It is but 'some' satisfying security to those who employ us, and 'who' are concerned, that we seek. Which we conceive will not be by a few formal and feigned Submissions, from a Person that could not tell otherwise how to accomplish Malignant ends, and 'is' therefore counselled to this compliance, by them who assisted his Father, and have hitherto actuated himself in his most evil and desperate designs; designs which are now again by them set on foot. Against which, How you will be able, in the way you are in, to secure us or yourselves?—'this it now' is (forasmuch as concerns ourselves) our duty to look after.

If the state of your Quarrel be thus, upon which, as you say, you resolve to fight our Army, you will have opportunity to do that; else what means our abode here? And if our hope be not in the Lord, it will be ill with us. We commit both you and ourselves to Him who knows the heart and tries the reins; with whom are all our ways; who is able to do for us and you above what we know: Which we desire may be in much mercy to His poor People, and to the glory of His great Name.

And having performed your desire, in making your Papers so public as is before expressed, I desire you to do the like, by letting the State, Kirk, and Army have the knowledge hereof. To which end I have sent you enclosed two Copies 'of this Letter;' and rest,

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The encampment on Pentland Hills, "some of our tents within sight of Edinburgh Castle and City," threatens to cut off Lesley's supplies; but will not induce him to fight. "The gude wives fly with their bairns and gear" in great terror of us, poor gude wives; and "when we set fire to furze-bushes, report that we are burning their houses."[1] Great terror of us; but no other result. Lesley brings over his guns to the western side of Edinburgh, and awaits, steady within his fastnesses there.

Hopes have arisen that the Godly Party in Scotland, seeing now by

* Newspapers (in Parliamentary History, xix. 331-333).

[1] *Narrative of Farther Proceedings*, dated "From the Camp in Musselburgh Fields, 16th August, 1650;" read in the Parliament 22d August (Commons Journals); reprinted in Parliamentary History (xix. 327) as a "Narrative by General Cromwell;" though it is clearly enough not General Cromwell's but John Rushworth's

these Letters and Papers what our real meaning is, may perhaps quit a Malignant King's Interest, and make bloodless peace with us, "which were the best of all." The King boggles about signing that open Testimony, that Declaration against his Father's sins which was expected of him. "A great Commander of the Enemy's, Colonel Gibby Carre," (Colonel Gilbert Ker, of whom we shall hear farther), solicits an interview with some of ours and has it; and other interviews and free communings take place, upon the Burrow-Moor and open fields that lie between us. Gibby Ker, and also Colonel Strahan who was thought to be slain:[1] these and some minority of others are clear against Malignancy in every form; and if the Covenanted Stuart King will not sign this Declaration—!—Whereupon the Covenanted Stuart King does sign it; signs this too,[2]—what will he not sign?—and these hopes of accommodation vanish.

Neither still will they risk a Battle; though in their interviews upon the Burrow-Moor, they said they longed to do it. Vain that we draw out in battalia; they lie within their fastnesses. We march, with defiant circumstance of war, round all accessible sides of Edinburgh; encamp on the Pentlands, return to Musselburgh for provisions; go to the Pentlands again,—enjoy one of the beautifullest prospects, over deep-blue seas, over yellow corn-fields, dusky Highland mountains, from Ben Lomond round to the Bass again; but can get no Battle. And the weather is broken, and the season is advancing,—equinox within ten days, by the modern Almanac. Our men fall sick; the service is harassing;—and it depends on wind and tide whether even biscuit can be landed for us nearer than Dunbar. Here is the Lord General's own Letter "to a Member of the Council of State,"—we might guess this or the other, but cannot with the least certainty know which.

LETTER CXXV.

'*To —— —— Council of State in Whitehall: These.*'

SIR, Musselburgh, 30th August, 1650.

Since my last, we seeing the Enemy not willing to engage,—and yet very apt to take exceptions against speeches of that kind spoken in our Army; which occasioned some of them to come to parley with our Officers, To let them know that they would fight us,—they lying still in or near their fastnesses, on the west side of Edinburgh, we resolved, the Lord assisting, to draw near to them once more, to try if we could fight them. And indeed one hour's advantage gained might probably, we think, have given us an opportunity.[3]

To which purpose, upon Tuesday the 27th instant we marched westward of Edinburgh towards Stirling; which the Enemy perceiving, marched with as great expedition as was possible to prevent us; and the vanguards of both the Armies came to skirmish,—upon a place where bogs and passes made the access of each Army to the other

[1] Letter CXXII. p. 367.

[2] At our Court at Dunfermline this 16th day of August, 1650 (Sir Edward Walker, pp. 170-6; by whom the melancholy Document is, with due loyal indignation, given at large there).

[3] Had we come one hour sooner:—but we did not.

difficult. We, being ignorant of the place, drew up, hoping to have engaged; but found no way feasible, by reason of the bogs and other difficulties.

We drew up our cannon, and did that day discharge two or three hundred great shot upon them; a considerable number they likewise returned to us: and this was all that passed from each to other. Wherein we had near twenty killed and wounded, but not one Commission Officer. The Enemy, as we are informed, had about eighty killed, and some considerable Officers. Seeing they would keep their ground, from which we could not remove them, and our bread being spent,—we were necessitated to go for a new supply: and so marched off about ten or eleven o'clock on Wednesday morning.[1] The Enemy perceiving it,—and as we conceive, fearing we might interpose between them and Edinburgh, though it was not our intention, albeit it seemed so by our march,—retreated back again, with all haste; having a bog and passes between them and us: and there followed no considerable action, saving the skirmishing of the van of our horse with their's, near to Edinburgh, without any considerable loss to either party, saving that we got two or three of their horses.

That 'Tuesday' night we quartered within a mile of Edinburgh and of the Enemy. It was a most tempestuous night and wet morning. The Enemy marched in the night between Leith and Edinburgh, to interpose between us and our victual, they knowing that it was spent; —but the Lord in mercy prevented it; and we, perceiving in the morning, got, time enough, through the goodness of the Lord, to the sea-side, to re-victual; the Enemy being drawn up upon the Hill near Arthur's Seat, looking upon us, but not attempting anything.

And thus you have an account of the present occurrences.

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The scene of this Tuesday's skirmish, and cannonade across bogs, has not been investigated; though an antiquarian Topographer might find worse work for himself. Rough Hodgson, very uncertain in his spellings, calls it Gawger Field, which will evidently take us to Gogar on the western road there. The Scotch Editor of Hodgson says farther, "The Water of Leith lay between the two Armies;" which can be believed or not:—which indeed turns out to be unbelievable. Yorkshire Hodgson's troop received an ugly cannon-shot while they stood at Prayers; just with the word *Amen*, came the ugly cannon-shot singing, but it hurt neither horse nor man. We also "gave them an English shout" at one time, along the whole line,[2] making their Castle-rocks and Pentlands ring again; but could get no Battle out of them, for the bogs.

Here, in reference to those matters, is an Excerpt which, in spite of

[1] We drew towards our old Camp, one of our old Camps, that Wednesday; and off to Musselburgh "for a new supply" next morning. Old Camp or Bivouack "on Pentland Hills," says vague Hodgson (p. 142); "within a mile of Edinburgh," says Cromwell in this Letter, who of course knows well.

* Newspapers (in Parliamentary History, xix. 339).

[2] Hodgson, p. 141.

imperfections, may be worth transcribing. "The English Army lay" at first "near Musselburgh, about Stony Hill. But because the English feared it was too near the Castle of Edinburgh, they would not hazard battle there. Wherefore both Armies marched to Gogar, Tuesday, August 27th; and played upon each other with their great Guns; but because of Gogar Burn (*Brook*) and other ditches betwixt the Armies, they could not join battle. Next day, about midday," more precisely Wednesday about ten or eleven o'clock, "the English began to retire; and went first to their Leaguer at Braid Hills," within a mile of Edinburgh as their General says. "The English removing, the Scots followed by Corstorphine the long gate" (*roundabout road*) which is hard ground, and out of shot-range. "The English," some of them, "marched near to Musselburgh; and in the midnight, planted some Guns in Niddry; the Scots having marched about the Hill of Arthur's Seat, towards Craigmillar, there planted some Guns against those in Niddry;"[1] and in fact, as we have seen, were drawn upon Arthur's Seat on the following morning, looking on amid the rain, and not attempting anything.

The Lord General writes this Letter at Musselburgh on Saturday the 30th: and directly on the heel of it there is a Council of War held, and an important resolution taken. With sickness, and the wild weather coming on us, rendering even victual uncertain, and no Battle to be had, we clearly cannot continue here. Dunbar, which has a harbour, we might fortify for a kind of citadel and winter-quarter; let us retire at least to Dunbar, to be near our sole friends in this country, our Ships.—That same Saturday evening the Lord General fired his huts, and marched towards Dunbar. At sight whereof Lesley rushes out upon him; has his vanguard in Prestonpans before our rear got away. Saturday night through Haddington, and all Sunday to Dunbar, Lesley hangs, close and heavy, on Cromwell's rear; on Sunday night bends southward to the hills that overlook Dunbar, and hems him in there. As will be more specially related in the next fascicle of Letters.

LETTERS CXXVI.—CXXXIII.

BATTLE OF DUNBAR.

THE small Town of Dunbar stands, high and windy, looking down over its herring-boats, over its grim old Castle now much honeycombed,—on one of those projecting rock-promontories with which that shore of the Frith of Forth is niched and van-dyked, as far as the eye can reach. A beautiful sea; good land too, now that the plougher understands his trade; a grim niched barrier of whinstone sheltering it from the chafings and tumblings of the big blue German Ocean. Seaward St. Abb's Head, of whinstone, bounds your horizon to the east, not very far off; west, close by, is the deep bay, and fishy little village of Belhaven: the gloomy Bass and other rock-islets, and farther the Hills of Fife, and foreshadows of the Highlands, are visible as you look seaward. From the bottom of Belhaven Bay to that of the next sea-bight St. Abb's-ward,

[1] Collections by a Private Hand, at Edinburgh, from 1650 to 1661 (Woodrow MSS.), printed in Historical Fragments on Scotch Affairs from 1635 to 1664 (Edinburgh, 1832), Part i., pp. 27-8.

the Town and its environs form a peninsula. Along the base of which peninsula, "not much above a mile and a half from sea to sea," Oliver Cromwell's Army, on Monday, 2d of September, 1650, stands ranked, with its tents and Town behind it,—in very forlorn circumstances. This now is all the ground that Oliver is lord of in Scotland. His ships lie in the offing, with biscuit and transport for him; but visible elsewhere in the Earth no help.

Landward as you look from the Town of Dunbar there rises, some short mile off, a dusky continent of barren heath Hills; the Lammermoor, where only mountain-sheep can be at home. The crossing of *which*, by any of its boggy passes, and brawling stream-courses, no Army, hardly a solitary Scotch Packman, could attempt, in such weather. To the edge of these Lammermoor Heights, David Lesley has betaken himself; lies now along the outmost spur of them,—a long Hill of considerable height, which the Dunbar people call the Dun, Doon, or sometimes for fashion's sake the Down, adding to it the Teutonic *Hill* likewise, though *Dun* itself in old Celtic signifies Hill. On this Doon Hill lies David Lesley with the victorious Scotch Army, upwards of Twenty-thousand strong; with the Committees of Kirk and Estates, the chief Dignitaries of the Country, and in fact the flower of what the pure Covenant in this the Twelfth year of its existence can still bring forth. There lies he since Sunday night, on the top and slope of this Doon Hill, with the impassible heath-continents behind him; embraces, as within outspread tiger-claws, the base-line of Oliver's Dunbar peninsula; waiting what Oliver will do. Cockburnspath with its ravines has been seized on Oliver's left, and made impassable; behind Oliver is the sea; in front of him Lesley, Doon Hill and the heath-continent of Lammermoor. Lesley's force is of Three-and-twenty-thousand,[1] in spirits as of men chasing; Oliver's about half as many, in spirits as of men chased. What is to become of Oliver?

LETTER CXXVI.

OLIVER on Monday writes this Note; means to send it off, I suppose, by sea. Making no complaint for himself, the remarkable Oliver; doing, with grave brevity, in the hour the business of the hour. "He was a strong man," so intimates Charles Harvey who knew him: "in the dark perils of war, in the high places of the field, hope shone in him like a pillar of fire, when it had gone out in all the others."[2] A genuine King among men, Mr Harvey. The divinest sight this world sees,—when it is privileged to see such, and not be sickened with the unholy apery of such! He is just now upon an "engagement," or complicated concern, "very difficult."

To Sir Arthur Hazelrig, Governor of Newcastle: These.'

DEAR SIR, 'Dunbar, 2d September, 1650.'

We are upon an Engagement very difficult. The Enemy hath blocked up our way at the Pass at Copperspath, through

[1] 27,000 say the English Pamphlets; 16,000 foot and 7,000 horse, says Sir Edward Walker (p. 182), who has access to know.

[2] *Passages in his Highness's last Sickness*, already referred to.

which we cannot get without almost a miracle. He lieth so upon the Hills that we know not how to come that way without great difficulty; and our lying here daily consumeth our men, who fall sick beyond imagination.

I perceive, your forces are not in a capacity for present release. Wherefore, whatever becomes of us, it will be well for you to get what forces you can together; and the South to help what they can. The business nearly concerneth all Good People. If your forces had been in a readiness to have fallen upon the back of Copperspath, it might have occasioned supplies to have come to us. But the only wise God knows what is best. All shall work for Good. Our spirits[1] are comfortable, praised be the Lord,—though our present condition be as it is. And indeed we have much hope in the Lord; of whose mercy we have had large experience.

Indeed do you get together what forces you can against them. Send to friends in the South to help with more. Let H. Vane know what I write. I would not make it public, lest danger should accrue thereby. You know what use to make hereof. Let me hear from you. I rest,

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' It is difficult for me to send to you. Let me hear from you after 'you receive this.'*

The base of Oliver's "Dunbar Peninsula," as we have called it (or Dunbar Pinfold where he is now hemmed in, upon "an entanglement very difficult"), extends from Belhaven Bay on his right, to Brocksmouth House on his left; "about a mile and a half from sea to sea." Brocksmouth House, the Earl (now Duke) of Roxburgh's mansion, which still stands there, his soldiers now occupy as their extreme post on the left. As its name indicates, it is the *mouth* or issue of a small Rivulet, or *Burn*, called *Brock*, *Brocksburn*; which, springing from the Lammermoor, and skirting David Lesley's Doon Hill, finds its egress here into the sea. The reader who would form an image to himself of the great Tuesday, 3d of September, 1650, at Dunbar, must note well this little *Burn*. It runs in a deep grassy glen, which the South-country Officers in those old Pamphlets describe as a "deep *ditch*, forty feet in depth, and about as many in width,"—ditch dug out by the little Brook itself; and carpeted with greensward, in the course of long thousands of years. It runs pretty close by the foot of Doon Hill; forms, from this point to the sea, the boundary of Oliver's position: his force is arranged in battle-order along the left bank of this Brocksburn, and its grassy glen; he is busied all Monday, he and his Officers, in ranking them there. "Before sunrise on Monday" Lesley sent down his horse from the Hill-top, to occupy the other side of this Brook; "about four in the afternoon" his train came down, his whole army gradually came down; and they now

[1] minds.

* Communicated by John Hare, Esquire, Rosemont Cottage, Clifton. The MS. at Clifton is a Copy, without date; but has this title in an old hand: "Copy of an original Letter of Oliver Cromwell, written with his own hand, the day before the Battle of Dunbarr, to Sir A. Hazelridge."—Found since (1846) with the Postscript, printed from the Original, in Brand's History of Newcastle (London, 1789), ii. 479.

are ranking themselves on the opposite side of Brocksburn,—on rather narrow ground ; corn-fields, but swiftly sloping upwards to the steep of Doon Hill. This goes on, in the wild showers and winds of Monday 2d September, 1650, on both sides of the Rivulet of Brock. Whoever will begin the attack, must get across this Brook and its glen first ; a thing of much disadvantage.

Behind Oliver's ranks, between him and Dunbar, stand his tents : sprinkled up and down, by battalions, over the face of this "Peninsula ;" which is a low very uneven tract of ground ; now in our time all yellow with wheat and barley in the autumn season, but at that date only partially tilled,—describable by Yorkshire Hodgson as a place of plashes and rough bent-grass ; terribly beaten by showery winds that day, so that your tent will hardly stand. There was then but one Farmhouse on this tract, where now are not a few : thither were Oliver's Cannon sent this morning ; they had at first been lodged "in the Church," an edifice standing then as now somewhat apart, "at the south end of Dunbar." We have notice of only one other "small house," belike some poor shepherd's homestead, in Oliver's tract of ground : it stands close by the Brock Rivulet itself, and in the bottom of the little glen ; at a place where the banks of it flatten themselves out into a slope passable for carts : this of course, as the one "pass" in that quarter, it is highly important to seize. Pride and Lambert lodged "six horse and fifteen foot" in this poor hut early in the morning : Lesley's horse came across, and drove them out ; killing some and "taking three prisoners ;"—and so got possession of this pass and hut ; but did not keep it. Among the three prisoners was one musketeer, "a very stout man, though he has but a wooden arm," and some iron hook at the end of it, poor fellow. He "fired thrice," not without effect, with his wooden arm ; and was not taken without difficulty : a handfast stubborn man ; they carried him across to General Lesley to give some account of himself. In several of the old Pamphlets, which agree in all the details of it, this is what we read :

"General *David* Lesley (old Leven," the other Lesley, "being in the Castle of Edinburgh, as they relate[1]), asked this man, If the Enemy did intend to fight? He replied, 'What do you think we come here for? We come for nothing else!'—'Soldier,' says Lesley, 'how will you fight, when you have shipped half of your men, and all your great guns?' The Soldier replied, 'Sir, if you please to draw down your men, you shall find both men and great guns too!'"—A most dogged handfast man, this with the wooden arm, and iron hook on it! "One of the Officers asked, How he durst answer the General so saucily? He said, 'I only answer the question put to me!'" Lesley sent him across, free again, by a trumpet : he made his way to Cromwell ; reported what had passed, and added doggedly, He for one had lost twenty shillings by the business,—plundered from him in this action. "The Lord General gave him thereupon two pieces," which I think are forty shillings ; and sent him away rejoicing.[2]—This is the adventure at the "pass" by the

[1] Old Leven is *here*, if the Pamphlet knew ; but only as a volunteer and without command, though nominally still General-in-Chief.

[2] Cadwell the Army-Messenger's Narrative to the Parliament (in Carte's Ormond Papers, i. 382). Given also, with other details, in King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 478, secs. 9, 7, 10 ; no 479, sec. 1 ; &c. &c.

shepherd's hut in the bottom of the glen, close by the Brocksburn itself.

And now farther, on the great scale, we are to remark very specially that there is just one other "pass" across the Brocksburn; and this is precisely where the London road now crosses it; about a mile east from the former pass, and perhaps two gunshots west from Brocksmouth House. There the great road then as now crosses the Burn of Brock; the steep grassy glen, or "broad ditch forty feet deep," flattening itself out here once more into a passable slope: passable, but still steep on the southern or Lesley side, still mounting up there, with considerable acclivity, into a high table-ground, out of which the Doon Hill, as outskirt of the Lammermoor, a short mile to your right, gradually gathers itself. There, at this "pass," on and about the present London road, as you discover after long dreary dim examining, took place the brunt or essential agony of the Battle of Dunbar long ago. Read in the extinct old Pamphlets, and ever again obstinately read, till some light rise in them, look even with unmilitary eyes at the ground as it now is, you do at last obtain small glimmerings of distinct features here and there,—which gradually coalesce into a kind of image for you; and some spectrum of the Fact becomes visible; rises veritable, face to face, on you, grim and sad in the depths of the old dead Time. Yes, my travelling friends, vehiculating in gigs or otherwise over that piece of London road, you may say to yourselves, Here without monument is the grave of a valiant thing which was done under the Sun; the footprint of a hero, not yet quite undistinguishable, is here!—

"The Lord General about four o'clock," say the old Pamphlets, "went into the Town to take some refreshment," a hasty late "dinner," or early "supper," whichever we may call it; "and very soon returned back,"—having written Sir Arthur's Letter, I think, in the interim. Coursing about the field, with enough of things to order; walking at last with Lambert in the Park or Garden of Brocksmouth House, he discerns that Lesley is astir on the Hill-side; altering his position somewhat. That Lesley in fact is coming wholly down to the basis of the Hill, where his horse had been since sunrise: coming wholly down to edge of the Brook and glen, among the sloping harvest-fields there; and also is bringing up his left wing of horse, most part of it, towards his right; edging himself, "shogging," as Oliver calls it, his whole line more and more to the right! His meaning is, to get hold of Brocksmouth House and the pass of the Brook there;[1] after which it will be free to him to attack us when he will!—Lesley in fact considers, or at least the Committee of Estates and Kirk consider, that Oliver is lost; that, on the whole, he must not be left to retreat, but must be attacked and annihilated here. A vague story, due to Bishop Burnet, the watery source of many such, still circulates about the world, That it was the Kirk Committee who forced Lesley down against his will; that Oliver, at sight of it, exclaimed, "The Lord hath delivered" &c.: which nobody is in the least bound to believe. It appears, from other quarters, that Lesley *was* advised or sanctioned in this attempt by the Committee of Estates and Kirk, but also that he was by no means hard to advise;

[1] Baillie's Letters, iii. 111.

that, in fact, lying on the top of Doon Hill, shelterless in such weather, was no operation to spin out beyond necessity ;—and that if anybody pressed too much upon him with advice to come down and fight, it was likeliest to be Royalist Civil Dignitaries, who had plagued him with their cavillings at his cunctations, at his "secret fellow feeling for the Sectarians and Regicides," ever since this War began. The poor Scotch Clergy have enough of their own to answer for in this business ; let every back bear the burden that belongs to it. In a word, Lesley descends, has been descending all day, and "shogs" himself to the right,—urged, I believe, by manifold counsel, and by the nature of the case ; and, what is equally important for us, Oliver sees him, and sees through him, in this movement of his.

At sight of this movement, Oliver suggests to Lambert standing by him, Does it not give *us* an advantage, if we, instead of him, like to begin the attack? Here is the Enemy's right wing coming out to the open space, free to be attacked on any side ; and the main-battle hampered in narrow sloping ground between Doon Hill and the Brook, has no room to manœuvre or assist :[1] beat this right wing where it now stands ; take it in flank and front with an overpowering force,—it is driven upon its own main-battle, the whole Army is beaten? Lambert eagerly assents, "had meant to say the same thing." Monk, who comes up at the moment, likewise assents ; as the other Officers do, when the case is set before them. It is the plan resolved upon for battle. The attack shall begin to-morrow before dawn.

And so the soldiers stand to their arms, or lie within instant reach of their arms, all night ; being upon an engagement very difficult indeed. The night is wild and wet ;—2d of September means 12th by our calendar : the Harvest Moon wades deep among clouds of sleet and hail. Whoever has a heart for prayer, let him pray now, for the wrestle of death is at hand. Pray,—and withal keep his powder dry! And be ready for extremities, and quit himself like a man!—Thus they pass the night ; making that Dunbar Peninsula and Brock Rivulet long memorable to me. We English have some tents ; the Scots have none. The hoarse sea moans bodeful, swinging low and heavy against these whinstone bays ; the sea and the tempests are abroad, all else asleep but we,—and there is One that rides on the wings of the wind.

Towards three in the morning the Scotch foot, by order of a Major-General say some,[2] extinguish their matches, all but two in a company; cower under the corn-shocks, seeking some imperfect shelter and sleep. Be wakeful, ye English ; watch, and pray, and keep your powder dry. About four o'clock comes order to my puddingheaded Yorkshire friend, that his regiment must mount and march straightway ; his and various other regiments march, pouring swiftly to the left to Brocksmouth House, to the Pass over the Brock. With overpowering force let us storm the Scots right wing there ; beat that, and all is beaten. Major Hodgson riding along, heard, he says, "a Cornet praying in the night ;" a company of poor men, I think, making worship there, under the void

1 Hodgson.

2 "Major-General Holborn" (he that escorted Cromwell into Edinburgh in 1648), says Walker p. 180.

Heaven, before battle joined: Major Hodgson, giving his charge to a brother Officer, turned aside to listen for a minute, and worship and pray along with them; haply his last prayer on this Earth, as it might prove to be. But no: this Cornet prayed with such effusion as was wonderful; and imparted strength to my Yorkshire friend, who strengthened his men by telling them of it. And the Heavens, in their mercy, I think, have opened us a way of deliverance!—The Moon gleams out, hard and blue, riding among hail-clouds; and over St. Abb's Head, a streak of dawn is rising.

And now is the hour when the attack should be, and no Lambert is yet here, he is ordering the line far to the right yet; and Oliver occasionally, in Hodgson's hearing, is impatient for him. The Scots too, on this wing, are awake; thinking to surprise us; there is their trumpet sounding, we heard it once; and Lambert, who was to lead the attack, is not here. The Lord General is impatient;—behold Lambert at last! The trumpets peal, shattering with fierce clangour Night's silence; the cannons awaken along all the Line: "The Lord of Hosts! The Lord of Hosts!" On, my brave ones; on!—

The dispute "on this right wing was hot and stiff, for three quarters of an hour." Plenty of fire, from field-pieces, snaphances, matchlocks, entertains the Scotch main-battle across the Brock;—poor stiffened men, roused from the corn-shocks with their matches all out! But here on the right, their horse, "with lancers in the front rank," charge desperately; drive us back across the hollow of the Rivulet;—back a little; but the Lord gives us courage, and we storm home again, horse and foot, upon them, with a shock like tornado tempests; break them, beat them, drive them all adrift. "Some fled towards Copperspath, but most across their own foot." Their own poor foot, whose matches were hardly well alight yet! Poor men, it was a terrible awakening for them: field-pieces and charge of foot across the Brocksburn; and now here is their own horse in mad panic trampling them to death. Above Three-thousand killed upon the place: "I never saw such a charge of foot and horse," says one;[1] nor did I. Oliver was still near to Yorkshire Hodgson when the shock succeeded; Hodgson heard him say, "They run! I profess they run!" And over St. Abb's Head and the German Ocean just then bursts the first gleam of the level Sun upon us, "and I heard Nol say, in the words of the Psalmist, 'Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered,'"—or in Rous's metre,

> Let God arise, and scattered
> Let all his enemies be;
> And let all those that do him hate
> Before his presence flee!

Even so. The Scotch Army is shivered to utter ruin; rushes in tumultuous wreck, hither, thither; to Belhaven, or, in their distraction, even to Dunbar; the chase goes as far as Haddington; led by Hacker. "The Lord General made a halt," says Hodgson, "and sang the Hundred-and-seventeenth Psalm," till our horse could gather for the chase. Hundred-and-seventeenth Psalm, at the foot of the Doon Hill; there we

[1] Rushworth's Letter to the Speaker (in Parliamentary History, xix. 341.)

uplift it, to the tune of Bangor, or some still higher score, and roll it strong and great against the sky :

O give ye praise unto the Lord,
All nati-ons that be ;
Likewise ye people all, accord
His name to magnify !

For great to-us-ward ever are
His lovingkindnesses ;
His truth endures forevermore :
The Lord O do ye bless !

And now, to the chase again.

The Prisoners are Ten-thousand,—all the foot in a mass. Many Dignitaries are taken ; not a few are slain ; of whom see Printed Lists, —full of blunders. Provost Jaffray of Aberdeen, Member of the Scots Parliament, one of the Committee of Estates, was very nearly slain : a trooper's sword was in the air to sever him, but one cried, He is a man of consequence ; he can ransom himself !—and the trooper kept him prisoner.[1] The first of the Scots Quakers, by and by ; and an official person much reconciled to Oliver. Ministers also of the Kirk Committee were slain ; two Ministers I find taken, poor Carstairs of Glasgow, poor Waugh of some other place,—of whom we shall transiently hear again.

General David Lesley, vigorous for flight as for other things, got to Edinburgh by nine o'clock ; poor old Leven, not so light of movement, did not get till two. Tragical enough. What a change since January 1644, when we marched out of this same Dunbar up to the knees in snow ! It was to help and save these very men that we then marched ; with the Covenant in all our hearts. We have stood by the letter of the Covenant ; fought for our Covenanted Stuart King as we could ;—they again, they stand by the substance of it, and have trampled us and the letter of it into this ruinous state !—Yes, my poor friends ;—and now be wise, be taught ! The letter of your Covenant, in fact, will never rally again in this world. The spirit and substance of it, please God, will never die in this or in any world !

Such is Dunbar Battle ; which might also be called Dunbar Drove, for it was a frightful rout. Brought on by miscalculation ; misunderstanding of the difference between substances and semblances ;—by mismanagement, and the chance of war. My Lord General's next four Letters will now be intelligible to the reader. First, however, take the following—

PROCLAMATION.

FORASMUCH as I understand there are several Soldiers of the Enemy's Army yet abiding in the Field, who by reason of their wounds could not march from thence :

These are therefore to give notice to the Inhabitants of this Nation That they may 'have,' and hereby have, free liberty to repair to the Field aforesaid, and, with their carts, or 'in' any other peaceable way,

[1] Diary of Alexander Jaffray (London, 1834 :—unhappily relating almost all to the inner man of Jaffray).

to carry away the said Soldiers to such places as they shall think fit:—provided they meddle not with, or take away, any the arms there. And all Officers and Soldiers are to take notice that the same is permitted.

Given under my hand at Dunbar, 4th September, 1650. To be proclaimed by beat of drum.*

OLIVER CROMWELL.

LETTER CXXVII.

For the Honourable William Lenthal, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

SIR, Dunbar, 4th September, 1650.

I hope it's not ill taken, that I make no more frequent addresses to the Parliament. Things that are in trouble, in point of provision for your Army, and of ordinary direction, I have, as I could, often presented to the Council of state, together with such occurrences as have happened;—who, I am sure, as they have not been wanting in their extraordinary care and provision for us, so neither in what they judge fit and necessary to represent the same to you. And this I thought to be a sufficient discharge of my duty on that behalf.

It hath now pleased God to bestow a mercy upon you, worthy of your knowledge, and of the utmost praise and thanks of all that fear and love His name; yea the mercy is far above all praise. Which that you may the better perceive, I shall take the boldness to tender unto you some circumstances accompanying this great business, which will manifest the greatness and seasonableness of this mercy.

We having tried what we could to engage the Enemy, three or four miles West of Edinburgh; that proving ineffectual, and our victual failing,—we marched towards our ships for a recruit of our want. The Enemy did not at all trouble us in our rear; but marched the direct way towards Edinburgh, and partly in the night and morning slips-through his whole Army; and quarters himself in a posture easy to interpose between us and our victual. But the Lord made him to lose the opportunity. And the morning proving exceeding wet and dark, we recovered, by that time it was light, a ground where they could not hinder us from our victual: which was an high act of the Lord's Providence to us. We being come into the said ground, the Enemy marched into the ground we were last upon; having no mind either to strive to interpose between us and our victuals, or to fight; being indeed upon this 'aim of reducing us to a' lock,—hoping that the sickness of your Army would render their work more easy by the gaining of time. Whereupon we marched to Musselburgh, to victual, and to ship away our sick men; where we sent aboard near five-hundred sick and wounded soldiers.

And upon serious consideration, finding our weakness so to increase, and the Enemy lying upon his advantage,—at a general council it was thought fit to March to Dunbar, and there to fortify the Town. Which (we thought), if anything, would provoke them to engage. As also, That the having of a Garrison there would furnish us with accommoda-

* Old Newspapers, *Several Proceedings of Parliament*, no. 50 (5-12 Sept. 1650): in Burney Newspapers (British Museum), vol. XXXIV.

tion for our sick men, 'and' would be a good Magazine,—which we exceedingly wanted; being put to depend upon the uncertainty of weather for landing provisions, which many times cannot be done though the being of the whole Army lay upon it, all the coasts from Berwick to Leith having not one good harbour. As also, To lie more conveniently to receive our recruits of horse and foot from Berwick.

Having these considerations,—upon Saturday, the 30th[1] of August, we marched from Musselburgh to Haddington. Where, by that time we had got the van-brigade of our horse, and our foot and train, into their quarters, the Enemy had marched with that exceeding expedition that they fell upon the rear-forlorn of our horse, and put it in some disorder; and indeed had like to have engaged our rear-brigade of horse with their whole Army,—had not the Lord by his providence put a cloud over the Moon, thereby giving us opportunity to draw off those horse to the rest of our Army. Which accordingly was done without any loss, save of three or four of our aforementioned forlorn; wherein the Enemy, as we believe, received more loss.

The Army being put into a reasonable secure posture,—towards midnight the Enemy attempted our quarters, on the west end of Haddington: but through the goodness of God we repulsed them. The next morning we drew into an open field, on the south side of Haddington; we not judging it safe for us to draw to the Enemy upon his own ground, he being prepossessed thereof;—but rather drew back, to give him way to come to us, if he had so thought fit. And having waited about the space of four or five hours, to see if he would come to us; and not finding any inclination in the Enemy so to do,—we resolved to go, according to our first intendment, to Dunbar.

By that time we had marched three or four miles, we saw some bodies of the Enemy's horse draw out of their quarters; and by that time our carriages were gotten near Dunbar, their whole Army was upon their march after us. And indeed, our drawing back in this manner, with the addition of three new regiments added to them, did much heighten their confidence, if not presumption and arrogancy.—The Enemy, that night, we perceived, gathered towards the Hills; labouring to make a perfect interposition between us and Berwick. And having in this posture a great advantage,—through his better knowledge of the country, he effected it: by sending a considerable party to the strait Pass at Copperspath; where ten men to hinder are better than forty to make their way. And truly this was an exigent to us,[2] wherewith the Enemy reproached us;—'as' with that condition the Parliament's Army was in when it made its hard conditions with the King in Cornwall.[3] By some reports that have come to us, they had disposed of us, and of their business, in sufficient revenge and wrath towards our persons; and had swallowed up the poor Interest of England; believing that their Army and their King would have marched to London without any interruption;—it being told us (we know not

[1] *Sic*: but Saturday is 31st.

[2] A disgraceful summons of caption to us: "exigent" is a law-writ issued against a fugitive,—such as we knew long since, in our young days, about Lincoln's Inn!

[3] Essex's Army seven years ago, in Autumn 1644, when the King had impounded it among the Hills there (see *antea*, p. 126).

how truly) by a prisoner we took the night before the fight, That their King was very suddenly to come amongst them, with those English they allowed to be about him. But in what they were thus lifted up, the Lord was above them.

The Enemy lying in the posture before mentioned, having those advantages; we lay very near him, being sensible of our disadvantages; having some weakness of flesh, but yet consolation and support from the Lord himself to our poor weak faith, wherein I believe not a few amongst us stand: That because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were in the Mount, and in the Mount the Lord would be seen; and that He would find out a way of deliverance and salvation for us:—and indeed we had our consolations and our hopes.

Upon Monday evening,—the Enemy's whole numbers were very great; about Six-thousand horse, as we heard, and Sixteen-thousand foot at least; ours drawn down, as to sound men, to about Seven-thousand five-hundred foot, and Three-thousand five-hundred horse—'upon Monday evening,' the Enemy drew down to the right wing about two-thirds of their left wing of horse. To the right wing; shogging also their foot and train much to the right; causing their right wing of horse to edge down towards the sea. We could not well imagine but that the Enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themselves in a more exact condition of interposition. The Major-General and myself coming to the Earl Roxburgh's House, and observing this posture, I told him I thought it did give us an opportunity and advantage to attempt upon the Enemy. To which he immediately replied, That he had thought to have said the same thing to me. So that it pleased the Lord to set this apprehension upon both of our hearts, at the same instant. We called for Colonel Monk, and shewed him the thing: and coming to our quarters at night, and demonstrating our apprehensions to some of the Colonels, they also cheerfully concurred.

We resolved therefore to put our business into this posture: That six regiments of horse, and three regiments and an half of foot should march in the van; and that the Major-General, the Lieutenant-General of the horse, and the Commissary-General,[1] and Colonel Monk to command the brigade of foot, should lead on the business; and that Colonel Pride's brigade, Colonel Overton's brigade, and the remaining two regiments of horse should bring up the cannon and rear. The time of falling-on to be by break of day:—but through some delays it proved not to be so; 'not' till six o'clock in the morning.

The Enemy's word was, *The Covenant*; which it had been for divers days. Ours, *The Lord of Hosts*. The Major-General, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and Commissary-General Whalley, and Colonel Twistleton, gave the onset; the Enemy being in a very good posture to receive them, having the advantage of their cannon and foot against our horse. Before our foot could come up, the Enemy made a gallant resistance, and there was a very hot dispute at sword's point between our horse and theirs. Our first foot, after they had discharged their

[1] Lambert, Fleetwood, Whalley.

duty (being overpowered with the Enemy), received some repulse, which they soon recovered. For my own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe and my Major, White, did come seasonably in; and, at the push of pike, did repel the stoutest regiment the Enemy had there, merely with the courage the Lord was pleased to give. Which proved a great amazement to the residue of their foot; this being the first action between the foot. The horse in the meantime did, with a great deal of courage and spirit, beat back all oppositions; charging through the bodies of the Enemy's horse, and of their foot; who were, after the first repulse given, made by the Lord of Hosts as stubble to their swords.—Indeed, I believe I may speak it without partiality: both your chief Commanders and others in their several places, and soldiers also, were acted[1] with as much courage as ever hath been seen in any action since this War. I know they looked not to be named; and therefore I forbear particulars.

The best of the Enemy's horse being broken through and through in less than an hour's dispute, their whole Army being put into confusion, it became a total rout: our men having the chase and execution of them near eight miles. We believe that upon the place and near about it were about Three-thousand slain. Prisoners taken: of their officers, you have this enclosed List; of private soldiers near Ten-thousand. The whole baggage and train taken, wherein was good store of match, powder and bullet; all their artillery, great and small,—thirty guns. We are confident they have left behind them not less than Fifteen-thousand arms. I have already brought in to me near Two-hundred colours, which I herewith send you.[2] What officers of theirs of quality are killed, we yet cannot learn; but yet surely divers are: and many men of quality are mortally wounded, as Colonel Lumsden, the Lord Libberton and others. And, that which is no small addition, I do not believe we have lost twenty men. Not one Commission Officer slain as I hear of, save one Cornet; and Major Rooksby, since dead of his wounds; and not many mortally wounded:—Colonel Whalley only cut in the handwrist, and his horse (twice shot) killed under him; but he well recovered another horse, and went on in the chase.

Thus you have the prospect of one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and His people, this War:—and now may it please you to give me the leave of a few words. It is easy to say, The Lord hath done this. It would do you good to see and hear our poor foot to go up and down making their boast of God. But, Sir, it's in your hands, and by these eminent mercies God puts it more into your hands, To give glory to Him; to improve your power, and His blessings, to His praise. We that serve you beg of you not to own us,—but God alone. We pray you own His people more and more; for they are the chariots and horsemen of Israel. Disown yourselves;—but own your

1 "actuated," as we now write it.

2 They hung long in Westminster Hall; beside the Preston ones, and still others that came. Colonel Pride has been heard to wish, and almost to hope, That the Lawyers' gowns might all be hung up beside the Scots colours yet,—and the Lawyers' selves, except some very small and most select needful remnant, be ordered peremptorily to disappear from those localities, and seek an honest trade elsewhere! (Walker's *History of Independency*.)

Authority; and improve it to curb the proud and the insolent, such as would disturb the tranquillity of England, though under what specious pretences soever. Relieve the oppressed, hear the groans of poor prisoners in England. Be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions:—and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich,[1] that suits not a Commonwealth. If He that strengthens your servants to fight, please to give you hearts to set upon these things, in order to His glory, and the glory of your Commonwealth,—'then' besides the benefit England shall feel thereby, you shall shine forth to other Nations, who shall emulate the glory of such a pattern, and through the power of God turn in to the like!

These are our desires. And that you may have liberty and opportunity to do these things, and not be hindered, we have been and shall be (by God's assistance) willing to venture our lives;—and 'will' not desire you should be precipitated by importunities, from your care of safety and preservation; but that the doing of these good things may have their place amongst those which concern wellbeing,[2] and so be wrought in their time and order.

Since we came in Scotland, it hath been our desire and longing to have avoided blood in this business; by reason that God hath a people here fearing His name, though deceived. And to that end have we offered much love unto such, in the bowels of Christ; and concerning the truth of our hearts therein, have we appealed unto the Lord. The Ministers of Scotland have hindered the passage of these things to the hearts of those to whom we intended them. And now we hear, that not only the deceived people, but some of the Ministers are also fallen in this Battle. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the consideration of all those who take into their hands the instruments of a foolish shepherd, —to wit, meddling with worldly policies, and mixtures of earthly power, to set up that which they call the Kingdom of Christ, which is neither it, nor, if it were it, would such means be found effectual to that end,—and neglect, or trust not to, the Word of God; the sword of the spirit; which is alone powerful and able for the setting up of that Kingdom; and, when trusted to, will be found effectually able to that end, and will also do it! This is humbly offered for their sakes who have lately too much turned aside: that they might return again to preach Jesus Christ, according to the simplicity of the Gospel;—and then no doubt they will discern and find your protection and encouragement. Beseeching you to pardon this length, I humbly take leave; and rest,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Industrious dull Bulstrode, coming home from the Council of State towards Chelsea on Saturday afternoon, is accosted on the streets near Charing Cross, by a dusty individual, who declares himself bearer of this Letter from my Lord General; and imparts a rapid outline of the pro-

[1] "Many of them had a *peek* at Lawyers generally" (says learned Bulstrode these months' —appealing to posterity, almost with tears in his big dull eyes!).

[2] We as yet strugg for *being* which is preliminary, and still more essential.

* Newspapers (Cromwelliana, pp. 87-92).

bable contents to Bulstrode's mind, which naturally kindles with a certain slow solid satisfaction on receipt thereof.[1]

LETTER CXXVIII.

LETTER CXXVI., for Sir Arthur, did not go on Monday night; and finds now an unexpected conveyance!—Brand, Historian of Newcastle, got sight of that Letter, and of this new one enclosing it, in the hands of an old Steward of the Haselrigs, some half-century ago; and happily took copies. Letter CXXVI. was autograph, "folded up hastily before the ink was quite dry;—sealed with red wax:" of this there is nothing autograph but the signature; and the sealing-wax is black.

For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrig, at Newcastle or elsewhere: These. Haste, haste.

SIR, Dunbar, 4th September, 1650.

You will see by my Enclosed, of the 2d of this month, which was the evening before the Fight, the condition we were in at that time. Which I thought fit on purpose to send you, that you might see how great and how seasonable our deliverance and mercy is, by such aggravation.

Having said my thoughts thereupon to the Parliament, I shall only give you the narrative of this exceeding mercy;[2] believing the Lord will enlarge your heart to a thankful consideration thereupon. The least of this mercy lies not in the advantageous consequences which I hope it may produce; of glory to God and good to His People, in the prosecution of that which remains; unto which this great work hath opened so fair a way. We have no cause to doubt but, if it shall please the Lord to prosper our endeavours, we may find opportunities both upon Edinburgh and Leith,—Stirling-Bridge, and other such places as the Lord shall lead unto. Even far above our thoughts; as this late and other experiences gives good encouragement.

Wherefore, that we may not be wanting, I desire you, with such forces as you have, Immediately to march to me to Dunbar; leaving behind you such of your new Levies as will prevent lesser incursions:—for surely their rout and ruin is so total that they will not be provided for anything that is very considerable.——Or rather, which I more incline unto, That you would send Thomlinson with the Forces you have ready, and this with all possible expedition; and that *you* will go on with the remainder of the Reserve,—which, upon better thoughts, I do not think can well be done without you.

Sir, let no time nor opportunity be lost. Surely it's probable the Kirk has done their do.[3] I believe their King will set up upon his own score now; wherein he will find many friends. Taking opportunity offered,—it's our great advantage, through God. I need say no more to you on this behalf; but rest,

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

[1] Whitlocke (2nd edition), p. 470, (7, Sept.)
[2] Means *the bare statement*. In the next sentence, "The least lies not," is for *The not least lies*.
[3] "doo" *in orig.*

My service to your Lady.—I think it will be very fit that you shou bake Hard-bread again, considering you increase our numbers. I pray you do so.—Sir, I desire you to procure about Three or Four score Masons, and ship them to us with all speed: for we expect that God will suddenly put some places into our hands, which we shall have occasion to fortify.*

LETTER CXXIX.

To the Lord President of the Council of State: These.

MY LORD, Dunbar, 4th September, 1650.

I have sent the Major-General, with six regiments of horse and one of foot, towards Edinburgh; purposing (God willing) to follow after, tomorrow, with what convenience I may.

We are put to exceeding trouble, though it be an effect of abundant mercy, with the numerousness of our Prisoners; having so few hands, so many of our men sick;—so little conveniency of disposing of them;[1] and not, by attendance thereupon, to omit the seasonableness of the prosecution of this mercy as Providence shall direct. We have been constrained, even out of Christianity, humanity, and the forementioned necessity, to dismiss between four and five thousand Prisoners, almost starved, sick and wounded; the remainder, which are the like, or a greater number, I am fain to send by a convoy of four troops of Colonel Hacker's, to Berwick, and so on to Newcastle, southwards.[2]

I think fit to acquaint your Lordship with two or three observations. Some of the honestest in the Army amongst the Scots did profess before the fight, That they did not believe their King in his Declaration;[3] and it's most evident he did sign it with as much reluctancy, and so much against his heart as could be: and yet they venture their lives for him upon this account; and publish this 'Declaration' to the world, to be believed as the act of a person converted, when in their hearts they know he abhorred the doing of it, and meant it not.

I hear when the Enemy marched last up to us, the Ministers pressed their Army to interpose between us and home; the chief Officers desiring rather that we might have way made, though it were by a golden bridge. But the Clergy's counsel prevailed,—to their no great comfort, through the goodness of God.

* Brand's History of Newcastle, ii. 489. In Brand's Book there follow Excerpts from two other Letters to Sir Arthur: of which, on inquiry, the present Baronet of Nosely Hall unluckily knows nothing farther. The Excerpts, with their dates, shall be given presently.

1 The Prisoners:—sentence ungrammatical, but intelligible.

2 Here are Brand's Excerpts from the two other Letters to Sir Arthur, spoken of in the former Note: "*Dunbar*, 5 *Sept.* 1650.———After much deliberation, we can find no way how to dispose of these Prisoners that will be consisting with these two ends,—to wit, the not losing them and the not starving them, neither of which would we willingly incur,—but by sending them into England." (Brand, ii. 481).——"*Edinburgh*, 9 *Sept.* 1650.———I hope your Northern Guests are come to you by this time. I pray you let humanity be exercised towards them: I am persuaded it will be comely. Let the Officers be kept at Newcastle, some sent to Lynn, some to Chester." (*Ib.* p. 480.) A frightful account of what became of these poor "Northern Guests," as they proceeded "southwards;" how, for sheer hunger, they ate raw-cabbages in the "walled garden at Morpeth," and lay in unspeakable imprisonment in Durham Cathedral, and died as of swift pestilence there: In *Sir Arthur Haselrig's Letter to the Council of State* (reprinted, from the old Pamphelts, in Parliamentary History, xix. 417).

3 Open Testimony against the sins of his Father, see Antea, p. 374.

The Enemy took a gentleman of Major Brown's troop prisoner, that night we came to Haddington; and he had quarter through Lieutenant-General David Leslie's means; who, finding him a man of courage and parts, laboured with him to take up arms. But the man expressing constancy and resolution to this side, the Lieutenant-General caused him to be mounted, and with two troopers to ride about to view their gallant Army; using that as an argument to persuade him to their side; and, when this was done, dismissed him to us in a bravery. And indeed the day before we fought, they did express so much insolency and contempt of us, to some soldiers they took, as was beyond apprehension.

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

WHICH high officialities being ended, here are certain glad domestic Letters of the same date.

LETTER CXXX.

For my beloved Wife, Elizabeth Cromwell, at the Cockpit: These.

MY DEAREST, Dunbar, 4th September, 1650.

I have not leisure to write much. But I could chide thee that in many of thy letters thou writest to me, that I should not be unmindful of thee and thy little ones. Truly, if I love you not too well, I think I err not on the other hand much. Thou art dearer to me than any creature; let that suffice.

The Lord hath showed us an exceeding mercy:—who can tell how great it is! My weak faith hath been upheld. I have been in my inward man marvellously supported;—though I assure thee, I grow an old man, and feel infirmities of age marvellously stealing upon me. Would my corruptions did as fast decrease! Pray on my behalf in the latter respect. The particulars of our late success Harry Vane or Gilbert Pickering will impart to thee. My love to all dear friends. I rest thine,

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

LETTER CXXXI.

For my loving Brother, Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These.

DEAR BROTHER, Dunbar, 4th September, 1650.

Having so good an occasion as the imparting so great a mercy as the Lord has vouchsafed us in Scotland, I would not omit the imparting thereof to you, though I be full of business.

Upon Wednesday[1] we fought the Scottish Armies. They were in number, according to all computation, above Twenty-thousand; we hardly Eleven-thousand, having great sickness upon our Army. After much appealing to God, the Fight lasted above an hour. We killed (as

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 91).

† Copied from the Original by John Hare, Esq., Rosemount Cottage, Clifton. Collated with the old Copy in British Museum, Cole MSS., no. 5834, p. 38. "The Original was purchased at Strawberry-Hill Sale" (Horace Walpole's), "30th April, 1842, for Twenty-one guineas."

[1] "Wednesd." in the Original. A curious proof of the haste and confusion Cromwell was in. The Battle was on *Tuesday*,—yesterday, 3d September, 1650; indisputably Tuesday; and he is now writing on Wednesday!—

most think) Three-thousand; took near Ten-thousand prisoners, all their train, about thirty guns great and small, besides bullet, match and powder, very considerable Officers, about two-hundred colours, above ten-thousand arms;—lost not thirty men. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Good Sir, give God all the glory; stir up all yours, and all about you, to do so. Pray for

Your affectionate brother,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

I desire my love may be presented to my dear Sister, and to all your Family. I pray tell Doll I do not forget her nor her little Brat. She writes very cunningly and complimentally to me; I expect a Letter of plain dealing from her. She is too modest to tell me whether she breeds or not. I wish a blessing upon her and her Husband. The Lord make them fruitful in all that's good. They are at leisure to write often;—but indeed they are both idle, and worthy of blame.*

LETTER CXXXII.

A PIOUS Word, shot off to Ireland, for Son Ireton and the "dear Friends" fighting for the same Cause there. That they may rejoice with us, as we have done with them: none knows but they may have "need" again "of mutual experiences for refreshment."

'To Lieutenant-General Ireton, Deputy-Lieutenant of Ireland: These.'

SIR, Dunbar, 4th September, 1650.

Though I hear not often from you, yet I know you forget me not. Think so of me 'too;' for I often remember you at the Throne of Grace.—I heard of the Lord's good hand with you in reducing Waterford, Duncannon, and Catherlogh;[1] His Name be praised.

We have been engaged upon a Service the fullest of trial ever poor creatures were upon. We made great professions of love; knowing we were to deal with many who were Godly, and 'who' pretended to be stumbled at our Invasion:—indeed, our bowels were pierced again and again; the Lord helped us to sweet words, and in sincerity to mean them. We were rejected again and again; yet still we begged to be believed that we loved them as our own souls; they often returned evil for good. We prayed for security;[2] they would not hear or answer a word to that. We made often appeals to God; they appealed also. We were near engagements three or four times, but they lay upon advantages. A heavy flux fell upon our Army; brought it very low,—from Fourteen to Eleven thousand: Three-thousand five-hundred horse, and Seven-thousand five-hundred foot. The Enemy Sixteen-thousand foot, and Six-thousand horse.

The Enemy prosecuted the advantage. We were necessitated; and upon September[3] the 3d, by six in the morning, we attempted their

* Harris, p 513; one of the Pusey stock, the last now but three.

1 "Catherlogh" is Carlow: Narrative of these captures (10 August, 1650), in a Letter from Ireton to the Speaker (Parliamentary History, xix. 334-7).

2 Begged of them some security against Charles Stuart's designs upon England.

3 "7ber" he writes.

Army :—after a hot dispute for about an hour, we routed their whole Army ; killed near Three-thousand ; and took, as the Marshal informs me, Ten-thousand prisoners ; their whole Train, being about thirty pieces, great and small ; good store of powder, match and bullet ; near two-hundred Colours. I am persuaded near Fifteen-thousand Arms left upon the ground. And I believe, though many of ours be wounded, we lost not about Thirty men. Before the fight, our condition was made very sad, the Enemy greatly insulted and menaced 'us ;' but the Lord upheld us with comfort in Himself, beyond ordinary experience.

I knowing the acquainting you with this great handiwork of the Lord would stir up your minds to praise and rejoicing ; and not knowing but your condition may require mutual experiences for refreshment ; and knowing also that the news we had of your successes was matter of help to our faith in our distress, and matter of praise also,—I thought fit (though in the midst of much business) to give you this account of the unspeakable goodness of the Lord, who hath thus appeared, to the glory of His great Name, and the refreshment of His Saints.

The Lord bless you, and us, to return praises ; to *live* them all our days. Salute all our dear Friends with you, as if I named them. I have no more ;—but rest,

Your loving father and true friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

We observe there are no regards to Bridget Ireton, no news or notice of her, in this Letter. Bridget Ireton is at London, safe from these wild scenes ; far from her Husband, far from her Father ;—will never see her brave Husband more.

LETTER CXXXIII.

DUBITATING Wharton must not let "success" too much sway him ; yet it were fit he took notice of these things : he, and idle Norton whom we know, and Montague of Hinchinbrook, and others. The Lord General, for his own share, has a better ground than "success ;" has the direct insight of his own soul, such as suffices him,—such as all souls to which "the inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding," are or may be capable of, one would think !

For the Right Honourable the Lord Wharton : These.

MY DEAR LORD, Dunbar, 4th September, 1650.

Ay, poor I love you ! Love you the Lord : take heed of disputing !—I was untoward when I spake last with you in St. James's Park. I spake cross in stating 'my' grounds : I spake to *my judgings* of you,—which were : That you,—shall I name others ?—Henry Lawrence, Robert Hammond, &c., had ensnared yourselves with disputes.

I believe you desired to be satisfied ; and had tried and doubted your 'own' sincerities. It was well. But uprightness, if it be not *purely* of God, may be, nay commonly is, deceived. The Lord persuade you, and all my dear Friends !

The results of your thoughts concerning late Transactions I know to

* Russel's Life of Cromwell (Edinburgh, 1829 ; forming vols. 46, 47, of *Constable's Miscellany*), ii. 317-19. Does not say Whence ; Letter undoubtedly genuine.

be mistakes of yours, by a better argument than *success*. Let not your engaging too far upon your own judgments be your temptation or snare: much less 'let' success,—lest you should be thought to return upon less noble arguments.[1] It is in my heart to write the same things to Norton, Montague, and others: I pray you read or communicate these foolish lines to them. I have known my folly do good, when affection has overcome[2] my reason. I pray you judge me sincere,—lest a prejudice should be put upon after advantages.

How gracious has the Lord been in this great Business! Lord, hide not Thy mercies from our eyes!—

My service to the dear Lady. I rest,

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTERS CXXXIV.—CXXXVI

OF these Letters, the first Two, with their Replies and Adjuncts, Six Missives in all, form a Pamphlet published at Edinburgh in 1650, with the Title: *Several Letters and Passages between his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell and the Governor of Edinburgh Castle.* They have been reprinted in various quarters: we copy the Cromwell part of them from *Thurloe*; and fancy they will not much need any preface. Here are some words, written elsewhere on the occasion, some time ago.

"These Letters of Cromwell to the Edinburgh Clergy, treating of obsolete theologies and polities, are very dull to modern men: but they deserve a steady perusal by all such as will understand the strange meaning (for the present, alas, as good as obsolete in all forms of it) that possessed the mind of Cromwell in these hazardous operations of his. Dryasdust, carrying his learned eye over these and the like Letters, finds them, of course, full of 'hypocrisy,' &c. &c.—Unfortunate Dryasdust, they are coruscations, terrible as lightning, and beautiful as lightning, from the innermost temple of the Human Soul;—intimations, still credible, of what a Human Soul does mean when it *believes* in the Highest; a thing poor Dryasdust never did nor will do. The hapless generation that now reads these words ought to hold its peace when it has read them, and sink into unutterable reflections,—not unmixed with tears, and some substitute for 'sackcloth and ashes,' if it liked. In its poor canting sniffing flimsy vocabulary there is no word that can make any response to them. This man has a living god-inspired soul in him, not an enchanted artificial 'substitute for salt,' as our fashion is. They that have human eyes can look upon him; they that have only owl-eyes need not."

Here also are some sentences on a favourite topic, *lightning* and *light*. "As lightning is to light, so is a Cromwell to a Shakspeare. The light is beautifuller. Ah, yes; but until, by lightning and other fierce labour, your foul Chaos has become a World, you cannot have any light, or the smallest chance for any! Honour the Amphion whose

[1] Decide as the essence of the matter *is*; neither persist nor "return" upon fallacious, superficial, or external considerations.

[2] outrun.

* Gentleman's Magazine (London, 1814), lxxxiv. 419. Does not say whence or how.

music makes the stones, rocks, and big blocks, dance into figures, and domed cities, with temples and habitations :—yet know him too ; how, as Volker's in the old *Nibelungen*, oftentimes his 'fiddlebow' has to be of 'sharp steel,' and to play a tune very rough to rebellious ears! The melodious Speaker is great, but the melodious Worker is greater than he. 'Our Time,' says a certain author, 'cannot speak at all, but only cant and sneer, and argumentatively jargon, and recite the multiplication-table. Neither as yet can it work, except at mere railroads and cotton-spinning. It will, apparently, return to Chaos soon : and then more lightnings will be needed, lightning enough, to which Cromwell's was but a mild matter ;—to be followed by light, we may hope!'"

The following Letter from Whalley, with the Answer to it, will introduce this series. The date is Monday ; the Lord General observing yesterday that the poor Edinburgh people were sadly short of Sermon, has ordered the Commissary-General to communicate as follows :

"*For the Honourable the Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh.*

"Edinburgh, 9th September, 1650.

"SIR,—I received command from my Lord General to desire you to let the Ministers of Edinburgh, now in the Castle with you, know, That they have free liberty granted them, if they please to take the pains, to preach in their several Churches ; and that my Lord hath given special command both to officers and soldiers that they shall not in the least be molested. Sir, I am, your most humble servant,

"EDWARD WHALLEY."

To which straightway there is this Answer from Governor Dundas ;

"*To Commissary-General Whalley.*'

"'Edinburgh Castle,' 9th September, 1650.

"SIR,—I have communicated the desire of your Letter to such of the Ministers of Edinburgh as are with me ; who have desired me to return this for Answer :

"That though they are ready to be spent in their Master's service, and to refuse no suffering so they may fulfil their ministry with joy ; yet perceiving the persecution to be personal, by the practice of your Party [1] upon the Ministers of Christ in England and Ireland, and in the Kingdom of Scotland since your unjust Invasion thereof ; and finding nothing expressed in yours whereupon to build any security for their persons while they are there, and for their return hither ;—they are resolved to reserve themselves for better times, and to wait upon Him who hath hidden His face for a while from the sons of Jacob.

"That is all I have to say, but that I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

To which somewhat sulky response, Oliver makes Answer in this notable manner :

[1] Sectarian Party, of Independents.

LETTER CXXXIV.

For the Honourable the Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh: These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 9th September, 1650.

The kindness offered to the Ministers with you was done with ingenuity;[1] thinking it might have met with the like: but I am satisfied to tell those with you, That if their Master's service (as they call it) were chiefly in their eye, imagination of suffering[2] would not have caused such a return; much less 'would' the practice of our Party, as they are pleased to say, upon the Ministers of Christ in England, have been an argument of personal persecution.

The Ministers in England are supported, and have liberty to preach the Gospel; though not to rail, nor under pretence thereof[3] to overtop the Civil Power, or debase it as they please. No man hath been troubled in England or Ireland for preaching the Gospel; nor has any Minister been molested in Scotland since the coming of the Army hither. The speaking truth becomes the Ministers of Christ.

When Ministers pretend to a glorious Reformation; and lay the foundations thereof in getting to themselves worldly power; and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the same, such as their late Agreement with their King; and hope by him to carry on their design, 'they' may know that the Sion promised will not be built with such untempered mortar.

As for the unjust Invasion they mention, time was[4] when an army of Scotland came into England, not called by the Supreme Authority. We have said, in our Papers, with what hearts, and upon what account, we came; and the Lord hath heard us,[5] though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as any experience can parallel.

And although they seem to comfort themselves with being sons of Jacob, from whom (they say) God hath hid His face for a time; yet it's no wonder when the Lord hath lifted up His hand so eminently against a Family as He hath done so often against this,[6] and men will not see His hand,—'it's no wonder' if the Lord hide His face from such; putting them to shame both for it and their hatred of His people; as it is this day. When they purely trust to the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, which is powerful to bring down strongholds and every imagination that exalts itself,—which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the new Jerusalem;—then and not before, and by that means and no other, shall Jerusalem, the City of the Lord, which is to be the praise of the whole Earth, be built; the Sion of the Holy One of Israel.

I have nothing to say to you but that I am,

Sir,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.[*]

[1] Means always *ingenuously*.
[2] Fear of personal damage.
[3] Of preaching the Gospel.
[4] 1648, Duke Hamilton's time; to say nothing of 1640 and other times.
[5] At Dunbar, six days ago.
[6] Of the Stuarts.
[*] Thurloe, I. 159; Pamphlet at Edinburgh.

The Scotch Clergy never got such a reprimand since they first took ordination! A very dangerous radiance blazes through these eyes of my Lord General's,—destructive to the owl-dominion, in Edinburgh Castle and elsewhere!

Let Dundas and Company reflect on it. Here is their ready Answer; still of the same day.

'*To the Right Honourable the Lord Cromwell, Commander-in-chief of the English Army.*'

'Edinburgh Castle,' 9th September, 1650.

"MY LORD,—Yours I have communicated to those with me whom it concerned; who desire me to return this Answer:

"That their ingenuity in prosecuting the ends of the Covenant, according to their vocation and place, and in adhering to their first principles, is well known; and one of their greatest regrets is that they have not been met with the like. That when Ministers of the Gospel have been imprisoned, deprived of their benefices, sequestrated, forced to flee from their dwellings, and bitterly threatened, for their faithful declaring the will of God against the godless and wicked proceedings of men,—it cannot be accounted 'an imaginary fear of suffering' in such as are resolved to follow the like freedom and faithfulness in discharge of their Master's message. That it savours not of 'ingenuity' to promise liberty of preaching the Gospel, and to limit the Preachers thereof, that they must not speak against the sins and enormities of Civil Powers; since their commission carrieth them to speak the Word of the Lord unto, and to reprove the sins of, persons of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest. That to impose the name of 'railing' upon such faithful freedom was the old practice of Malignants, against the Ministers of the Gospel, who laid open to people the wickedness of their ways, lest men should be ensnared thereby.

"That their consciences bear them record, and all their hearers do know, that they meddle not with Civil Affairs, farther than to hold forth the rule of the Word, by which the straightness and crookedness of men's actions are made evident. But they are sorry they have such cause to regret that men of mere Civil place and employment should usurp the calling and employment of the Ministry:[1] to the scandal of the Reformed Kirks; and, particularly in Scotland, contrary to the government and discipline therein established,—to the maintenance whereof you are bound, by the Solemn League and Covenant.

"Thus far they have thought fit to vindicate their return to the offer in Colonel Whalley's Letter. The other part of yours, which concerns the Public as well as them, they conceive hath all been answered sufficiently in the public Papers of the State and Kirk. Only to that of the success upon your 'solemn appeal,' they say again, what was said to it before, That they have not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of their Cause upon events; but desire to have their hearts established in the love of the Truth, in all the tribulations that befall them.

"I only do add that I am, my Lord, your most humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

1 Certain of our Soldiers and Officers preach; very many of them can preach,—and greatly to the purpose too!

On Thursday follows Oliver's Answer,—"very inferior in composition," says Dryasdust;—composition not being quite the trade of Oliver! In other respect sufficiently superior.

LETTER CXXXV.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 12th September, 1650.

Because I am at some reasonable good leisure, I cannot let such gross mistakes and inconsequential reasonings pass without some notice taken of them.

And first, their ingenuity in relation to the Covenant, for which they commend themselves, doth no more justify their want of ingenuity in answer to Colonel Whalley's Christian offer, concerning which my Letter charged them with guiltiness 'and' deficiency, than their bearing witness to themselves of their adhering to their first principles, and ingenuity in prosecuting the ends of the Covenant, justifies them so to have done merely because they say so. They must give more leave henceforwards; for Christ will have it so, nill they, will they. And they must have patience to have the truth of their doctrines and sayings tried by the sure touchstone of the Word of God. And if there be a liberty and duty of trial, there is a liberty of judgment also for them that may and ought to try: which being[1] so, they must give others leave to say and think that they can appeal to equal judges, Who have been the truest fulfillers of the most real and equitable ends of the Covenant?

But if these Gentlemen do[2] assume to themselves to be the infallible expositors of the Covenant, as they do too much to their auditories 'to be the infallible expositors' of the Scriptures 'also,' counting a different sense and judgment from theirs Breach of Covenant and Heresy,—no marvel they judge of others so authoritatively and severely. But we have not so learned Christ. We look at Ministers as helpers of, not lords over, God's people. I appeal to their consciences, whether any 'person' trying their doctrines, and dissenting, shall not incur the censure of Sectary? And what is this but to deny Christians their liberty, and assume the Infallible Chair? What doth he whom we would not be likened unto[3] do more than this?

In the second place, it is affirmed that the Ministers of the Gospel have been "imprisoned, deprived of their benefices, sequestered, forced to fly from their dwellings, and bitterly threatened, for their faithful declaring of the will of God;" that they have been limited that they might not speak against the "sins and enormities of the Civil Powers;" that to impose the name of railing upon such faithful freedom was the old practice of Malignants against the Preachers of the Gospel, &c.—'Now,' if the Civil Authority, or that part of it which continued faithful to their trust,[4] 'and' true to the ends of the Covenant, did, in answer to their consciences, turn out a Tyrant, in a way which the Christians in after-times will mention with honour, and all Tyrants in the world look at

[1] "if" in the original.
[2] "which do" in the original; *dele* which.
[3] The Pope.
[4] When Pride purged them.

with fear; and 'if' while many thousands of saints in England rejoice to think of it, and have received from the hand of God a liberty from the fear of like usurpations, and have cast off him[1] who trod in his Father's steps, doing mischief as far as he was able (whom you have received like fire into your bosom,—of which God will, I trust, in time make you sensible): if, 'I say,' Ministers railing at the Civil Power, and calling them murderers and the like for doing these things, have been dealt with as you mention,—will this be found a "personal persecution?" Or is sin so, because they say so?[2] They that acted this great Business[3] have given a reason of their faith in the action; and some here[4] are ready further to do it against all gainsayers.

But it will be found that these reprovers do not only make themselves the judges and determiners of sin, that so they may reprove; but they also took liberty[5] to stir up the people to blood and arms; and would have brought a war upon England, as hath been upon Scotland, had not God prevented it. And if such severity as hath been expressed towards them be worthy of the name of "personal persecution," let all uninterested men judge, 'and' whether the calling of the practice "railing" be to be paralleled with the Malignants' imputation upon the Ministers for speaking against the Popish Innovations in the Prelates' times,[6] and the 'other' tyrannical and wicked practices then on foot! The Roman Emperors, in Christ's and his Apostles' times, were usurpers and intruders upon the Jewish State: yet what footstep[7] have ye either of our blessed Saviour's so much as willingness to the dividing of an inheritance, or their[8] 'ever' meddling in that kind? This was not practised by the Church since our Saviour's time, till Antichrist, assuming the Infallible Chair, and all that he called Church to be under him, practised this authoritatively over Civil Governors. The way to fulfil your Ministry with joy is to preach the Gospel; which I wish some who take pleasure in reproofs at a venture, do not forget too much to do!

Thirdly, you say, You have just cause to regret that men of Civil employments should usurp the calling and employment of the Ministry; to the scandal of the Reformed Kirks.—Are you troubled that Christ is preached? Is preaching so exclusively your function?[9] Doth it scandalise the Reformed Kirks, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the Covenant? Away with the Covenant, if this be so! I thought, the Covenant and these 'professors of it' could have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ: if not, it is no Covenant of God's approving; nor are these Kirks you mention in so much[10] the Spouse of Christ. Where do you find in the Scripture a ground to warrant such an assertion, That Preaching is exclusively your function? Though an Approbation from men hath order in it, and may do well; yet he that hath no better warrant than that, hath none at all. I hope He that ascended up on high may give His gifts to whom

1 Your Charles II., as you call him.
2 Because you call it so.
3 Of judging Charles First.
4 I for one.
5 In 1648.
6 O Oliver, my Lord General, the Lindley-Murray composition here is dreadful; the meaning struggling, like a strong swimmer, in an element very visous!
7 Vestige.
8 The Apostles'.
9 "so inclusive in your function," means that.
10 So far as their notion of the Covenant goes.

He pleases: and if those gifts be the seal of Mission, be not 'you envious though Eldad and Medad prophesy. You know who bids us *covet earnestly the best gifts*, but chiefly *that we may prophesy;* which the Apostle explains there to be a speaking to instruction and edification and comfort,—which speaking the instructed, the edified and comforted can best tell the energy and effect of, 'and say whether it is genuine.' If such evidence be, I say again, Take heed you envy not for your own sakes; lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moses reproved in Joshua for envying for his sake.

Indeed you err through mistaking of the Scriptures. Approbation[1] is an act of conveniency in respect of order; not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the Gospel. Your pretended fear lest Error should step in, is like the man who would keep all the wine out the country lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy, to deprive a man of his natural liberty upon a supposition he may abuse it. When he doth abuse it, judge. If a man speak foolishly, ye suffer him gladly[2] because ye are wise; if erroneously, the truth more appears by your conviction 'of him.' Stop such a man's mouth by sound words which cannot be gainsayed. If he speak blasphemously, or to the disturbance of the public peace, let the Civil Magistrate punish him: if truly, rejoice in the truth. And if you will call our speakings together since we came into Scotland,—to provoke one another to love and good works, to faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and repentance from dead works; 'and' to charity and love towards you, to pray and mourn for you, and for your bitter returns to 'our love of you,' and your incredulity of our professions of love to you, of the truth of which we have made our solemn and humble appeals to the Lord our God, which He hath heard and borne witness to: if you will call things scandalous to the Kirk, and against the Covenant, because done by men of Civil callings,—we rejoice in them, notwithstanding what you say.

For a conclusion: In answer to the witness of God upon our solemn Appeal,[3] you say you have not so learned Christ 'as' to hang the equity of your Cause upon events. We, 'for our part,' could wish blindness have not been upon your eyes to all those marvellous dispensations which God hath lately wrought in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not you and we to think, with fear and trembling, of the hand of the Great God in this mighty and strange appearance of His; instead of slightly calling it an "event!"[4] Were not both your and our expectations renewed from time to time, whilst we waited upon God, to see which way He would manifest Himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations and solemn appeals, call these bare "events?" The Lord pity you.

Surely we, 'for our part,' fear; because it hath been a merciful and gracious deliverance to us. I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, search after the mind of the Lord in it towards you; and we shall help

[1] Or say "Ordination," Solemn Approbation and Appointment by men.
[2] With a patient victorious feeling.
[3] At Dunbar.
[4] "but can slighty call it an event," *in orig.*

you by our prayers; that you may find it out: for yet (if we know our hearts at all) our bowels do, in Christ Jesus, yearn after the Godly in Scotland. We know there are stumbling-blocks which hinder you: the personal prejudices you have taken up against us[1] and our ways, wherein we cannot but think some occasion has been given,[2] and for which we mourn: the apprehension you have that we have hindered the glorious Reformation you think you were upon:—I am persuaded these and such like bind you up from an understanding, and yielding to, the mind of God, in this great day of His power and visitation. And, if I be rightly informed, the late Blow you received is attributed to profane counsels and conduct, and mixtures[3] in your Army, and such like. The natural man will not find out the cause. Look up to the Lord, that He may tell it you. Which that He would do, shall be the fervent prayer of

Your loving friend and servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' These 'following' Queries are sent not to reproach you, but in the love of Christ laying them before you; we being persuaded in the Lord that there is a truth in them. Which we earnestly desire may not be laid aside unsought after, from any prejudice either against the things themselves, or the unworthiness or weakness of the person that offers them. If you turn at the Lord's reproofs, He will pour out His Spirit upon you; and you shall understand His words; and they will guide you to a blessed Reformation indeed,[4]—even to one according to the Word, and such as the people of God wait for: wherein you will find us and all saints ready to rejoice, and serve you to the utmost in our places and callings.*

ENCLOSED is the Paper of Queries; to which this Editor, anxious to bring out my Lord General's sense, will take the great liberty to intercalate a word or two of Commentary as we read.

QUERIES.

1. Whether the Lord's controversy be not both against the Ministers in Scotland and England, for their wresting and straining 'of the Covenant,' and employing[5] the Covenant against the Godly and Saints in England (of the same faith with them in every fundamental) even to a bitter persecution; and so making that which, in the main intention was spiritual, to serve Politics and Carnal ends,—even in that part especially which was Spiritual, and did look to the glory of God, and the comfort of His People?

The meaning of your Covenant was that God's glory should be promoted: and yet how many zealous Preachers, unpresbyterian, but real

[1] Me, Oliver Cromwell.
[2] I have often, in Parliament and elsewhere, been crabbed towards your hidebound Presbyterian Formula; and given it many a fillip, not thinking sufficiently what good withal was in it.
[3] Admission of Engagers and ungodly people.
[4] "glorious Reformation," "blessed Reformation," &c., are phrases loud and current everywhere, especially among the Scotch, for two years past.
* Thurloe, i., 758-760.
[5] "improving" in the original.

Promoters of God's glory, have you, by wresting and straining of the verbal phrases of the Covenant, found means to menace, eject, afflict and in every way discourage !—

2. Whether the Lord's controversy be not for your and the Ministers in England's sullenness at 'God's great providences,' and 'your' darkening and not beholding the glory of God's wonderful dispensations in this series of His providences in England, Scotland and Ireland, both now and formerly,—through envy at instruments, and because the things did not work forth your Platform, and the Great God did not come down to your minds and thoughts.

This is well worth your attention. Perhaps the Great God means something other and farther than you yet imagine. Perhaps, in His infinite Thought, and Scheme that reaches through Eternities, there may be elements which the Westminster Assembly has not jotted down? Perhaps these reverend learned persons, debating at Four shillings and sixpence a day, did not get to the bottom of the Bottomless, after all? Perhaps this Universe was not entirely built according to the Westminster Shorter Catechism, but by other groundplans, withal, not yet entirely brought to paper anywhere, in Westminster or out of it, that I hear of? O my reverend Scotch friends !—

3. Whether your carrying on a Reformation, so much by you spoken of, have not probably been subject to some mistakes in your own judgments about some parts of the same,—laying so much stress thereupon as hath been a temptation to you even to break the Law of Love, 'the greatest of all laws,' towards your brethren, and those 'whom'. Christ hath regenerated; even to the reviling and persecuting of them, and to stirring up of wicked men to do the same, for your Form's sake, or but 'for' some parts of it.

A helpless lumbering sentence, but with a noble meaning in it.

4. Whether if your Reformation be so perfect and so spiritual, be indeed the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus, it will need such carnal policies, such fleshly mixtures, such unsincere actings as 'some of these are?' To pretend to cry down all Malignants; and yet to receive and set up the Head of them 'all,' and to act for the Kingdom of Christ in his name,[1] and upon advantage thereof? And to publish so false a Paper,[2] so full of special pretences to piety, as the fruit and effect of his "repentance,"—to deceive the minds of all the Godly in England, Ireland and Scotland; you, in your own consciences, knowing with what regret he did it, and with what importunities and threats he was brought to do it, and how much to this very day he is against it? And whether this be not a high provocation of the Lord, in so grossly dissembling with Him and His people?*

[1] Charles Stuart's: a very questionable "name" for any Kingdom of Christ to act upon!
[2] The *Declaration*, or testimony against his Father's sins.
* Thurlow, i. 158-162.

Yes, you can consider that, my Friends; and think, on the whole, what kind of course you are probably getting into; steering towards a Kingdom of Jesus Christ with Charles Stuart and Mrs. Barlow at the helm!

The Scotch Clergy reply, through Governor Dundas, still in a sulky unrepentant manner, that they stick by their old opinions; that the Lord General's arguments, which would not be hard to answer a second time, have already been answered amply, by anticipation, in the public Manifestoes of the Scottish Nation and Kirk;—that, in short, he hath a longer sword than they for the present, and the Scripture says, "There is one event to the righteous and the wicked," which may probably account for Dunbar, and some other phenomena. Here the correspondence closes; his Excellency on the morrow morning (Friday 13th September, 1650) finding no "reasonable good leisure" to unfold himself farther, in the way of paper and ink, to these men. There remain other ways; the way of cannon-batteries, and Derbyshire miners. It is likely his Excellency will subdue the bodies of these men; and the unconquerable mind will then follow if it can.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS it hath pleased God, by His gracious providence and goodness, to put the City of Edinburgh and the Town of Leith under my power: And although I have put forth several Proclamations, since my coming into this Country, to the like effect with this present: Yet for further satisfaction to all those whom it may concern, I do hereby again publish and declare,

That all the Inhabitants of the country, not now being or continuing in arms, shall have free leave and liberty to come to the Army, and to the City and Town aforesaid, with their cattle, corn, horse, or other commodities or goods whatsoever; and shall there have free and open markets for the same; and shall be protected in their persons and goods, in coming and returning as aforesaid, from any injury or violence of the Soldiery under my command; and shall also be protected in their respective houses. And the Citizens and Inhabitants of the said City and Town shall and hereby likewise have[1] free leave to vend and sell their wares and commodities; and shall be protected from the plunder and violence of the Soldiers.

And I do hereby require all Officers and Soldiers of the Army under my command, To take due notice hereof, and to yield obedience hereto. As they will answer the contrary at their utmost peril.

Given under my hand at Edinburgh, the 14th of September, 1650.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

To be proclaimed in Leith and Edinburgh, by sound of trumpet and beat of drum.*

Listen and be reassured, ye ancient Populations, though your Clergy sit obstinate on their Castle-rock, and your Stuart King has vanished!

[1] Grammar irremediable!

* King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 479, art. 16 ("The Lord-General Cromwell his march to Stirling: being a Diary of" &c. "Published by Authority").

—While this comfortable *Oyez-oyez* goes sounding through the ancient streets, my Lord General is himself just getting on march again ; as the next Letter will testify.

LETTER CXXXVI.

THE Lord General, leaving the Clergy to meditate these Queries in the seclusion of their Castle rock, sets off westward, on the second day after, to see whether he cannot at once dislodge the Governing Committee-men and Covenanted King ; and get possession of Stirling, where they are busily endeavouring to rally. This, he finds, will not answer, for the moment.

'*To the Right Honourable the Lord President of the Council of State: These.*'

Edinburgh, 25th September, 1650.

* * * On Saturday the 14th instant, we marched six miles towards Stirling ; and, by reason of the badness of the ways, were forced to send back two pieces of our greatest artillery. The day following, we marched to Linlithgow, not being able to go farther by reason of much rain that fell that day. On the 16th, we marched to Falkirk ; and the next day following, within cannon-shot of Stirling ;—where, upon Wednesday the 18th, our Army was drawn forth, and all things in a readiness to storm the Town.

But finding the work very difficult ; they having in the Town Two-thousand horse and more foot ; and the place standing upon a river not navigable for shipping to relieve the same, 'so that' we could not, with safety, make it a Garrison, if God should have given it into our hands :—upon this, and other considerations, it was not thought a fit time to storm. But such was the unanimous resolution and courage both of our Officers and Soldiers, that greater could not be (as to outward appearance) in men.

On Thursday the 19th, we returned from thence to Linlithgow ; and at night we were informed that, at Stirling, they shot off their great guns for joy their King was come thither. On Friday the 20th, three Irish soldiers came from them to us ; to whom we gave entertainment in the Army : they say, Great fears possessed the soldiers when they expected us to storm. That they know not whether old Leven be their General or not, the report being various : but that Sir John Browne, a Colonel of their Army, was laid aside. That they are endeavouring to raise all the Forces they can, in the North ; that many of the soldiers, since our victory, are offended at their Ministers ; that Colonel Gilbert Ker and Colonel Strachan are gone with shattered forces to Glasgow, to levy soldiers there. As yet we hear not of any of the old Cavaliers being entertained as Officers among them ; 'the expectation of' which occasions differences betwixt their Ministers and the Officers of the Army.

The same day, we came to Edinburgh 'again.' Where we abide without disturbance : saving that about ten at night, and before day in the morning, they sometimes fire three or four great guns at us ; and if any of our men come within musket-shot, they fire at them from the Castle. But, blessed be God, they have done us no harm, except one

soldier shot (but not to the danger of his life), that I can be informed of. There are some few of the inhabitants of Edinburgh returned home; who, perceiving our civility, and 'our' paying for what we receive of them, repent their departure; open their shops, and bring provisions to the market. It's reported they have in the Castle provisions for fifteen months; some say, for a longer time. Generally the poor acknowledge that our carriage to them is better than that of their own Army; and 'that' had they who are gone away known so much, they would have stayed at home. They say, one chief reason wherefore so many are gone was, They feared we would have imposed upon them some oath wherewith they could not have dispensed.

I am in great hopes, through God's mercy, we shall be able this Winter to give the people such an understanding of the justness of our Cause, and our desires for the just liberties of the People, that the better sort of them will be satisfied therewith; although, I must confess, hitherto they continue obstinate. I thought I should have found in Scotland a conscientious People, and a barren country: about Edinburgh, it is as fertile for corn as any part of England; but the People generally 'are so' given to the most impudent lying, and frequent swearing, as is incredible to be believed.

I rest,

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

What to do with Scotland, in these mixed circumstances, is a question. We have friends among them, a distinct coincidence with them in the great heart of their National Purpose, could they understand us aright; and we have all degrees of enemies among them, up to the bitterest figure of Malignancy itself. What to do? For one thing, Edinburgh Castle ought to be reduced. "We have put forces into Linlithgow, and our Train is lodged in Leith," Lesley's old citadel there; "the rest being so great that we cannot march with our Train." Do we try Edinburgh Castle with a few responsive shots from the Calton Hill; or from what point? My Scotch Antiquarian friends have not informed me. We decide on reducing it by mines.

"*Sunday*, 29*th September*, 1650. Resolution being taken for the springing of mines in order to the reducing of Edinburgh Castle; and our men beginning their galleries last night, the Enemy fired five pieces of ordnance, with several volleys of shot, from the Castle; but did no execution. We hope this work will take effect; notwithstanding the height, rockiness, and strength of the place.—His Excellency with his Officers met this day in the High Church of Edinburgh, forenoon and afternoon; where was a great concourse of people." Mr. Stapylton, who did the Hursley Marriage-treaty, and is otherwise transiently known to mankind,—he, as was above intimated, occupies the pulpit there; the Scots Clergy still sitting sulky in their Castle, with Derby miners now operating on them. "Many Scots expressed much affection at the Doctrine preached by Mr. Stapylton, in their usual way of groans,"—Hum-m-mrrh!—"and it's hoped a good work is wrought in

* Newspapers (in Parliamentary History, xix. 404).

some of their hearts."[1] I am sure I hope so. But to think of brother worshippers, partakers in a Gospel of this kind, cutting one another's throats for a Covenanted Charles Stuart,—Hum-m-mrrh!

LETTERS CXXXVII.-CXLVIII.

HASTE and other considerations forbid us to do more than glance, timidly from the brink, into that sea of confusions in which the poor Scotch People have involved themselves by soldering Christ's Crown to Charles Stuart's! Poor men, they have got a Covenanted King; but he is, so to speak, a Solecism Incarnate: good cannot come of him, or of those that follow him in this course; only inextricability, futility, disaster and discomfiture can come. There is nothing sadder than to see such a Purpose of a Nation led on by such a set of persons; staggering into ever deeper confusion, down, down, till it fall prostrate into utter wreck. Were not Oliver here to gather up the fragments of it, the Cause of Scotland might now die; Oliver, little as the Scots dream of it, is Scotland's Friend too, as he was Ireland's: what would become of Scotch Puritanism, the one great feat hitherto achieved by Scotland, if Oliver were not now there! Oliver's Letters out of Scotland, what will elucidate Oliver's footsteps and utterances there, shall alone concern us at present. For sufficing which object, the main features of these Scotch confusions may become conceivable without much detail of ours.

The first Scotch Army, now annihilated at Dunbar, had been sedulously cleared of all Hamilton *Engagers* and other Malignant or Quasi-Malignant Persons, according to a scheme painfully laid down in what was called the *Act of Classes*,—a General-Assembly Act, defining and *class*ifying such men as shall not be allowed to fight on this occasion, lest a curse overtake the Cause on their account. Something other than a blessing has overtaken the Cause:—and now, on rallying at Stirling with unbroken purpose of struggle, there arise in the Committee of Estates and Kirk, and over the Nation generally, earnest considerations as to the methods of farther struggle; huge discrepancies as to the ground and figure it ought henceforth to take. As was natural to the case, Three Parties now develop themselves: a middle one, and two extremes. The Official Party, Argyle and the Official Persons, especially the secular portion of them, think that the old ground should as much as possible be adhered to: Let us fill up our old ranks with new men, and fight and resist with the Covenanted Charles Stuart at the head of us, as we did before. This is the middle or Official opinion.

No, answers an extreme Party, Let us have no more to do with your covenanting pedantries; let us sign your Covenant one good time for all, and have done with it; but prosecute the King's Interest, and call on all men to join us in that. An almost openly declared Malignant Party this; at the head of which Lieutenant-General Middleton, the Marquis of Huntly and other Royalist Persons are raising forces, publishing manifestoes, in the Highlands near by. Against whom David Lesley himself at last has to march. This is the one extreme; the Malignant or Royalist extreme. The amount of whose exploits was this: They invited the poor King to run off from Perth and his Church-

[1] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 92).

and-State Officials, and join them ; which he did,—rode out as if to hawk, one afternoon, softly across the South Inch of Perth, then galloped some forty miles ; found the appointed place ; a villanous hut among the Grampian Hills without soldiers, resources, or accommodations, "with nothing but a turf pillow to sleep on :" and was easily persuaded back, the day after ;[1] making his peace by a few more,—what shall we call them ?—poetic figments ; which the official persons, with an effort, swallowed. Shortly after, by official persuasion and military coercion, this first extreme Party was suppressed, reunited to the main body ; and need not concern us farther.

And now, quite opposite to this, there is another extreme Party ; which has its seat in "the Western shires," from Renfrew down to Dumfries ; which is, in fact, I think, the old *Whiggamore Raid* of 1648 under a new figure ; these Western Shires being always given that way. They have now got a "Western Army," with Colonel Ker and Colonel Strahan to command it ; and most of the Earls, Lairds, and Ministers in those parts have joined. Very strong for the Covenant ; very strong against all shams of the Covenant. Colonel Ker is the "famed commander Gibby Carr," who came to commune with us in the Burrowmoor, when we lay on Pentland Hills : Colonel Strahan is likewise a famed Commander, who was thought to be slain at Musselburgh once, but is alive here still ; an old acquaintance of my Lord General Cromwell's, and always suspected of a leaning to Sectarian courses. These Colonels and Gentry having, by sanction of the Committee of Estates, raised a Western Army of some Five-thousand, and had much consideration with themselves ; and seen, especially by the flight into the Grampians, what way his Majesty's real inclinations are tending,—decide, or threaten to decide, that they will not serve under his Majesty or his General Lesley with their Army, till they see new light ; that in fact they dare not ; being apprehensive he is no genuine Covenanted King, but only the sham of one, whom it is terribly dangerous to follow ! On this Party Cromwell has his eye ; and they on him. What becomes of them we shall, before long, learn.

Meanwhile here is a Letter to the Official Authorities ; which, however, produces small effect upon them.

LETTER CXXXVII.

For the Right Honourable the Committee of Estates of Scotland, at Stirling, or elsewhere. These.

RIGHT HONOURABLE, Linlithgow, 9th October, 1650

The grounds and ends of the Army's entering Scotland have been heretofore, often and clearly, made known unto you ; and how much we have desired the same might be accomplished without blood. But, according to what returns we have received, it is evident your hearts had not that love to us as we can truly say we had towards you. And we are persuaded those difficulties in which you have involved yourselves,—by espousing your King's interest, and taking into your bosom that Person, in whom (notwithstanding what hath 'been' or may

[1] 4-6 October. Balfour, iv. 113-15.

be said to the contrary) that which is really Malignancy and all Malignants do centre; against whose Family the Lord hath so eminently witnessed for bloodguiltiness, not to be done away by such hypocritical and formal shews of repentance as are expressed in his late *Declaration;* and your strange prejudices against us as men of heretical opinions (which, through the great goodness of God to us, have been *unjustly* charged upon us),—have occasioned your rejecting these Overtures which, with a Christian affection, were offered to you before any blood was spilt, or your People had suffered damage by us.

The daily sense we have of the calamity of War lying upon the poor People of this Nation, and the sad consequences of blood and famine likely to come upon them; the advantage given to the Malignant, Profane, and Popish party by this War; and that reality of affection which we have so often professed to you,—and concerning the truth of which we have so solemnly appealed,—do again constrain us to send unto you, to let you know, That if the contending for that Person be not by you preferred to the peace and welfare of your Country, the blood of your Peoples, the love of men of the same faith with you, and (in this above all) the honour of that God we serve,—Then give the State of England that satisfaction and security for their peaceable and quiet living by you, which may in justice be demanded from a Nation giving so just ground to ask the same,—from those who have, as you, taken their enemy into their bosom, whilst he was in hostility against them. "Do this;" and it will be made good to you, That you may have a lasting and durable Peace with them, and the wish of a blessing upon you in all religious and civil things.

If this be refused by you, we are persuaded that God, who hath once borne His testimony, will do it again on the behalf of us His poor servants, who do appeal to Him whether their desires flow from sincerity of heart or not. I rest,

Your Lordships' humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The Committee of Estates at Stirling or elsewhere debated about an Answer to this Letter; but sent none, except of civility merely, and after considerable delays. A copy of the Letter was likewise forwarded to Colonels Ker and Strahan and their Western Army, by whom it was taken into consideration; and some Correspondence, Cromwell's part of which is not yet altogether lost, followed upon it there; and indeed Cromwell, as we dimly discover in the old Books, set forth towards Glasgow directly on the back of it, in hopes of a closer communication with these Western Colonels and their Party.

While Ker and Strahan are busy "at Dumfries," says Baillie, "Cromwell with the whole body of his Army and cannon comes peaceably by way of Kilsyth to Glasgow." It is Friday evening, 18th October, 1650. "The Ministers and Magistrates flee all away. I got to the Isle of Cumbrae with my Lady Montgomery; but left all my family and goods to Cromwell's courtesy,—which indeed was great; for he took such a course with his soldiers that they did less displeasure at

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 93).

Glasgow than if they had been in London ; though Mr. Zachary Boyd," a fantastic old gentleman still known in Glasgow and Scotland, "railed on them all, to their very face, in the High Church ;" [1] calling them Sectaries and Blasphemers, the fantastic old gentleman! "Glasgow, though not so big or rich as Edinburgh, is a much sweeter place ; the completest town we have yet seen here, and one of their choicest Universities." The people were much afraid of us till they saw how we treated them. "Captain Covel of the Lord General's regiment of horse was cashiered here, for holding some blasphemous opinions." [2] This is Cromwell's first visit to Glasgow : he made two others, of which on occasion notice shall be taken. In *Pinkerton's Correspondence* are certain "anecdotes of Cromwell at Glasgow ;" which, like many others on Cromwell, need not be repeated anywhere except in the nursery.

Cromwell entered Glasgow on Friday evening ; over Sunday, was patient with Zachary Boyd : but got no result out of Ker and Strahan. Ker and Strahan, at Dumfries on the Thursday, have perfected and signed their *Remonstrance* of the Western Army ;[3] a Document of much fame in the old Scotch Books. "Expressing many sad truths," says the Kirk Committee. Expressing, in fact, the apprehension of Ker and Strahan that the Covenanted King may probably be a Solecism Incarnate, under whom it will not be good to fight longer for the Cause of Christ and Scotland ;—expressing meanwhile considerable reluctancy as to the English Sectaries ; and deciding on the whole to fight them still, though on a footing of our own. Not a very hopeful enterprise! Of which we shall see the issue by and by. Meanwhile news come that this Western Army is aiming towards Edinburgh, to get hold of the Castle there. Whereupon Cromwell, in all haste, on Monday sets off thitherward ; "lodges the first night in a poor cottage fourteen miles from Glasgow ;" arrives safe, to prevent all alarms. His first visit to Glasgow was but of two days.

LETTER CXXXVIII.

THE Western Colonels have given-in their Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates ; and sat in deliberation on their copy of Cromwell's expostulatory Letter to that Body, the Letter we have just read,—in which these two words, "security" and "satisfaction," are somewhat abstruse to the Western Colonels. They decide that it will not be convenient to return any public Answer ; but they have forwarded a private Letter of acknowledgment with "Six Queries :" Letter lost to us ; Six Queries still surviving. To which, directly after his return to Edinburgh, here is Cromwell's Answer. The Six Queries, being very brief, may be transcribed ; the Letter of acknowledgment can be conceived without transcribing :

"*Query* 1. Why is 'satisfaction' demanded? 2. What is the satisfaction demanded? 3. For what is the 'security' demanded? 4. What is the security ye would have? 5. From whom is the security required? 6. To whom is the security to be given?" [4]—Queries which,

[1] Baillie, iii. 119 ; Whitlocke, p. 459.
[2] Whitlocke, p. 459 ; Cromwelliana, pp. 92, 3.
[3] Dated 17 October ; given in Balfour, iv. 141.
[4] Balfour, iv. [illegible].

I think, do not much look like real despatch-of-business in the present intricate conjuncture!

This Letter, it appears, is, if not accompanied, directly followed by "Mr. Alexander Jaffray" Provost of Aberdeen, and a "Reverend Mr. Carstairs" of Glasgow, two Prisoners of Oliver's ever since Dunbar Drove, who are to "agent" the same.[1]

'*To Colonel Strahan, with the Western Army: These.*'

SIR, Edinburgh, 25th October, 1650.

I have considered of the Letter and the Queries; and, having advised with some Christian friends about the same, think fit to return an Answer as followeth:

'That' we bear unto the Godly of Scotland the same Christian affection we have all along professed in our Papers; being ready, through the grace of God, upon all occasions, to give such proof and testimony thereof as the Divine Providence shall minister opportunity to us to do. That nothing would be more acceptable to us to see than the Lord removing offences, and inclining the hearts of His People in Scotland to meet us with the same affection. That we do verily apprehend, with much comfort, that there is some stirring of your bowels by the Lord; giving some hope of His good pleasure tending hereunto: which we are most willing to comply with, and not to be wanting in anything on our part which may further the same.

And having seen the heads of two Remonstrances, the one of the Ministers of Glasgow, and the other of the Officers and Gentlemen of the West,[2] we do from thence hope that the Lord hath cleared unto you some things which were formerly hidden, and which we hope may lead to a better understanding. Nevertheless, we cannot but take notice, that from some expressions in the same Papers, we have too much cause to note that there is still so great a difference betwixt us as we are looked upon and accounted as Enemies.

And although we hope that the Six Queries, sent by you to us to be answered, were intended to clear doubts and remove the remaining obstructions; which we shall be most ready to do: yet, considering the many misconstructions which may arise from the clearest pen (where men are not all of one mind), and the difficulties at this distance to resolve doubts and rectify mistakes, we conceive our Answer in Writing may not so effectually reach that end, as a Friendly and Christian Conference by equal persons 'might.'

And we doubt not we can, with ingenuity and clearness, give a satisfactory account of those general things held forth in the Letter sent by us to the Committee of Estates,[3] and in our former Declarations and Papers; which we shall be ready to do by a Friendly Debate,—when and where our answer to these particulars may probably tend to the better and more clear understanding betwixt the Godly Party of both Nations.

[1] Baillie, iii. 120.

[2] Remonstrance of the Western Army is this latter; the other, very conceivable as a kind of codicil to this, is not known to me except at second-hand, from Baillie's eager, earnest, very headlong and perplexed account of that Business (iv. 120-122, *et seqq.*).

[3] Letter XCIX. p. 296

To speak plainly in a few words: If those who sincerely love and fear the Lord amongst you are sensible that matters have been and are carried by your State so as that therewith God is not well pleased, but the Interest of His People 'is' hazarded, in Scotland and England, to Malignants, to Papists, and to the Profane,—we can, through Grace, be willing to lay our bones in the dust for your sakes; and can, as heretofore we have 'said,' still continue to say, That, not to impose upon you in Religious or Civil Interests, not dominion or any worldly advantage, 'not these,' but the obtaining of a just security to ourselves,[1] were the motives, and satisfactions to our consciences, in this Undertaking. 'A just security;' which we believe by this time you may think we had cause to be sensible was more than endangered by the carriage of affairs with your King. And it is not success, and more visible clearness to our consciences arising out of the discoveries God hath made of the hypocrisies of men, that hath altered, 'or can alter,' our principles or demands. But we take from thence humble encouragement to follow the Lord's providence in serving His Cause and People: not doubting but He will give such an issue to this Business as will be to His glory and your comfort.

I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

There followed no "Friendly Debate" upon this Letter; nothing followed upon it except new noise in the Western Army, and a straitlaced case of conscience more perplexing than ever. Jaffray and Carstairs had to come back on parole again; Strahan at length withdrew from the concern: the Western Army went its own separate middle road,—to what issue we shall see.

Here is another trait of the old time; not without illumination for us. "One Watt, a tenant of the Earl of Tweedale's, being sore oppressed by the English, took to himself some of his own degree; and by daily incursions and infalls on the English Garrisons and Parties in Lothian, killed and took of them above Four-hundred," or say the half or quarter of so many, and "enriched himself by their spoils." The like did "one Augustin, a High-German," not a Dutchman, "being purged out of the Army before Dunbar Drove,"—of whom we shall hear farther. In fact, the class called Mosstroopers begins to abound; the only class that can flourish in such a state of affairs. Whereupon comes out this

PROCLAMATION.

I FINDING that divers of the Army under my command are not only spoiled and robbed, but also sometimes barbarously and inhumanly butchered and slain, by a sort of Outlaws and Robbers, not under the discipline of any Army; and finding that all our tenderness to the Country produceth no other effect than their compliance with, and protection of, such persons; and considering that it is in the power of the Country to detect and discover them (many of them being inhabitants of

[1] "Securing ourselves" *in orig.* * Clarendon State-Papers (Oxford, 1773), ii. 551-2.

those places where commonly the outrage is committed); and perceiving that their motion is ordinarily by the invitation, and according to intelligence given them by Countrymen:

I do therefore declare that wheresoever any under my command shall be hereafter robbed or spoiled by such parties, I will require life for life, and a plenary satisfaction for their goods, of those Parishes and Places where the fact shall be committed: unless they shall discover and produce the offender. And this I wish all persons to take notice of, that none may plead ignorance.

Given under my hand at Edinburgh, the 5th of November, 1650.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER CXXXIX.

ONE nest of Mosstroopers, not far off, in the Dalkeith region, ought specially to be abated.

To the Governor of Borthwick Castle: These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 18th November, 1650.

I thought fit to send this trumpet to you, to let you know, That if you please to walk away with your company, and deliver the House to such as I shall send to receive it, you shall have liberty to carry off your arms and goods, and such other necessaries as you have.

You have harboured such parties in your House as have basely and inhumanly murdered our men: if you necessitate me to bend my cannon against you, you may expect what I doubt you will not be pleased with. I expect your present Answer; and rest

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

The Governor of Borthwick Castle, Lord Borthwick of that Ilk, did as he was bidden; "walked away," with movable goods, with wife and child, and had "fifteen days" allowed him to pack: whereby the Dalkeith region and Carlisle Road is a little quieter henceforth.

LETTER CXL.

COLONELS KER and Strahan with their *Remonstrance* have filled all Scotland with a fresh figure of dissension. The Kirk finds "many sad truths" in it; knows not what to do with it. In the Estates themselves there is division of opinion. Men of Worship, the Minister in Kirkcaldy among others, are heard to say strang things: "That a Hypocrite," or Solecism Incarnate, "ought not to reign over us; that we should treat with Cromwell, and give him assurance not to trouble England with a King; that whosoever mars such a Treaty, the blood of the slain shall be on his head!" "which are strange words," says Baillie, "if true." Scotland is in a hopeful way. The extreme party of Malignants in the North is not yet quite extinct; and here is another extreme party of Remonstrants in the West,—to whom all the conscientious rash men of Scotland, in Kirkcaldy and elsewhere, seem as if they would join themselves! Nothing but remonstrating, protesting, treatying and mistreatying from sea to sea.

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 94).

† Russell's Life of Cromwell, ii. 95 (from *Statistical Account of Scotland*).

To have taken up such a Remonstrance at first, and stood by it, before the War began, had been very wise : but to take it up now, and attempt not to make a Peace by it, but to continue the War with it, looks mad enough ! Such nevertheless is Colonel Gibby Ker's project, —not Strahan's, it would seem : men's projects strangely cross one another in this time of bewilderment ; and only perhaps in doing *nothing* could a man in such a scene act wisely. Lambert, however, is gone into the West with Three-thousand horse to deal with Ker and his projects ; the Lord General has himself been in the West : the end of Ker's projects is succinctly shadowed forth in the following Letter. From Baillie[1] we learn that Ker, with his Western Army, was lying at a place called Carmunnock, when he made this infall upon Lambert ; that the time of it was "four in the morning of Sunday 1st December, 1650 ;" and the scene of it Hamilton Town, and the streets and ditches thereabouts : a dark sad business, of an ancient Winter morning ;— sufficiently luminous for our purpose with it here.

The "treaties among the Enemy" means Ker and Strahan's confused remonstratings and treatyings ; the "result," or general upshot, of which is this scene in the ditches at four in the morning.[2]

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England : These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 4th December, 1650.

I have now sent you the results of some Treaties amongst the Enemy, which came to my hand this day.

The Major-General and Commissary-General Whalley marched a few days ago towards Glasgow. The Enemy attempted his quarters in Hamilton ; were entered the Town : but by the blessing of God, by a very gracious hand of Providence, without the loss of six men as I hear of, he beat them out ; killed about an Hundred ; took also about the same number, amongst whom are some prisoners of quality ; and near an Hundred horse,—as I am informed. The Major-General is still in the chase of them ; to whom also I have since sent the addition of a fresh party. Colonel Ker (as my Messenger, this night, tells me) is taken ; his Lieutenant-Colonel ; and one that was sometimes Major to Colonel Strahan ; and Ker's Captain-Lieutenant. The whole Party is shattered. And give me leave to say it, If God had not brought them upon us, we might have marched Three-thousand horse to death, and not have lighted on them. And truly it was a strange Providence brought them upon him. For I marched from Edinburgh on the north side of Clyde ; 'and had' appointed the Major-General to march from Peebles to Hamilton, on the south side of Clyde. I came thither by the time expected ; tarried the remainder of the day, and until near seven o'clock the next morning,—apprehending 'then that' the Major-General would not come, by reason of the waters. I being retreated, the Enemy took encouragement ; marched all that night ; and came upon the Major-General's quarters about two hours before day ; where it pleased the Lord to order as you have heard.

The Major-General and Commissary-General (as he sent me word)

[1] iii. 125. [2] See also Whitlocke, 16 December, 1650.

were still gone on in the prosecution of them; and 'he' saith that, except an Hundred-and-fifty horse in one body, he hears they are fled, by sixteen or eighteen in a company, all the country over. Robin Montgomery was come out of Stirling, with four or five regiments of horse and dragoons,[1] but was put to a stand when he heard of the issue of this business. Strahan and some other Officers had quitted some three weeks or a month before this business; so that Ker commanded this whole party in chief.

It is given out that the Malignants will be almost all received, and rise unanimously and expeditiously. I can assure you, that those that serve you here find more satisfaction in having to deal with men of this stamp than 'with' others; and it is our comfort that the Lord hath hitherto made it the matter of our prayers, and of our endeavours (if it might have been the will of God), To have had a Christian understanding between those that fear God in this land and ourselves. And yet we hope it hath not been carried on with a willing failing of our duty to those that trust us:—and I am persuaded the Lord hath looked favourably upon our sincerity herein; and will still do so; and upon you also, whilst you make the Interest of God's People yours.

Those religious People of Scotland that fall in this Cause, we cannot but pity and mourn for them; and we pray that all good men may do so too. Indeed there is at this time a very great distraction, and mighty workings of God upon the hearts of divers, both Ministers and People; much of it tending to the justification of your Cause. And although some are as bitter and as bad as ever; making it their business to shuffle hypocritically with their consciences and the Covenant, to make it 'seem' lawful to join with Malignants, which now they do,—as well they might long before, having taken in the Head 'Malignant' of them: yet truly others are startled at it; and some have been constrained by the work of God upon their consciences, to make sad and solemn accusations of themselves, and lamentations in the face of their Supreme Authority; charging themselves as guilty of the blood shed in this War, by having a hand in the Treaty at Breda, and by bringing the King in amongst them. This lately did a Lord of the Session; and withdrew 'from the Committee of Estates.' And lately Mr. James Livingston, a man as highly esteemed as any for piety and learning, who was a Commissioner for the Kirk at the said Treaty,—charged himself with the guilt of the blood of this War, before their Assembly; and withdrew from them, and is retired to his own house.

It will be very necessary, to encourage victuallers to come to us, that you take off Customs and Excise from all things brought hither for the use of the Army.

I beg your prayers; and rest,

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[1] For the purpose of rallying to him these Western forces, or such of them as would follow the official Authorities and him; and leading them to Stirling, to the Main Army (Baillie *ubi supra*). Poor Ker thought it might be useful to do a feat on his own footing first: and here is the conclusion of him! Colonel "Robin Montgomery" is the Earl of Eglinton's Son whom we have repeatedly seen before.

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 94, 5).

This then is the end of Ker's fighting project; a very mad one, at this stage of the business. The *Remonstrance* continued long to be the symbol of the Extreme-Covenant or Whiggamore Party among the Scots; but its practical operation ceased here. Ker lies lamed, dangerously wounded; and, I think, will fight no more. Strahan and some others, voted traitorous by the native Authorities, went openly over to Cromwell;—Strahan soon after died. As for the Western Army, it straightway dispersed itself; part towards Stirling and the Authorities, the much greater part to their civil callings again, wishing they had never quitted them. "This miscarriage of affairs in the West by a few unhappy men," says Baillie, "put us all under the foot of the Enemy. They presently ran over all the country; destroying cattle and crops; putting Glasgow and all other places under grievous contributions. This makes me," for my part, "stick at Perth; not daring to go where the Enemy is master, as he now is of all Scotland south of the Forth."[1]

It only remains to be added, that the two Extreme Parties being broken, the Middle or Official one rose supreme, and widened its borders by the admission, as Oliver anticipated, "of the Malignants almost all;" a set of "Public Resolutions" so-called being passed in the Scotch Parliament to that end, and ultimately got carried through the Kirk Assembly too. Official majority of "Revolutioners," with a zealous party of "Remonstrants," who are also called "Protesters:" in Kirk and State, these long continue to afflict and worry one another, sad fruit of a Covenanted Charles Stuart; but shall not farther concern us here. It is a great comfort to the Lord General that he has now mainly real Malignants for enemies in this country; and so can smite without reluctance. Unhappy "Resolutioners," if they *could* subdue Cromwell, what would become of them at the hands of their own Malignants! They have admitted the Chief Malignant, "in whom all Malignity does centre," into their bosom; and have an Incarnate Solecism presiding over them. Satisfactorily descended from Elizabeth Muir of Caldwell, but in all other respects most unsatisfactory!—

The "Lord of the Session," who felt startled at this condition of things, and "withdrew" from it, I take to have been Sir James Hope of Craighall,[2] of whom, and whose scruples, and the censures they got, there is frequent mention in these months. But the Laird of Swinton, another of the same, went still farther in the same course; and indeed, soon after this defeat of Ker, went openly over to Cromwell. "There is very great distraction, there are mighty workings upon the hearts of divers." "Mr. James Livingston," the Minister of Ancrum, has left a curious *Life* of himself:—he is still represented by a distinguished family in America.

LETTER CXLI.

THE next affair is that of Edinburgh Castle. Our Derbyshire miners found the rock very hard, and made small way in it: but now the Lord General has got his batteries ready; and, on Thursday 12th December, after three months blockade, salutes the place with his "guns and mortars," and the following set of Summonses; which prove effectual.

[1] iii. 125 (date, 2 January, 1650-1). [2] Balfour, iv 124, 225.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 12th December, 1650.

We being now resolved, by God's assistance, to make use of such means as He hath put into our hands, towards the reducing of Edinburgh Castle, I thought fit to send you this Summons.

What the grounds of our proceedings have been, and what our desires and aims in relation to the glory of God and the common Interest of His People, we have often expressed in our Papers tendered to public view. To which though credit hitherto hath not been given by men, yet the Lord hath been pleased to bear a gracious and favourable testimony; and hath not only kept us constant to our profession, and in our affections to such as fear the Lord in this Nation, but hath unmasked others from their pretences,—as appears by the present transactions at St. Johnston.[1] Let the Lord dispose your resolutions as seemeth good to Him: my sense of duty presseth me, for the ends aforesaid, and to avoid the effusion of more blood, To demand the rendering of this place to me upon fit conditions.

To which expecting your answer this day, I rest,

Sir, your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

The Governor's Answer to my Lord General's letter is this:

"*For his Excellency the General of the English Forces.*

"Edinburgh, 12th December, 1650.

"MY LORD,—I am entrusted by the Estates of Scotland with this place; and being sworn not to deliver it to any without their warrant, I have no power to dispose thereof by myself. I do therefore desire the space of ten days, wherein I may conveniently acquaint the said Estates, and receive their answer. And for this effect, your safe-conduct for them employed in the message. Upon the receipt of their answer, you shall have the resolution of,—my Lord, your most humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

The Lord General's Reply to Governor Walter Dundas:

LETTER CXLII.

For the Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh.

SIR, Edinburgh, 12th December, 1650.

It concerns not me to know your obligations to those that trust you. I make no question of the apprehensions you have of your abilities to resist those impressions which shall be made upon you,[2] are the natural and equitable rules of all men's judgments and consciences in your condition;—except you had taken an oath beyond a possibility. I leave that to your consideration; and shall not seek to contest with your thoughts: only I think it may become me to let you know, You may have honourable terms for yourself and those with you; and both yourself and soldiers have satisfaction to all your reasonable

[1] Readmission "of the Malignants almost all;" Earl of Calendar, Duke of Hamilton, &c. (Balfor, iv. 179-203); by the Parliament at Perth, at "St. Johnston," as the old name is.

[2] By my cannons and mortars.

desires; and those that have other employments, liberty and protection in the exercise of them.

But to deal plainly with you, I will not give liberty to you to consult your Committee of Estates; because I hear, those that are honest amongst them, enjoy not satisfaction, and the rest are now discovered to seek another Interest than they have formerly pretended to. And if you desire to be informed of this, you may, by them you dare trust, at a nearer distance than St. Johnston.

Expecting your present answer, I rest,

Sir, your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

The Governor's Reply No. 2 arrives on the morrow, Friday:

"*For his Excellency the Lord General of the English Forces in Scotland.*

"Edinburgh Castle, 13th December, 1650.

"MY LORD,—It much concerneth me (considering my obligations) to be found faithful in the trust committed to me. And therefore, in the fear of the living God, and of His great Name called upon in the accepting of my trust, I do again press the liberty of acquainting the Estates The time is but short; and I do expect it as answerable to your profession of affection to those that fear the Lord. In the meantime I am willing to hear information of late proceedings from such as he dare trust who is,—my Lord, your humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

The Lord General's Reply No. 2:

LETTER CXLIII.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 13th December, 1650.

Because of your strict and solemn adjuration of me, in the fear and Name of the living God, That I gave you time to send to the Committee of Estates, to whom you undertook the keeping of this place under the obligation of an oath, as you affirm,—I cannot but hope that it is your conscience, and not policy, carrying you to that desire. The granting of which, if it be prejudicial to our affairs,—I am as much obliged in conscience not to do it, as you can pretend cause for your conscience' sake to desire it.

Now considering 'that' our merciful and wise God binds not His People to actions too cross one to another; but that our bands may be,[1] as I am persuaded they are, through our mistakes and darkness,—not only in the question about the surrendering this Castle, but also in all the present differences;—I have much reason to believe that, by a Conference, you may be well satisfied, in point of fact, of your Estates (to whom you say you are obliged) carrying on an Interest destructive and contrary to what they professed when they committed that trust to you,—having made to depart from them many honest men through fear of their own safety,[2] and making way for the reception of professed Malignants, both in their Parliament and Army:—and also 'that you' may have laid before you such grounds of our ends and aims to the

[1] our perplexities are caused. [2] Swinton, Strahan, Hope of Craighall, &c.

preservation of the interest of honest men in Scotland as well as England, as will (if God vouchsafe to appear in them) give your conscience satisfaction. Which if you refuse, I hope you will not have cause to say that we are either unmindful of the great Name of the Lord which you have mentioned, nor that we are wanting to answer our profession of affection to those that fear the Lord.

I am willing to cease hostility, for some hours, or convenient time to so good an end as information of judgment, and satisfaction of conscience ;—although I may not give liberty for the time desired, to send to the Committee of Estates ; or at all stay the prosecution of my attempt.

Expecting your sudden answer, I rest,

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The Governor's reply, No. 3, comes out on Saturday :

"*For his Excellency, the Lord General of the English Forces in Scotland : These.*

"Edinburgh Castle, 14th December, 1650.

"MY LORD,—What I pressed, in my last, proceeded from conscience and not from policy : and I conceived that the few days desired could not be of such prejudice to your affairs, as to bar the desired expressions of professed affection towards those that fear the Lord. And I expected that a small delay of our own[1] affairs should not have preponderated the satisfaction of a desire pressed in so serious and solemn a manner for satisfying conscience.

But if you will needs persist in denial, I shall desire to hear the information of late proceedings from such as I dare trust, and 'as' have had occasion to know the certainty of things. Such I hope you will permit to come alongst at the first convenience ; and during that time all acts of hostility, and prosecution of attempts, be forborne on both sides. I am, my Lord, your humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

The Lord General's Reply, No. 3.

LETTER CXLIV.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle : These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 14th December, 1650.

You will give me leave to be sensible of delays out of conscience of duty 'too.'

If you please to name any you would speak with 'who are' now in Town, they shall have liberty to come and speak with you for one hour, if they will ; provided you send presently. I expect there be no loss of time. I rest,

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

Governor Dundas applies hereupon for Mr. Alexander Jaffray and the

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 97).

1 "our own," *one's own.*

† Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 97).

Reverend John Carstairs to be sent to him : two official persons, whom we saw made captive in Dunbar Drove, who have ever since been Prisoners-on-parole with his Excellency ; doing now and then an occasional message for him ; much meditating on him and his ways. Who very naturally decline to be concerned with so delicate an operation as this now on hand,—in the following characteristic Note, in his Excellency's Reply, No, 4 :

LETTER CXLV.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle : These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 14th December, 1650.

Having acquainted the Gentlemen with your desire to speak with them, and they making some difficulty of it, have desired me to send you this enclosed. I rest,

Sir, your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Here is "this enclosed :"

"*For the Right Honourable the Governor of Edinburgh Castle : These.*

"Edinburgh, 14th December, 1650.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,—We now hearing that you was desirous to speak with us for your information of the posture of affairs, we would be glad, and we think you make no doubt of it, to be refreshing or useful to you in anything ; but the matter is of so high concernment, especially since it may be you will lean somewhat upon our information in managing that important trust put upon you, that we dare not take upon us to meddle : ye may therefore do as ye find yourselves clear and in capacity ; and the Lord be with you. We are, Sir, your honour's humble servants, wellwishers in the Lord.

"AL. JAFFRAY.
"JO. CARSTAIRS."

So that, for this Saturday, nothing can be done. On Sunday, we suppose, Mr. Stapylton, in black, teaches in St. Giles's ; and other qualified persons, some of them in red with belts, teach in other Kirks ; the Scots, much taken with the doctrine, "answering in their usual way of groans," Hum-m-m-rrh !—and on Monday, it is like, the cannons and mortar-pieces begin to teach again, or indicate that they can at once begin. Wherefore, on Wednesday, here is a new Note from Governor Dundas ; which we shall call Reply No. 4, from that much-straitened Gentleman :

"Edinburgh Castle, 18th December, 1650.

"MY LORD,—I expected that conscience, which you pretended to be your motive that did induce you to summon this house before you did attempt anything against it, should also have moved you to have expected my Answer to your Demand of the house : which I could not, out of conscience, suddenly give, without mature deliberation ; it being a business of such high importance. You having refused that little time, which I did demand to the effect I might receive the commands of them that did intrust me with this place ; and" I "yet not daring to

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 98).

fulfil your desire,—I do demand such a competent time as may be condescended upon betwixt us, within which if no relief come, I shall surrender this place upon such honourable conditions as can be agreed upon by capitulation; and during which time all acts of hostility and prosecution of attempts on both sides may be forborne. I am, my Lord, you humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

The Lord General's Reply, No. 5:

LETTER CXLVI.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 18th December, 1650.

All that I have to say is shortly this: That if you will send out Commissioners by eleven o'clock this night, thoroughly instructed and authorised to treat and conclude, you may have terms, honourable and safe to you, and 'to' those whose interests are concerned in the things that are with you. I shall give a safe-conduct to such whose names you shall send within the time limited, and order to forbear shooting at their coming forth, and going in.

To this I expect your answer within one hour, and rest,

Sir, your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The Governor's Reply, No. 5:

"Edinburgh Castle, 18th December, 1650.

"MY LORD,—I have thought upon these two Gentlemen whose names are here mentioned; to wit, Major Andrew Abernethy and Captain Robert Henderson; whom I purpose to send out instructed, in order to the carrying-on the Capitulation. Therefore expecting a safe-conduct for them with this bearer,—I rest, my Lord, your humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

The Lord General's Reply, No 6:

LETTER CXLVII.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 18th December, 1650.

I have, here enclosed, sent you a safe-conduct for the coming forth and return of the Gentlemen you desire; and have appointed and authorised Colonel Monk and Lieutenant-Colonel White to meet with your Commissioners, at the house in the safe-conduct mentioned: there to treat and conclude of the Capitulation, on my part. I rest,

Sir, your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Here is his Excellency's Pass or safe-conduct for them:

PASS.

To all Officers and Soldiers under my command.

YOU are on sight hereof to suffer Major Andrew Abernethy and Captain Robert Henderson to come forth of Edinburgh Castle, to the house

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 98).

of Mr. Wallace in Edinburgh, and to return back into the said Castle, without any trouble or molestation.

Given under my hand, this 18th December, 1650.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

By to-morrow morning, in Mr. Wallace's house, Colonel Monk and the other Three have agreed upon handsome terms ; of which, except what indicates itself in the following Proclamation, published by beat of drum the same day, we need say nothing. All was handsome, just and honourable, as the case permitted ; my Lord General being extremely anxious to gain this place, and conciliate the Godly People of the Nation. By one of the conditions, the Public Registers, now deposited in the Castle, are to be accurately bundled up by authorised persons, and carried to Stirling, or whither the Authorities please ; concerning which some question afterwards accidentally rises.

PROCLAMATION.

To be proclaimed by the Marshal-general, by beat of drum, in Edinburgh and Leith.

WHEREAS there is an agreement of articles by treaty concluded betwixt myself and Colonel Walter Dundas, Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, which doth give free liberty to all Inhabitants adjacent, and all other persons who have any goods in the said Castle, to fetch forth the same from thence :

These are therefore to declare, That all such people before mentioned who have any goods in the Castle, as is before expressed, shall have free liberty between this present Thursday the 19th instant and Tuesday the 24th, To repair to the Castle, and to fetch away their goods, without let or molestation. And I do hereby further declare and require all Officers and Soldiers of this Army, That they take strict care, that no violation be done to any person or persons fetching away their goods, and carrying them to such place or places as to them seemeth fit. And if it shall so fall out that any Soldier shall be found willingly or wilfully to do anything contrary hereunto, he shall suffer death for the same. And if it shall appear that any Officer shall, either through connivance or otherwise, do or suffer 'to be done' anything contrary to and against the said Proclamation, wherein it might lie in his power to prevent or hinder the same, he the said Officer shall likewise suffer death.

Given under my hand the 19th of December, 1650.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

It is now Thursday : we gain admittance to the Castle on the Tuesday following, and the Scotch forces march away,—in a somewhat confused manner, I conceive. For Governor Dundas and the other parties implicated are considered little better than traitors, at Stirling : in fact they are, openly or secretly, of the Remonstrant or Protester species ; and may as well come over to Cromwell ;—which at once or gradually the most of them do. What became of the Clergy, let us not inquire : Remonstrants or Resolutioners, confused times await them ! Of which

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 99).

here and there a glimpse may turn up as we proceed. The Lord General has now done with Scotch Treaties: the Malignants and Quasi-Malignants are ranked in one definite body; and he may smite without reluctance. Here is his Letter to the Speaker on this business. After which, we may hope, the rest of his Scotch Letters may be given in a mass; sufficiently legible without commentary of ours.

LETTER CXLVIII.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

RIGHT HONOURABLE, Edinburgh, 24th December, 1650.

It hath pleased God to cause this Castle of Edinburgh to be surrendered into our hands this day, about eleven o'clock. I thought fit to give you such account thereof as I could, and 'as' the shortness of time would permit.

I sent a Summons to the Castle upon the 12th instant; which occasioned several Exchanges and Replies,—which, for their unusualness, I also thought fit humbly to present to you.[1] Indeed the mercy is very great, and seasonable. I think, I need to say little of the strength of the place; which, if it had not come in as it did, would have cost very much blood to have attained, if at all to be attained; and did tie up your Army to that inconvenience, That little or nothing could have been attempted whilst this was in design; or little fruit had of any thing brought into your power by your Army hitherto, without it. I must needs say, not any skill or wisdom of ours, but the good hand of God hath given you this place.

I believe all Scotland hath not in it so much brass ordnance as this place. I send you here enclosed a List thereof,[2] and of the arms and ammunition, so well as they could be taken on a sudden. Not having more at present to trouble you with, I take leave, and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTERS CXLIX.—CLXVII.

THE Lord General is now settled at Edinburgh till the season for campaigning return. Tradition still reports him as lodged, as in 1648, in that same spacious and sumptuous "Earl of Murrie's House in the Cannigate;" credibly enough; though Tradition does not in this instance produce any written voucher hitherto. The Lord General, as we shall find by and by, falls dangerously sick here; worn down by over-work and the rugged climate.

The Scots lie entrenched at Stirling, diligently raising new levies; parliamenting and committee-ing diligently at Perth;—crown their King at Scone Kirk, on the First of January,[3] in token that they have now all

[1] We have already read them.

[2] Drakes, minions, murderers, monkeys, of brass and iron,—not interesting to us, except it be "the great iron murderer called *Muckle-Meg*," already in existence, and still held in some confused remembrance in those Northern parts.

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 99).

[3] Minute description of the ceremony, in Somers Tracts, vi. 117.

'complied" with him. The Lord General is virtually master of all Scotland south of the Forth ;—fortifies, before long, a Garrison as far west as "Newark,"[1] which we now call Port Glasgow, on the Clyde. How his forces had to occupy themselves, reducing detached Castles ; coercing Mosstroopers ; and, in detail, bringing the Country to obedience, the old Books at great length say, and the reader here shall fancy in his mind. Take the following two little traits from Whitlocke, and spread them out to the due expansion and reduplication :

"*February 3d*, 1650. Letters that Colonel Fenwick summoned Hume Castle to be surrendered to General Cromwell. The Governor answered, 'I know not Cromwell ; and as for my Castle, it is built on a rock.' Whereupon Colonel Fenwick played upon him" a little "with the great guns." But the Governor still would not yield ; nay sent a Letter couched in these singular terms :

> "I, William of the Wastle,
> Am now in my Castle ;
> And aw the dogs in the town
> Shanna gar[2] me gang down."

So that there remained nothing but opening the mortars upon this William of the Wastle ; which did gar him gang down,—more fool than he went up.

We also read how Colonel Hacker and others rooted out bodies of Mosstroopers from Strength after Strength ; and "took much oatmeal," which must have been very useful there. But this little entry, a few days subsequent to that of Willie Wastle, affected us most : "Letters that the Scots in a Village called Geddard rose, and armed themselves; and set upon Captain Dawson as he returned from pursuing some Mosstroopers ;—killed his guide and trumpet ; and took Dawson and eight of his party, and after having given them quarter, killed them all in cold blod."[3] In which "Village called Geddard," do not some readers recognise a known place, *Jeddart* or *Jedburgh*, friendly enough to Mosstroopers ; and in the transaction itself, a notable example of what is called "Jeddart Justice,"—killing a man whom you have a pique at ; killing him first, to make sure, and then judging him !—However there come Letters too, "That the English soldiers married divers of the Scots women ;" which was an excellent movement on their part :—and may serve as the concluding feature here.

LETTER CXLIX.

THE "Empson" of this Letter, who is now to have a Company in Hacker's regiment, was transiently visible to us once already, as "Lieutenant Empson of my regiment," in the Skirmish at Musselburgh, four months ago.[4] Hacker is the well-known Colonel Francis Hacker, who attended the King on the scaffold ; having a signed Warrant, which we have read, addressed to him and two other Officers to that effect. The most conspicuous, but by no means the most approved of his military services to this country ! For which one indeed, in overbalance to many

1 Milton State-Papers, p. 84.
2 "Shand garre" is Whitlocke's reading
3 14 Feb, 1650 (Whitlocke, p. 464)
4 Letter CXXII., antea p. 367.

others, he was rewarded with death after the Restoration. A Rutlandshire man; a Captain from the beginning of the War; and rather favourably visible, from time to time, all along. Of whom a kind of continuous Outline of a Biography, considerably different from Caulfield's and other inane Accounts of him,[1] might still be gathered, did it much concern us here. To all appearance, a somewhat taciturn, somewhat indignant, very swift, resolute and valiant man. He died for his share in the Regicide; but did not profess to repent of it;—intimated, in his taciturn way, that he was willing to accept the results of it, and answer for it in a much higher Court than the Westminster one. We are indeed to understand generally, in spite of the light phrase which Cromwell reprimands in this Letter, that Hacker was a religious man; and in his regicides and other operations did not act without some warrant that was very satisfactory to him. For the present he has much to do with Mosstroopers; very active upon them;—for which "Peebles" is a good locality. He continues visible as a Republican to the last; is appointed "to raise a regiment" for the expiring Cause in 1659,—in which, what a little concerns us, this same "Hubbert" here in question is to be his Major.[2]

To the Honourable Colonel Hacker, at Peebles or elsewhere: These.

SIR, 'Edinburgh,' 25th December, 1650.

I have 'used' the best consideration I can, for the present, in this business; and although I believe Captain Hubbert is a worthy man, and hear so much, yet, as the case stands, I cannot, with satisfaction to myself and some others, revoke the Commission I had given to Captain Empson, without offence to them, and reflection upon my own judgment.

I pray let Captain Hubbert know I shall not be unmindful of him, and that no disrespect is intended to him. But indeed I was not satisfied with your last speech to me about Empson, That he was a better preacher than fighter or soldier,—or words to that effect. Truly I think he that prays and preaches best will fight best. I know nothing 'that' will give like courage and confidence as the knowledge of God in Christ will; and I bless God to see any in this Army able and willing to impart the knowledge they have, for the good of others. And I expect it be encouraged, by all the Chief Officers in this Army especially; and I hope you will do so. I pray receive Captain Empson lovingly; I dare assure you he is a good man and a good officer; I would we had no worse. I rest,

Your loving friend,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER CL.

LETTER Hundred-and-fiftieth relates to the exchange of three Prisoners whom we saw taken in Dunbar Drove, and have had an occasional glimpse of since. Before reading it, let us read another Letter, which is

[1] Caulfield's High Court of Justice, pp. 83-7; Trials of the Regicides; &c.
[2] Commons Journals, vii. 669, 675, 824.
* Harris, p. 516; Lansdowne MSS., 1236, fol. 22. contains the *address*, which Harris has omitted.

quite unconnected with this; but which lies, as we may see, on the Lord General's table in Moray House in the Cannongate while he writes this;—and indeed is a unique of its kind: A Letter from the Lord General's Wife.

"My Lord Chief Justice" is Oliver St. John, known to us this long while; "President" is Bradshaw; "Speaker" is Lenthall: high official persons; to whom it were better if the Lord General took his Wife's advice, and wrote occasionally.

"*The Lady Elizabeth Cromwell to her Husband the Lord General at Edinburgh.*

"'Cockpit, London,' 27th December, 1650.

"MY DEAREST,—I wonder you should blame me for writing no oftener, when I have sent three for one: I cannot but think they are miscarried. Truly if I know my own heart, I should as soon neglect myself as to 'omit'[1] the least thought towards you, who in doing it, I must do it to myself. But when I do write, my Dear, I seldom have any satisfactory answer; which makes me think my writing is slighted; as well it may: but I cannot but think your love covers my weakness and infirmities.

"I should rejoice to hear your desire in seeing me; but I desire to submit to the Providence of God; hoping the Lord, who hath separated us, and hath often brought us together again, will in His good time bring us again, to the praise of His name. Truly my life is but half a life in your absence, did not the Lord make it up in Himself, which I must acknowledge to the praise of His grace.

"I would you would think to write sometimes to your dear friend, my Lord Chief Justice, of whom I have often put you in mind. And truly, my Dear, if you would think of what I put you in mind of some, it might be to as much purpose as others;[2] writing sometimes a Letter to the President, and sometimes to the Speaker. Indeed, my Dear, you cannot think the wrong you do yourself in the want of a Letter, though it were but seldom. I pray think on;[3] and so rest,—yours in all faithfulness,

"ELIZABETH CROMWELL."[4]

This Letter, in the original, is frightfully spelt; but otherwise exactly as here: the only Letter extant of this Heroine; and not unworthy of a glance from us. It is given in *Harris* too, and in *Noble* very incorrectly.

And now for the Letter concerning Provost Jaffray and his two fellow prisoners from Dunbar Drove.

For the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General David Lesley: These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 17th January, 1650.

I perceive by your last Letter you had not met with Mr. Carstairs[5] and Mr. Waugh, who were to apply themselves to you about Provost Jaffray's and their release, 'in exchange' for the Seamen and Officers. But I understood, by a Paper since shewn me by them under your hand, that you were contented to release the said Seamen

1 Word torn out.

2 The grammar bad; the meaning evident or discoverable,—and the bad grammar a part of that!

3 "think of" is the Lady's old phrase. 4 Milton State-Papers, p. 40 5 Custaires.

and Officers for those three Persons,—who have had their discharges accordingly.

I am contented also to discharge the Lieutenant, 'in exchange' for the Four Troopers at Stirling, who hath solicited me to that purpose.

I have, here enclosed, sent you a Letter,[1] which I desire you to cause to be conveyed to the Committee of Estates; and that such return shall be sent back to me as they shall please to give.

I remain, Sir,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Here is a notice from Balfour:[2] At Perth, "22d November, 1650 (*Rege præsente*," the King being present, as usually after that Flight to the Grampian Hills he is allowed to be), "the Committee of Estates remits to the Committee of Quarterings the exchange of Prisoners anent Mr. Alexander Jaffray and Mr. John Carstairs, Minister, with some English Prisoners in the Castle of Dunbarton." Nevertheless at this date, six or seven weeks after, the business is not yet perfected.

Alexander Jaffray, as we know already, is Provost of Aberdeen; a leading man for the Covenant from of old; and generally the Member for his Burgh in the Scotch Parliaments of these years. In particular, he sits as Commissioner for Aberdeen for the Parliament that met 4th January, 1649;[3] under which this disastrous Quarrel with the English began. He was famed afterwards (infamous, it then meant) as among the first of the Scotch Quakers; he, with Barclay of Urie, and other lesser Fallen-Stars. Personal intercourse with Cromwell, the Sectary and Blasphemer, had much altered the notions of Mr. Alexander Jaffray. Baillie informed us, three months ago, he and Carstairs, then Prisoners on parole, were sent Westward by Cromwell "to agent the Remonstrance,"—to guide towards some good issue the Ker-and-Strahan Negotiation; which, alas, could only be guided headlong into the ditches at Hamilton before daybreak, as we saw!—Jaffray sat afterwards in the Little Parliament; was an official person in Scotland,[4] and one of Cromwell's leading men there.

Carstairs, we have to say or repeat, is one of the Ministers of Glasgow: deep in the confused Remonstrant-Resolutioner Controversies of that day; though on which side precisely one does not altogether know, perhaps he himself hardly altogether knew. From Baillie, who has frequent notices of him, it is clear he tends strongly towards the Cromwell view in many things; yet with repugnancies, anti-sectary and other, difficult for frail human nature. How he managed his life-pilotage in these circumstances shall concern himself mainly. His Son, I believe, is the "Principal Carstairs,"[5] who became very celebrated among the Scotch Whigs in King William's time. He gets home to Glasgow now, where perhaps we shall see some glimpses of him again.

[1] The next Letter.

[2] iv. 168.

* Thurloe, i. 172. Laigh Parliament House.

[3] Balfour, iii. 382.

[4] Ousted our friend Scotstarvet,—most unjustly, thinks he of the *Staggering State* (p. 181). There wanted only that to make the Homily on Life's Nothingness complete!

[5] Biog. Britann, *in voce*: somewhat indistinct.

John Waugh (whom they spell *Vauch*, and *Wauch*, and otherwise distort) was the painful Minister of Borrowstounness, in the Shire of Linlithgow. A man of many troubles, now and afterwards. Captive in the Dunbar Drove; still deaf he to the temptings of Sectary Cromwell; deafer than ever. In this month of January 1651, we perceive he gets his deliverance; returns with painfully increased experience, but little change of view derived from it, to his painful Ministry; where new tribulations await him. From Baillie[1] I gather that the painful Waugh's invincible tendency was to the Resolutioner or Quasi-Malignant side; and too strong withal;—no level sailing, or smooth pilotage, possible for poor Waugh! For as the Remonstrant-Protester, or Kerand-Strahan Party, having joined itself to the Cromwellean, came ultimately to be dominant in Scotland, there ensued for straitlaced clerical individuals who would cling too desperately to the opposite Resolutioner or Quasi-Malignant side, very bad times. There ensued in the first place, very naturally, this, That the straitlaced individual, who would not cease to pray publicly *against* the now Governing Powers, was put out of his living: this; and if he grew still more desperate, worse than this.

Of both which destinies our poor straitlaced Waugh may serve to us as an emblem here. Some three years hence we find that the Cromwellean Government has, in Waugh's, as in various other cases, ejected the straitlaced Resolutioner, and inducted a *loose*-laced Remonstrant into his Kirk;—leaving poor Waugh the straitlaced to preach "in a barn hard by." And though the looselaced "have but fifteen," and the straitlaced "all the Parish," it matters not; the stipend and the Kirk go with him whose lacing is loose: one has nothing but one's barn left, and sad reflections. Nay in Waugh's case, the very barn, proving as is likely an arena of too vehement discourse, was taken away from him; and he, Waugh, was lodged in Prison, in the Castle of Edinburgh.[2] For Waugh "named the King in his prayers," he and "Mr. Robert Knox" even went that length! In Baillie, under the date 11th November, 1653, is a most doleful inflexible Letter from Waugh's own hand: "brought to the top of this rock," as his ultimate lodgingplace; "having my habitation among the owls of the desert, because of my very great uselessness and fruitlessness among the sons of men." Yet he is right well satisfied, conscience yielding him a good &c. &c.—Poor Waugh, I wish he would reconsider himself. Whether it be absolutely indispensable to Christ's Kirk to have a Nell-Gwynn Defender set over it even though descended from Catherine Muir; and if no other, not the bravest and devoutest of all British men, will do for that? O Waugh, it is a strange camera-obscura the head of man!—

LETTER CLI.

We have heard of many Mosstroopers: we heard once of a certain Watt, a Tenant of the Earl of Tweeddale's, who being ruined out by the War, distinguished himself in this new course; and contemporary with him, of "one Augustin a High-German." To which latter some more special momentary notice now falls due.

[1] iii. 248. [2] Baillie, iii. 248, 253, 228.

Read Balfour's record, and then Cromwell's Letter. "One Augustin, a High-German, being purged out of the Army before Dunbar Drove, but a stout and resolute young man, and lover of the Scots Nation,—imitating Watt,—in October or November this year, annoyed the Enemy very much; killing many of his stragglers; and made nightly infalls upon their quarters, taking and killing sometimes twenty, sometimes thirty, and more or less of them: whereby he both enriched himself and his followers, and greatly damnified the Enemy. His chief abode was about and in the Mountains of Pentland and Soutra."—And again, from Perth, 19th December, 1650: "*Memorandum*, That Augustin departed from Fife with a party of six-score horse; crossed at Blackness on Friday 13th December; forced Cromwell's guards; killed eighty men to the Enemy; put-in thirty-six men to Edinburgh Castle, with all sorts of spices, and some other things; took thirty-five horses and five prisoners, which he sent to Perth the 14th of this instant." Which feat, with the spices and thirty-six men, could not indeed save Edinburgh Castle from surrendering, as we saw, next week; but did procure Captain Augustin "thanks from the Lord Chancellor and Parliament in his Majesty's name," and good outlooks for promotion in that quarter.[1]

For the Right Honourable the Committee of Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland: These.

MY LORDS, Edinburgh, 17th January, 1650.

Having been informed of divers barbarous murders and inhuman acts, perpetrated upon our men by one Augustin a German in employ under you, and one Ross a Lieutenant, I did send to Lieutenant-General David Lesley, desiring justice against the said persons. And to the end I might make good the fact upon them, I was willing either by commissioners on both parts, or in any other equal way, to have the charge proved.

The Lieutenant-General was pleased to allege a want of power from Public Authority to enable him herein; which occasions me to desire your Lordships that this business may be put into such a way as may give satisfaction;—whereby I may understand what rules your Lordships will hold during this sad Contest between the two Nations; 'rules' which may evidence the War to stand upon other pretences at least than the allowing of such actions will suppose.

Desiring your Lordships' Answer, I rest,

My Lords,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No effect whatever seems to have been produced by this Letter. The Scotch Quasi-Malignant Authorities have "thanked" Augustin, and are determined to have all the benefit they can of him,—which cannot be much, one would think! In the following June accordingly we find him become "*Colonel* Augustin," probably Major or Lieutenant-

[1] Balfour, vi. 166, 210, 214.

* Thurloe, i. 173. Laigh Parliament House.

Colonel; quartered with Robin Montgomery "at Dumfries;" giving "an alarm to Carlisle," but by no means taking it;—"falling in," on another occasion, "with Two-hundred picked men," but very glad to fall out again, "nearly all cut off." In strong practical *Remonstrance* against which, the learned Bulstrode has Letters in November, vague but satisfactory, "That the Scots themselves rose against Augustin, "killed some of his men, and drove away the rest;" entirely disapproving of such courses and personages. And then finally in January following, "Letters that Augustin the great robber in Scotland,—upon disbanding of the Marquis of Huntly's forces," the last remnant of Scotch Malignancy for the present,—"went into the Orcades, and there took ship for Norway."[1] Fair wind and full sea to him!—

LETTER CLII.

AN Official Medallist has arrived from London to take the Effigies of the Lord General, for a Medal commemorative of the Victory at Dunbar. The Effigies, Portrait, or "Statue" as they sometimes call it, of the Lord General appears to be in a state of forwardness; but he would fain waive such a piece of vanity. The "Gratuity to the Army" is a solid thing: but this of the Effigies, or Stamp of my poor transient unbeautiful Face—?—However, the Authorities, as we may surmise, have made up their mind.

For the Honourable the Committee of the Army 'at London:' These.

GENTLEMEN, Edinburgh, 4th February, 1650.

It was not a little wonder to me to see that you should send Mr. Symonds so great a journey, about a business importing so little, as far as it relates to me; whereas, if my poor opinion may not be rejected by you, I have to offer to that[2] which I think the most noble end, to wit, The Commemoration of that great Mercy at Dunbar, and the Gratuity to the Army. Which might be better expressed upon the Medal, by engraving, as on the one side the Parliament, which I hear was intended and will do singularly well, so on the other side an Army, with this Inscription over the head of it, *The Lord of Hosts*, which was our Word that day. Wherefore, if I may beg it as a favour from you, I most earnestly beseech you, if I may do it without offence, that it may be so. And if you think not fit to have it as I offer, you may alter it as you see cause; only I do think I may truly say, it will be very thankfully acknowledged by me, if you will spare the having my Effigies in it.

The Gentleman's pains and trouble hither have been very great; and I shall make it my second suit unto you that you will please to confer upon him that Employment which Nicholas Briot had before him: indeed the man is ingenious, and worthy of encouragement. I may not presume much; but if, at my request, and for my sake, he may obtain this favour, I shall put it upon the account of my obligations, which are

[1] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 104); Whitlocke, 23 November, 1651; ib. 14 January, 1651-2.

[2] I should vote exclusively for that.

not few; and, I hope, shall be found ready to acknowledge 'it,' and to approve myself,

Gentlemen,
Your most real servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Of "Nicholas Briot" and "Mr. Symonds," since they have the honour of a passing relation to the Lord General; and still enjoy, or suffer, a kind of ghost-existence in the Dilettante memory, we may subjoin, rather than cancel, the following authentic particulars. In the Commons Journals of 20th August, 1642, it is: "*Ordered*, That the Earl of Warwick," now Admiral of our Fleet, "be desired that Monsieur Bryatt may have delivery of his wearing apparel; and all his other goods stayed at Scarborough, not belonging to Minting and Coining of Monies."—This Nicholas Briot, or Bryatt, then, must have been Chief Engraver for the Mint at the beginning of the Civil Wars. We perceive, he has gone to the King northward; but is here stopt at Scarborough, with all his baggage, by Warwick the Lord High Admiral: and is to get away. What became of him afterwards, or what was his history before, no man and hardly any Dilettante knows.

Symonds, Symons, or as the moderns call him, Simon, is still known as an improved Medal-maker. In the Commons Journals of 17th December, 1651, we find: "*Ordered*, That it be referred to the Council of State to take order that the sum of 300*l.* be paid unto Thomas Symons, which was agreed by the Committee appointed for that purpose to be paid unto him, for the Two Great Seals made by him, and the materials thereof: And that the said Council do take consideration of what farther recompense is fit to be given unto him for his extraordinary pains therein; and give order for the payment of such sum of money as they shall think fit in respect thereof."

An earlier entry, which still more concerns us here, is an Order, in favour of one whose name has not reached the Clerk, and is now indicated only by stars, That the Council of State shall pay him for "making the Statue of the General,"—doubtless this Medal or Effigies of the General; the name indicated by stars being again that of Symonds. The Order, we observe, has the same date as the present Letter.[1] The Medal of Cromwell, executed on this occasion, still exists, and is said to be a good likeness.[2] The Committee-men had not taken my Lord General's advice about the Parliament, about the Army with the Lord of Hosts, and the total omitting of his own Effigies. Vertue published Engravings of all these Medals of Simon (as he spells him) in the year 1753.

The "Two Great Seals," mentioned in the Excerpt above, are also worth a word from us. There had a good few Great Seals to be made in the course of this War; all by Symonds: of whom, with reference thereto, we find, in authentic quarters, various notices, of years long prior and posterior to this. The *first* of all the "new Great Seals" was the one made, after infinite debates and hesitations, in 1643, when Lord Keeper Lyttleton ran away with the original: Symonds was the maker of this, as other entries of the same Rhadamanthine Commons Journals

* Harris, p. 519. [1] Commons Journals, 4 February, 1650-1. [2] Harris, p. 518.

instruct us: On the 11th July, 1643, Henry Marten vs to bring "the man" that will make the new Great Seal, and let us see him "to-morrow;" which man it turns out, at sight of him, not "to-morrow," but a week after, on the 19th July, is "Mr. Simonds,"[1]—who, we find farther, is to have 100*l.* for his work; 40*l.* in hand, 30*l.* as soon as his work is done, and the other 30*l.* one knows not when. Symonds made the Seal duly; but as for his payment, we fear it was not very duly made. Of course when the Commonwealth and Council of State began, a couple of new Great Seals were needed; and these too, as we see above, Symonds made; and is *to be* paid for them, and for the General's Statue;—which we hope he was, but are not sure!

Other new Seals, Great and Not-so-great, in the subsequent mutations, were needed; and assiduous Symonds made them all. Nevertheless, in 1659, when the Protectorate under Richard was staggering towards ruin, we find "Mr. Thomas Symonds, Chief Graver of the Mint and Seals," repeatedly turning up with new Seals, new *order* for payment, and new indication that the order was but incompletely complied with.[2] May 14th, 1659, he has made a new and newest Great Seal; he is to be paid for that, and "for the former, for which he yet remains unsatisfied." Also on the 24th May, 1659,[3] the Council of State get a new Seal from him. Then on the 22d August, on the Rump Parliament's reassembling, he makes a "new Parliament Seal;" and presents a modest Petition to have his money paid him: *order* is granted very promptly to that end; "his debt to be paid for this Seal, and for all former work done by him;"—we *hope*, with complete effect.[4]

The Restoration soon followed, and Symonds continued still in the Mint under Charles II.; when it is not very likely his claims were much better attended to; the brave Hollar, and other brave Artists, having their own difficulties to get life kept in, during those rare times, Mr. Rigmarole!—Symonds, we see, did get the place of Nicholas Briot; and found it, like other brave men's places, full of hard work and short rations. Enough now of Symonds and the Seals and Effigies.

LETTER CLIII.

ALONG with Symonds, various English strangers, we perceive, are arriving or arrived, on miscellaneous business with the Lord General in his Winter-quarters. Part of the Oxford Caput is here in Edinburgh, with "a very high testimony of respect;" whom, in those same hours, the Lord General dismisses honourably with their Answer.

We are to premise that Oxford University, which at the end of the First Civil War had been found in a most broken, Malignant, altogether waste and ruinous condition, was afterwards, not without difficulty, and immense patience on the part of the Parliament Commissioners, radically reformed. Philip Earl of Pembroke, he of the loud voice, who dined once with Bulstrode in the Guildhall;[5] he, as Chancellor of the University, had at last to go down in person, in the Spring of 1648;—put the intemperate Dr. Fell, incorrigible otherwise, under lock and

[1] Commons Journals, iii 162, 174. [2] Ibid. vii. 654. [3] Ibid. vii. 663.
[4] Ibid. vii. 654, 663, 765. [5] Antea, p. 283.

key; left the incorrigible Mrs. Dr. Fell, "whom the soldiers had to carry out in her chair," "sitting in the quadrangle;" appointed a new Vice-Chancellor, new Heads were needful,—and, on the whole, swept the University clean of much loud Nonsense, and left some Piety and Sense, the best he could meet with, at work there in its stead.[1] At work, with earnest diligence and good success, as it has since continued actually to be,—for the contemporary clamours and *Querelas* about Vandalism, Destruction of Learning, and so forth, prove on examination to be mere agonised shrieks, and unmelodious hysterical wind, forgettable by all creatures. Not easily before or since could the Two Universities give such account of themselves to mankind, under all categories, human and divine, as during those Puritan years.

But now Philip of Pembroke, the loud-voiced Chancellor of Oxford, is dead; and the reformed University, after due consultation, has elected the Lord General in his stead; to which "high testimony" here is his response.—"Dr. Greenwood," who I think has some cast about his eyes, is otherwise a most recommendable man: "Bachelor, then Doctor of Divinity, sometimes Fellow of Brasenose College," says Royalist Anthony,[2] "and lately made Principal of the said College by the Committee and Parliamentary Visitors; a severe and good Governor, as well in his Vice-Chancellorship as Principality; continued till the King's return, and then"—

To the Reverend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and other the Members of the Convocation.

HONOURED GENTLEMEN, Edinburgh, 4th February, 1650.

I have received, by the hands of those worthy Persons of your University sent by you into Scotland, a Testimony of very high respect and honour, in 'your' choosing me to be your Chancellor. Which deserves a fuller return, of deep resentment, value and acknowledgment, than I am any ways able to make. Only give me leave a little to expostulate, on your and my own behalf. I confess it was in your freedom to elect, and it would be uningenious in me to reflect upon your action; only (though somewhat late) let me advise you of my unfitness to answer the ends of so great a Service and Obligation, with some things very obvious.

I suppose a principal aim in such elections hath not only respected abilities and interest to serve you, but freedom 'as' to opportunities of time and place. As the first may not be well supposed, so the want of the latter may well become me to represent to you. You know where Providence hath placed me for the present; and to what I am related if this call were off,[3]—I being tied to attendance in another Land as much out of the way of serving you as this, for some certain time yet to

[1] Act and Visitors' names in Scobell, i., 116 (1 May, 1647); see Commons Journals, v. 83-142 (10 February—15 April, 1647): 8 March, 1647-8, Chancellor Pembroke is to go (Neal, ii., 307; Walker, i., 133); makes report, and is thanked, 21 April, 1648 (Commons Journals, v., 538). Copious history of the proceedings, from the Puritan side, in Neal, ii., 290-314; and from the Royalist side, in Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 124-142, which latter, amid its tempestuous froth, has many entertaining traits.

[2] Wood's Fasti, ii., 157 (in Anthenæ, iv.), of July, 1649.

[3] Lord Lieutenant of Ireland "for three years to come" (Commons Journals, vi., 239), 22 June, 1649.

come appointed by the Parliament The known esteem and honour of this place is such, that I should wrong it and your favour very much, and your freedom in choosing me, if, either by pretended modesty or in any unbenign way, I should dispute the acceptance of it. Only I hope it will not be imputed to me as a neglect towards you, that I cannot serve you in the measure I desire.

I offer these exceptions with all candour and clearness to you, as 'leaving you' most free to mend your choice in case you think them reasonable; and shall not reckon myself the less obliged to do all good offices for the University. But if these prevail not, and that I must continue this honour,—until I can personally serve you, you shall not want my prayers That that seed and stock of Piety and Learning, so marvellously springing up amongst you, may be useful to that great and glorious Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ; of the approach of which so plentiful an effusion of the Spirit upon those hopeful plants is one of the best presages. And in all other things I shall, by the Divine assistance, improve my poor abilities and interests in manifesting myself, to the University and yourselves,

Your most cordial friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

On the same Tuesday, 4th February, 1650-1, while the Lord General is writing this and the former Letter, his Army, issuing from its Leith Citadel and other winter-quarters, has marched westward towards Stirling; he himself follows on the morrow. His Army on Tuesday got to Linlithgow; the Lord General overtook them at Falkirk on Wednesday. Two such days of wind, hail, snow, and rain as made our soldiers very uncomfortable indeed. On Friday, the morning proving fair, we set out again; got to Kilsyth;—but the hail-reservoirs also opened on us again: we found it impossible to get along; and so returned, by the road we came; back to Edinburgh on Saturday,[1]—coated with white sleet, but endeavouring not to be discouraged. We hope we much terrified the Scots at Stirling: but the hail-reservoirs proved friendly to them.

LETTER CLIV.

THE Oxford Convocation has received the foregoing Letter, "canting Letter sent thereunto," as crabbed Anthony designates it, "dated at Edinburgh on the 4th of February," and now at length made public in print; they have "read it in Convocation," continues Anthony, "whereat the Members made the House resound with their cheerful acclamations:"[2]—and the Lord General is and continues their Chancellor; encouraging and helping forward them and their work, in many ways, amid his weighty affairs, in a really faithful manner. As begins to be credible without much proof of ours, and might still be abundantly proved if needful.

Here however, in the first blush of the business, comes Mr. Waterhouse, with a small recommendation from the Lord General; "John

* From the Archives of Oxford University, communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

[1] Perfect Diurnal (in Cromwelliana, p. 100). [2] Fasti, ii. 159.

Waterhouse of Great Greenford in Middlesex, son of Francis Waterhouse by Bridget his wife," if anybody want to know him better;[1]—"a student heretofore for eighteen years in Trinity College, Cambridge" a meritorious Man and Healer since; whom one may well decorate with a Degree, or decorate a Degree with, by the next opportunity.

To my very worthy Friend, Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

SIR, Edinburgh, 14th February, 1650.

This Gentleman, Mr. Waterhouse, went over into Ireland as Physician to the Army there; of whose diligence, fidelity and abilities I had much experience. Whilst I was there, he constantly attended the Army: and having, to my own knowledge, done very much good to the Officers and Soldiers, by his skill and industry;—and being upon urgent occasion lately come into England, 'he' hath desired me to recommend him for the obtaining of the degree of Doctor in that Science. Wherefore I earnestly desire you that, when he shall repair to you, you[2] will give him your best assistance for the obtaining of the said Degree; he being shortly to return back to his charge in Ireland.

By doing whereof, as you will encourage one who is willing and ready to serve the Public, so you will also lay a very great obligation upon,

Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER CLV.

HERE farther, from another quarter, is a new University matter,—Project of a College at Durham; emerging incidentally like a green fruitful islet from amid the dim storms of War; agreeably arresting the eye for a moment.

Concerning which read in the Commons Journals of May last: "A Letter from the Sheriff and Gentlemen of the County of *Duresme*, dated 24th April, 1650; with a Paper" or Petition of the same date, "'delivered-in by the Grand Jury at the Sessions of the Peace holden at Duresme the 24th of April, 1650, To be presented to the Honourable Parliament of this Nation,'—were this day read. *Ordered*, That it be referred to the Committee of Obstructions for Sale of Dean-and-Chapter Lands, to consider these Desires of the Gentlemen and others of that County, touching the converting some of the Buildings at Duresme called the 'College,' which were the Houses of the late Dean and Chapter, into some College or School of Literature; to state the business, to"[3]—in short, to get on with it if possible.

This was some ten months ago, but still there is no visible way made; and now in the wild Spring weather here has been, I suppose, some Deputation of the Northern Gentry riding through the wild mountains,

[1] Ibid. ii. 163; "created Doctor of Physic by virtue of the Letters of Oliver Cromwell, General" (12 March, 1650-1).

[2] "that you" in the hasty original.

* From the Archives of Oxford University; communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

[3] Commons Journals, vi. 410 (8 May, 1650).

with humane intent, to represent the matter to the Lord General at Edinburgh; from whom, if he pleased to help it forward, a word might be very furthersome. The Lord General is prompt with his word;—writes this Letter, as I find, in some interval of a painful fit of sickness he has been labouring under.

To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England; These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 11th March, 1650.

Having received information from the Mayor and Citizens of Durham, and some Gentlemen of the Northern Counties, That upon their Petition to the Parliament, "that the Houses of the late Dean and Chapter in the City of Durham might be converted into a College or School of Literature," the Parliament was pleased in May last to refer the same to the Committee for Removing Obstructions in the sale of Dean-and-Chapter Lands, "to consider thereon, and to report their opinion therein to the House;"[1] Which said Committee, as I am also informed, have so far approved thereof as that they are of an opinion That the said Houses will be a fit place to erect a College or School for all the Sciences and Literature, and that it will be a pious and laudable work and of great use to the Northern parts; and have ordered Sir Arthur Haselrig to make report thereof to the House accordingly: And the said Citizens and Gentlemen having made some address to me to contribute my assistance to them therein:

To which, in so good and pious a work, I could not but willingly and heartily concur. And not knowing wherein I might better serve them, or answer their desires, than by recommending the same to the Parliament by, Sir, yourself their Speaker,—I do therefore make it my humble and earnest request that the House may be moved, as speedily as conveniently may be, To hear the Report of the said Committee concerning the said Business, from Sir Arthur Haselrig; that so the House, taking the same into consideration, may do therein what shall seem meet for the good of those poor countries.

Truly it seems to me a matter of great concernment and importance; as that which, by the blessing of God, may much conduce to the promoting of learning and piety in those poor rude and ignorant parts;—there being also many concurring advantages to this Place, as pleasantness and aptness of situation, healthful air, and plenty of provisions, which seem to favour and plead for their desires therein. And besides the good, so obvious to us, 'which' those Northern Counties may reap thereby, who knows but the setting on foot this work at this time may suit with God's present Dispensations; and may,—if due care and circumspection be used in the right constituting and carrying on the same,—tend to, and by the blessing of God produce, such happy and glorious fruits as are scarce thought on or foreseen!

Sir, not doubting of your readiness and zeal to promote so good and public a work, I crave pardon for this boldness; and rest,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[1] Ibid. *ubi supra.*

* Baker MSS. xxviii. 495: printed also in Hutchinson's *History of Durham*; and elsewhere.

Whereupon the Committee for Removing Obstructions does bestir itself; manages, in three months hence (for we do nothing rashly), to report [1] by "Sir Arthur Haselrig, touching Duresme College-Buildings to be converted to a College or School for all the Sciences of Literature: That"—that—And, in brief, History itself has to report that the pious Project, thanks mainly to furtherance by the Lord General, whose power to further it increased by and by, did actually, some seven years hence, take effect; [2]—actually began giving Lessons of human Grammar, human Geography, Geometry, and other divine Knowledge, to the vacant human mind,—in those once sleepy Edifices, dark heretofore, or illuminated mainly by Dr. Cosins's Papistical waxlights or the like: and so continued, in spite of opposition, till the Blessed Restoration put a stop to it, and to some other things. In late years there is again some kind of Durham College giving Lessons—I hope, with good success.

LETTER CLVI.

By this tempestuous sleety expedition in the beginning of February my Lord General caught a dangerous illness, which hung about him, reappearing in three successive relapses, till June next; and greatly alarmed the Commonwealth and the Authorities. As this to Bradshaw, and various other Letters still indicate.

To the Right Honourable the Lord President of the Council of State: These.

My Lord, Edinburgh, 24th March, 1650.

I do with all humble thankfulness acknowledge your high favour, and tender respect of me, expressed in your Letter, and the Express sent therewith to inquire after one so unworthy as myself.

Indeed, my Lord, your service needs not me: I am a poor creature; and have been a dry bone; and am still an unprofitable servant to my Master and you. I thought I should have died of this fit of sickness; but the Lord seemeth to dispose otherwise. But truly, my Lord, I desire not to live, unless I may obtain mercy from the Lord to approve my heart and life to Him in more faithfulness and thankfulness, and 'to' those I serve in more profitableness and diligence. And I pray God, your Lordship, and all in public trust, may improve all those unparalleled experiences of the Lord's wonderful Workings in your sight, with singleness of heart to His glory, and the refreshment of His People; who are to Him as the apple of His eye; and upon whom your enemies, both former and latter, who have fallen before you, did split themselves.

This shall be the unfeigned prayer of,

My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[1] Commons Journals (vi. 589), 18 June, 1651.

[2] Protector's *Letters-Patent* of 15 May, 1657, following up his *Ordinance in Council* of the previous Year: Hutchinson's History of the County Palatine of Durham (Newcastle, 1785), i. 514-30. See Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, iii. 473 (Cambridge Petition against it: 18 April, 1659). "Throve apace," says Hutchinson, "till" &c.

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 102).

From Edinburgh, of date 18th March, by special Express we have this comfortable intelligence: "The Lord General is now well recovered: he was in his dining-room to-day with his Officers, and was very cheerful and pleasant." And the symptoms, we see, continue good and better on the 24th. "So that there is not any fear, by the blessing of God, but our General will be enabled to take the field when the Provisions arrive." "Dr. Goddard" is attending him.[1] Before the end of the month he is on foot again; sieging Blackness, sieging the Island of Inchgarvie, or giving Colonel Monk directions to that end.

LETTER CLVII.

THE following Letter brings its own commentary:

For my beloved Wife, Elizabeth Cromwell, at the Cockpit: These.

MY DEAREST, 'Edinburgh,' 12th April, 1651.

I praise the Lord I am increased in strength in my outward man: But that will not satisfy me except I get a heart to love and serve my heavenly Father better; and get more of the light of His countenance, which is better than life, and more power over my corruptions:—in these hopes I wait, and am not without expectation of a gracious return. Pray for me; truly I do daily for thee, and the dear family; and God Almighty bless you all with His spiritual blessings.

Mind poor Betty of the Lord's great mercy. Oh, I desire her not only to seek the Lord in her necessity, but in deed and in truth to turn to the Lord; and to keep close to Him; and to take heed of a departing heart, and of being cozened with worldly vanities and worldly company, which I doubt she is too subject to. I earnestly and frequently pray for her, and for him. Truly they are dear to me, very dear; and I am in fear lest Satan should deceive them,—knowing how weak our hearts are, and how subtile the Adversary is, and what way the deceitfulness of our hearts and the vain world make for his temptations. The Lord give them truth of heart to Him. Let them seek Him in truth, and they shall find Him.

My love to the dear little ones; I pray for grace for them. I thank them for their Letters; let me have them often.

Beware of my Lord Herbert's resort to your house. If he do so, it may occasion scandal, as if I were bargaining with him. Indeed, be wise,—you know my meaning. Mind Sir Henry Vane of the business of my Estate. Mr. Floyd knows my whole mind in that matter.

If Dick Cromwell and his Wife be with you, my dear love to them. I pray for them; they shall, God willing, hear from me. I love them very dearly.—Truly I am not able as yet to write much; I am weary, and rest thine,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"Betty" and "he" are Elizabeth Claypole and her Husband; of whom, for the curious, there is a longwinded, intricate account by Noble,[2] but very little discoverable in it. They lived at Norborough, which is near Market Deeping, but in Northamptonshire; where, as already intimated, the Lady Protectress, Widow Elizabeth Cromwell, after the

[1] Ibid. pp. 100, 1. * Cole MSS. xxxiii. 37: a copy; copies are frequent. [2] ii. 375, &c.

Restoration, found a retreat. "They had at least three sons and daughters." Claypole became "Master of the Horse" to Oliver; sat in Parliament; made an elegant appearance in the world:—but dwindled sadly after his widowership; his second marriage ending in "separation," in a third *quasi-marriage*, and other confusions, poor man! But as yet the Lady Claypole lives: bright and brave. "Truly they are dear to me, very dear."

"Dick Cromwell and his Wife" seem to be up in Town on a visit;—living much at their ease in the Cockpit, they. Brother Henry, in these same days, is out "in the King's County" in Ireland; doing hard duty at "Ballybawn," and elsewhere,[1]—the distinguished Colonel Cromwell. And Deputy Ireton, with his labours, is wearing himself to death. In the same house, one works, another goes idle.

"The Lord Herbert" is Henry Somerset, eldest son of the now Marquis of Worcester,—of the Lord Glamorgan whom we knew slightly at Ragland, in "Irish Treaties" and such like; whose *Century of Inventions* is still slightly known to here and there a reader of Old Books. "This Lord Herbert," it seems, "became Duke of Beaufort after the Restoration." For obvious reasons, you are to "beware of his resort to your house at present." A kind of professed Protestant he, but come of rank Papists and Malignants; which may give rise to commentaries. One stupid Annotator on a certain Copy of this Letter says, "His Lordship had an intrigue with Mrs. Claypole;" which is evidently downright stupor and falsehood, like so much else.

LETTER CLVIII.

UPON the Surrender of Edinburgh Castle due provision had been made for conveyance of the Public Writs and Registers to what quarter the Scotch Authorities might direct; and "Passes" under the Lord General's hand duly granted for that end. Archibald Johnston, Lord Register, we conclude, had superintended the operation; had, after much labour, bundled the Public Writs properly together into masses, packages; and put them on ship-board, considering this the eligiblest mode of transport towards Stirling and the Scotch head-quarters at present. But now it has fallen out, in the middle of last month, that the said ship has been taken, as many ships and shallops on both sides now are; and the Public Writs are in jeopardy: whereupon ensues correspondence; and this fair Answer from my Lord General.

'*To the Honourable Archibald Johnston, Lord Register of Scotland: These.*'

MY LORD, Edinburgh, 12th April, 1651.

Upon the perusal of the Passes formerly given for the safe passing of the Public Writs and Registers of the Kingdom of Scotland, I do think they[2] ought to be restored: and they shall be so, to such persons as you shall appoint to receive them; with passes for persons and vessels, to carry them to such place as shall be appointed;—so that it be done within one month next following.

[1] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 102)

[2] The Writs and Registers.

I herewith send you a Pass for your Servant to go into Fife, and to return with the other Clerks; and rest,

Your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Warriston's answer, written on Monday, the 12th being Saturday, given also in *Thurloe*. The Lord General's phrase, "perusal of the Passes," we now find, means "reperusal," new sight of them; which, Archibald earnestly urges, is impossible; the original Passes being now far off in the hands of the Authorities, and the Writs in a state of imminent danger, lying in a ship at Leith, as Archibald obscurely intimates, which the English Governor has got his claws over, and keeps shut up in dock; with a considerable leak in her too: very bad stowage for such goods.[1] Which obscure intimation of Archibald's becomes lucid to us, as to the Lord General it already was, when we read this sentence of Bulstrode's, under date 22d March, 1650-1: "Letters that the Books and Goods belonging to the" Scotch "King and Register were taken by the Parliament's ships; and another ship laden with oats, meal, and other provisions, going to Fife; twenty-two prisoners.[2] For captures and small sea-surprisals abound in the Frith at present; the Parliament-ships busy on one hand; and the "Captain of the Bass," the "Shippers of Wemyss," and the like active persons doing their duty on the other,—whereby infinite "biscuit," and such small ware, is from time to time realised.[3]

Without doubt the Public Writs were all redelivered, according to the justice of the case; and the term of "one month," which Archibald pleads hard to get lengthened, was made into two, or the necessary time. Archibald's tone towards the Lord General is anxiously respectful, nay submissive and subject. In fact, Archibald belongs, if not by profession, yet by invincible tendency, to the Remonstrant Ker-and-Strahan Party; and looks dimly forward to a near time when there will be no refuge for him, and the like of him, but Cromwell. "Strahan," in the month of January last, is already "excommunicated and solemnly delivered to the Devil, in the Church of Perth."[4] This is what you have to look for, from a Quasi-Malignant set of men!

This Archibald, as is well known, sat afterwards in Cromwell's Parliaments; became "one of Cromwell's Lords;"—and ultimately lost his life for these dangerous services. Archibald Johnston of Warriston; loose-flowing Bishop Burnet's uncle by the Mother's side: a Lord Register of whom all the world has heard. Redactor of the Covenanters' Protests, 1637 and onwards; redactor perhaps of the Covenant itself; canny lynx-eyed Lawyer, and austere Presbyterian Zealot; full of fire, of heavy energy and gloom: in fact, a very notable character;—of whom our Scotch friends might do well to give us farther elucidations. Certain of his Letters edited by Lord Hailes,[5] a man of fine intelligence, though at that time ignorant of this subject, have proved well worth their paper and ink. Many more, it appears, still lie in the Edinburgh Archives. A good selection and edition of them were desirable. But,

* Thurloe, i. 117. Records of the Laigh Parliament House.
[1] Thurloe, ibid.
[2] Whitlocke, p. 490.
[3] Balfour, iv. 204, 241, 251, &c.
[4] Balfour, iv. 240.
[5] Memorials and Letters in the reign of Charles I. (Glasgow, 1766.)

alas, will any human soul ever again *love* poor Warriston, and take pious pains with him, in this world? Properly it turns all upon that; and the chance seems rather dubious!—

SECOND VISIT TO GLASGOW.

THAT Note to Warriston, and the Letter to Elizabeth Cromwell, as may have been observed, are written on the same day, Saturday 12th April, 1651. Directly after which, on Wednesday the 16th, there is a grand Muster of the Army on Musselburgh Links; preparatory to new operations. Blackness Fort has surrendered; Inchgarvie Island is beset by gunboats: Colonel Monk, we perceive, who has charge of these services, is to be made Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance: and now there is to be an attack on Burntisland with gunboats, which also, one hopes, may succeed. As for the Army, it is to go westward this same afternoon; try whether cautious Lesley, straitened or assaulted from both west and east, will not come out of his Stirling fastness, so that some good may be done upon him. The Muster is held on Musselburgh Links; whereat the Lord General, making his appearance, is received "with shouts and acclamations," the sight of him infinitely comfortable to us.[1] The Lord General's health is somewhat re-established, though he has had relapses, and still tends a little towards ague. "About three in the afternoon" all is on march towards Hamilton; quarters "mostly in the field there." Where the Lord General himself arrives, on Friday night, late; and on the morrow afternoon we see Glasgow again.

Concerning which here are two notices from opposite points of compass, curiously corroborative of one another; which we must not withhold. Face-to-face glimpses into the old dead actualities; worth rescuing with a Cromwell in the centre of them.

The first is from Baillie;[2] shews us a glance of our old friend Carstairs withal. Read this fraction of a Letter: "Reverend and dear brother,—For preventing of mistakes," lest you should think us loose-laced Remonstrant sectarian individuals, "we have thought meet to advertise you that Cromwell having come to Hamilton on Friday late, and to Glasgow on Saturday with a body of his Army, sooner than we could well with safety have retired ourselves,"—there was nothing for it but to stay and abide him here! "On Sunday forenoon he came unexpectedly to the High Inner Kirk; where quietly he heard Mr. Robert Ramsay," unknown to common readers, "preach a very honest sermon, pertinent to his" Cromwell's "case. In the afternoon he came, as unexpectedly, to the High Outer Kirk; where he heard Mr. John Carstairs," our old friend, "lecture, and" a "Mr. James Durham preach,—graciously, and weel to the times as could have been desired." So that you see we are not of the loose-laced species, we! "And generally all who preached that day in the Town gave a fair enough testimony against the Sectaries."—Whereupon, next day, Cromwell sent for us to confer with him in a friendly manner. "All of us did meet to advise," for the case was grave: however, we have decided to go; nay are just going;—but, most unfortunately, do not write any record of our interview!

[1] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 102). [2] (Glasgow, 22 April, 1651) iii. 165.

Nothing, except some transient assertion elsewhere that "we had no disadvantage in the thing."[1]—So that now, from the opposite point of the compass, the old London Newspaper must come in; curiously confirmatory:

"SIR,—We came hither" to Glasgow "on Saturday last, April 19th. The Ministers and Townsmen generally stayed at home, and did not quit their habitations as formerly. The Ministers here have mostly deserted from the proceedings beyond the Water," at Perth,—are in fact given to Remonstrant ways, though Mr. Baillie denies it: "yet they are equally dissatisfied with us. But though they preach against us in the pulpit to our faces, yet we permit them without disturbance, as willing to gain them by love.

"My Lord General sent to them to give us a friendly Christian meeting, To discourse of those things which they rail against us for; that so, if possible, all misunderstandings between us might be taken away. Which accordingly they gave us, on Wednesday last. There was no bitterness nor passion vented on either side; all was with moderation and tenderness. My Lord General and Major-General Lambert, for the most part, maintained the discourse; and, on their part, Mr. James Guthry and Mr. Patrick Gillespie.[2] We know not what satisfaction they have received. Sure I am, there was no such weight in their arguments as might in the least discourage us from what we have undertaken; the chief thing on which they insisted being our Invasion into Scotland."[3]

The Army quitted Glasgow after some ten days; rather hastily, on Wednesday 30th April; pressing news, some false alarm of movements about Stirling, having arrived by express from the East. They marched again for Edinburgh;—quenched some foolish Town Riot, which had broken out among the Glasgow Baillies themselves, on some quarrel of their own: and was now tugging and wriggling in a most unseemly manner, on the open streets, and likely to enlist the population generally, had not Cromwell's soldiers charitably scattered it asunder before they went.[4] In three days they were in Edinburgh again.

When a luminous body, such as Oliver Cromwell, happens to be crossing a dark Country, a dark Century, who knows what he will not disclose to us! For example: On the Western edge of Lanarkshire, in the desolate uplands of the Kirk of Shotts, there dwelt at that time a worshipful Family of Scotch Lairds, of the name of Stewart, at a House called Allertoun,—a lean turreted angry-looking old Stone House, I take it; standing in some green place, in the alluvial hollows of the Auchter Burn or its tributaries: most obscure; standing lean and grim, like a thousand such; entirely unnoticeable by History,—had not Oliver chanced to pass in that direction, and make a call there! Here is an account of that event: unfortunately very vague, not written till the second generation after; indeed, palpably incorrect in some of its de-

[1] Baillie, iii. 168.

[2] "Gelaspy" the Sectarian spells; in all particulars of facts he coincides with Baillie. Guthry and Gillespie, noted men in that time, published a "Sum" of this Interview (Baillie, iii. 168), but nobody now knows it.

[3] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 102).

[4] Ane informati on concerning the late Tumult in Glasgow Wednesday April 30, at the very time of Cromwell's Removal (in Baillie, iii. 161).

tails; but indubitable as to the main fact; and too curious to be omitted here. The date, not given or hinted at in the original, seems to fix itself as Thursday, 1st May, 1651. On that day Auchter Burn rushing idly on as usual, the grim old turreted Stone House, and rigorous Presbyterian inmates, and desolate uplands of the Kirk of Shotts in general, saw Cromwell's face, and have become memorable to us. Here is the record given as we find it.[1]

"There was a fifth Son" of Sir Walter Stewart, Laird of Allertoun: "James; who in his younger years was called 'the Captain of Allertoun,'—from this incident: Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General of the English Sectarian Army, after taking Edinburgh Castle, was making a Progress through the West of Scotland; and came down towards the River Clyde near Lanark, and was on his march back, against King Charles the Second's Army, then with the King at Stirling. Being informed of a near way through Auchtermuir, he came with some General Officers to reconnoitre; and had a Guide along. Sir Walter, being a Royalist and Covenanter, had absconded. As he" Cromwell "passed, he called-in at Allertoun for a further Guide; but no men were to be found, save one valetudinary Gentleman, Sir Walter's Son,"—properly a poor valetudinary Boy, as appears, who of course could do nothing for him.

"He found the road not practicable for carriages; and upon his return he called-in at Sir Walter's House. There was none to entertain him but the Lady and Sir Walter's sickly Son. The good Woman was as much for the King and Royal Family as her Husband: but she offered the General the civilities of her House; and a glass of canary was presented. The General observed the forms of these times (I have it from good authority), and he asked a blessing in a long pathetic grace before the cup went round;—he drank his good wishes[2] for the family, and asked for Sir Walter; and was pleased to say, His Mother was a Stewart's Daughter, and he had a relation to the name. All passed easy; and our James, being a lad of ten years, came so near as to handle the hilt of one of the swords: upon which Oliver stroked his head, saying, 'You are my little Captain;' and this was all the Commission our Captain of Allertoun ever had.

"The General called for some of his own wines for himself and other Officers,[3] and would have the Lady try his wine; and was so humane, when he saw the young Gentleman so *maigre* and indisposed, he said, Changing the Climate might do good, and the South of France, Montpellier, was the place.

"Amidst all this humanity and politeness he omitted not, in person, to return thanks to God in a pointed grace after his repast; and after this hasted on his return to join the Army. The Lady had been a strenuous Royalist, and her Son a Captain in command at Dunbar; yet upon this interview with the General she abated much of her zeal. She said she was sure Cromwell was one who feared God, and had that fear in him, and the true interest of Religion at heart. A story of this kind is no idle digression; it has some small connexion with the Family con-

[1] Coltness Collections, Published by the Maitland Club (Glasgow, 1842), p. 9.
[2] Certainly incorrect.
[3] Imaginary

cerns, and shews some little of the genius of these distracted times."—And so we leave it; vague, but indubitable; standing on such basis as it has.

LETTER CLIX.

'*For my beloved Wife, Elizabeth Cromwell, at the Cockpit: These.*'

MY DEAREST, Edinburgh, 3d May, 1651.

I could not satisfy myself to omit this post, although I have not much to write; yet indeed I love to write to my Dear, who is very much in my heart. It joys me to hear thy soul prospereth: the Lord increase His favours to thee more and more. The great good thy soul can wish is, That the Lord lift upon thee the light of His countenance, which is better than life. The Lord bless all thy good counsel and example to all those about thee, and hear all thy prayers, and accept thee always.

I am glad to hear thy Son and Daughter are with thee. I hope thou wilt have some good opportunity of good advice to him. Present my duty to my Mother, my love to all the Family. Still pray for

Thine,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Written the day after his return to Edinburgh. "Thy Son and Daughter" are, to all appearance, Richard and his Wife, who prolong their visit at the Cockpit. The good old "Mother" is still spared with us, to have "my duty" presented to her. A pale venerable Figure; who has lived to see strange things in this world;—can piously, in her good old tremulous heart, rejoice in such a Son.

Precisely in these days, a small ship driven by stress of weather into Ayr Harbour, and seized and searched by Cromwell's Garrison there, discloses a matter highly interesting to the Commonwealth. A Plot, namely, on the part of the English Presbyterian-Royalists, English Royalists Proper, and all manner of Malignant Interests in England, to unite with the Scots and their King: in which certain of the London Presbyterian Clergy, Christopher Love among others, are deeply involved. The little ship was bound for the Isle of Man, with tidings to the Earl of Derby concerning the affair; and now we have caught her within the Bars of Ayr; and the whole matter is made manifest.[1] Reverend Christopher Love is laid hold of, 7th May; he and others: and the Council of State is busy. It is the same Christopher who preached at Uxbridge Treaty long since, That "Heaven might as well think of uniting with Hell." Were a new High Court of Justice once constituted, it will go hard with Christopher.

As for the Lord General, this march to Glasgow has thrown him into a new relapse, which his Doctor counts as the third since March last. The disease is now ague; comes and goes, till, in the end of this month, the Parliament requests him to return to England for milder air;[2] and despatches two London Doctors to him; whom the Lord Fairfax is kind enough to "send in his own coach;" who arrive in Edinburgh on the

* Harris, p. 517.

1 Bates: History of the late Troubles in England (Translation of the *Elenchus Motuum*; London, 1685), Part ii. 113

2 Whitlocke, p. 476

30th of May, "and are affectionately entertained by my Lord."[1] The two Doctors are Bates and Wright. Bates, in his loose-tongued *History of the Troubles*, redacted in after times, observes strict silence as to this Visit.

— —•Here is the Lord General's Answer; indicating with much thankfulness that he will not now need to return.

LETTER CLX.

'To the Lord President of the Council of State: These.'

MY LORD, Edinburgh, 3d June, 1651.

I have received yours of the 27th of May; with an Order from the Parliament for my Liberty to return into England for change of air, that thereby I might the better recover my health All which came unto me whilst Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, whom your Lordship sent down, were with me.

I shall not need to recite the extremity of my last sickness: it was so violent that indeed my nature was not able to bear the weight thereof. But the Lord was pleased to deliver me, beyond expectation; and to give me cause to say once more, "He hath plucked me out of the grave!"[2]—My Lord, the indulgence of the Parliament expressed by their Order is a very high and undeserved favour: of which although it be fit I keep a thankful remembrance, yet I judge it would be too much presumption in me to[3] return a particular acknowledgment. I beseech you give me the boldness to return my humble thankfulness to the Council for sending two such worthy Persons, so great a journey, to visit me. From whom I have received much encouragement, and good directions for recovery of health and strength,—which I find 'now,' by the goodness of God, growing to such a state as may yet, if it be His good will, render me useful according to my poor ability, in the station wherein He hath set me.

I wish more steadiness in your Affairs here than to depend, in the least degree, upon so frail a thing as I am. Indeed they do not,—nor own any instrument. This Cause is of God, and it must prosper. Oh, that all that have any hand therein, being *so* persuaded, would gird up the loins of their minds, and endeavour in all things to walk worthy of the Lord! So prays,

My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The Lord General's case was somewhat grave; at one time it seemed hopeless for this summer. "My Lord is not sensible that he is grown an old man." The Officers were to proceed without him; directed by him from the distance. Here, however, is an improvement; and two days after, on the 5th of June the Lord General is seen abroad in his coach again; shakes his ailments and infirmities of age away, and takes

[1] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 103).

[2] Psalm xxx. 3: "hast brought up my soul from the grave;" or lxxxvi. 3: "delivered my soul from;" but "plucked" is not in any of the texts.

[3] "not to" *in orig.*; *—dele* "not."

* Kimber's (anonymous) Life of Oliver Cromwell (London, 1724), p. 201;—does not say whence derived.

the field in person once more. The Campaign is now vigorously begun; though as yet no great result follows from it.

On the 25th of June, the Army from all quarters reassembled "in its old Camp on the Pentland Hills;" marched westward; left Linlithgow, July 2d, ever westward, with a view to force the Enemy from his strong ground about Stirling. Much pickeering, vapouring, and transient skirmishing ensues; but the Enemy, strongly entrenched at Torwood, secured by bogs and brooks, cannot be forced out. We take Calendar House, and do other insults, before their eyes; they will not come out. Cannonadings there are, "from opposite Hills;" but not till it please the Enemy can there be any battle. David Lesley, second in rank, but real leader of the operations, is at his old trade again. The Problem is becoming difficult. We decide to get across into Fife; to take them in flank, and at least cut off an important part of their supplies.

Here is the Lord General's letter on the result of that enterprise. Farther details of the Battle which is briefly spoken of here,—still remembered in those parts as the *Battle of Inverkeithing*,—may be found in Lambert's own Letter concerning it.[1] "Sir John Brown, their Major-General," was once a zealous Parliamenteer; "Governor of Abingdon" and much else; but the King gained him, growls Ludlow, "by the gift of a pair of silk stockings,"—poor wretch! Besides Brown, there are Massey, and various Englishmen of mark with this Malignant Army. Massey's brother, a subaltern person in London, is one of the conspirators with Christopher Love.—The Lord General has in the interim made his Third Visit to Glasgow; concerning which there are no details worth giving here.[2] Christopher Love, on the 5th of this month, was condemned to die.[3]

LETTER CLXI.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

SIR, Linlithgow, 21st July, 1651.

After our waiting upon the Lord, and not knowing what course to take, for indeed we know nothing but what God pleaseth to teach us of His great mercy,—we were directed to send a Party to get us a landing 'on the Fife coast' by our boats, whilst we marched towards Glasgow.

On Thursday morning last, Colonel Overton, with about one-thousand four-hundred foot and some horse and dragoons, landed at the North Ferry in Fife; we with the Army lying near the Enemy (a small river parted us and them), and having consultations to attempt the Enemy within his fortifications: but the Lord was not pleased to give way to that counsel, proposing a better way for us. The Major-General 'Lambert' marched, on Thursday night, with two regiments of horse and two regiments of foot, for better securing the place; and to attempt upon the Enemy, as occasion should serve. He getting over, and finding a considerable body of the Enemy there (who would probably have

[1] North Ferry, 22 July, 1651 (Whitlocke, p. 472): the Battle was on Sunday the 20th. See also Balfour, iv. 313,

[2] Whitlocke, p. 471; Milton State-Papers, p. 84 (11 July, 1651). [3] Wood, iii. 278 &c.

beaten our men from the place if he had not come), drew out and fought them; he being about two regiments of horse, with about four-hundred of horse and dragoons more, and three regiments of foot; the Enemy five regiments of foot, and about four or five of horse. They came to a close charge, and in the end totally routed the Enemy; having taken about forty or fifty colours, killed near two-thousand, some say more, have taken Sir John Brown, their Major-General, who commanded in chief,—and other Colonels and considerable Officers killed and taken, and about five or six hundred prisoners. The Enemy is removed from their ground with their whole Army: but whither we do not certainly know.

This is an unspeakable mercy. I trust the Lord will follow it until He hath perfected peace and truth. We can truly say, we were gone as far as we could in our counsel and action; and we did say one to another, we knew not what to do. Wherefore it's sealed upon our hearts, that this, as all the rest, is from the Lord's goodness, and not from man. I hope it becometh me to pray, That we may walk humbly and self-denyingly before the Lord, and believingly also. That you whom we serve, as the Authority over us, may do the work committed to you, with uprightness and faithfulness,—and thoroughly, as to the Lord. That you may not suffer any thing to remain that offends the eyes of His jealousy. That common weal may more and more be sought, and justice done impartially. For the eyes of the Lord run to and fro; and as He finds out His enemies here, to be avenged on them, so will He not spare them for whom He doth good, if by His loving-kindness they become not good. I shall take the humble boldness to represent this Engagement of David's in the Hundred-and-nineteenth Psalm, verse Hundred-and-thirty-fourth, *Deliver me from the oppression of man, so will I keep Thy precepts.*

I take leave, and rest,

Sir, your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S. The carriage of the Major-General, as in all other things so in this, is worthy of your taking notice of; as also the Colonels Okey, Overton, Daniel, West, Lydcot, Syler, and the rest of the Officers.*

Matters now speedily take another turn. At the Castle of "Dundas" we are still on the South side of the Frith; in front of the Scotch lines, though distant: but Inchgarvie, often tried with gunboats, now surrenders; Burntisland, by force of gunboats and dispiritment, surrenders: the Lord General himself goes across into Fife. The following Letters speak for themselves.

LETTER CLXII.

'*To the Right Honourable the Lord President of the Council of State: These.*'

MY LORD, Dundas, 24th July, 1651.

It hath pleased God to put your affairs here in some hopeful way, since the last Defeat given to the Enemy.

* Newspapers (in Parl Hist. xix. 404: and Cromwelliana, p. 105).

I marched with the Army very near to Stirling, hoping thereby to get the Pass; and went myself with General Dean, and some others, up to Bannockburn; hearing that the Enemy were marched on the other side towards our forces in Fife. Indeed they went four or five miles on towards them; but hearing of my advance, in all haste they retreated back, and possessed the Park, and their other works. Which we viewed; and finding them not advisable to attempt, resolved to march to Queensferry, and there to ship over so much of the Army as might hopefully be master of the field in Fife. Which accordingly we have almost perfected; and have left, on this side, somewhat better than four regiments of horse, and as many of foot.

I hear now the Enemy's great expectation is to supply themselves in the West with recruits of men, and what victual they can get: for they may expect none out of the North, when once our Army shall interpose between them and St. Johnston. To prevent their prevalency in the West, and making incursions into the Borders of England, * * * [1]

OLIVER CROMWELL*.

LETTER CLXIII.

OF this Letter Sir Harry Vane and the Council of State judge it improper to publish anything in the Newspapers, except a rough abstract, in words of their own, of the *first two paragraphs* and the *concluding one*. In which state it presents itself in the Old Pamphlets.[2] The Letter copied in full lies among the *Tanner Manuscripts;* gives us a glimpse into the private wants, and old furnitures, of the Cromwell Army. "Pots" are cavalry helmets; "backs-and-breasts" are still seen on cuirassier regiments; "snaphances" (German *schnapphahn*, snapcock) are a new wonderful invention, giving fire by flint-and-steel;—promising, were they not so terribly expensive, to supersede the old slow matchlock in field-service! But, I believe, they wind up like a watch before the trigger acts;[3] and come very high!—

To the Right Honourable the Lord President of the Council of State: These.

MY LORD, Linlithgow, 26th July, 1651.

I am able to give you no more account than what you have by my last; only we have now in Fife about Thirteen or Fourteen Thousand horse and foot. The Enemy is at his old lock, and lieth in and near Stirling; where we cannot come to fight him, except he please, or we go upon too-too manifest hazards: he having very strongly laid himself, and having a very great advantage there. Whither we hear he hath lately gotten great provisions of meal, and reinforcement of his strength out of the North under Marquis Huntley. It is our business still to wait upon God, to shew us our way how to deal with this subtle Enemy; which I hope He will.

Our forces on this side the River[4] are not very many: wherefore I have sent for Colonel Rich's; and shall appoint them, with the forces

[1] Sir Harry Vane, who reads the Letter in Parliament, judges it prudent to stop here (Commons Journals, vi. 614).

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 107).

[2] In Parliamentary History, xix. 498.

[3] Grose's Military Antiquities.

[4] Means "Frith" always.

under Colonel Saunders, to embody close upon the Borders,—and to be in readiness to join with those left on this side the Frith, or to be for the security of England, as occasion shall offer; there being little use of them where they lie, as we know.

Your Soldiers begin to fall sick, through the wet weather which has lately been. It is desired, therefore, that the recruits of foot determined 'on,' may rather come sooner in time than usually; and may be sure to be full in numbers, according to your appointment, whereof great failing has lately been. For the way of raising them, it is wholly submitted to your pleasure; and we hearing you rather choose to send us Volunteers than Pressed-men, shall be very glad you go that way.

Our Spades are spent to a very small number: we desire, therefore, that of the Five-thousand tools we lately sent for, at the least Three-thousand of them may be spades,—they wearing most away in our works, and being most useful. Our Horse-arms, especially our pots, are come to a very small number: it is desired we may have a Thousand backs-and-breasts, and Fifteen-hundred pots. We have left us in store but Four-hundred pair of pistols; Two-hundred saddles; Six-hundred pikes; Two-thousand and thirty muskets, whereof thirty snaphances. These are our present stores: and not knowing what you have sent us by this Fleet that is coming, we desire we may be considered therein. —Our cheese and butter is our lowest store of Victual.

We were necessitated to pay the Soldiery moneys now at their going over into Fife; whereby the Treasury is much exhausted, although we desire to husband it what we can. This being the principal time of action, we desire your Lordship to take a principal care that money may be supplied us with all possible speed, and these other things herewith mentioned; your affairs so necessarily requiring the same.

The Castle of Inchgarvie, which lieth in the River, almost in the midway between the North and South Ferry, commonly called Queen's-ferry,—was delivered to us on Thursday last. They marched away with their swords and baggage only; leaving us sixteen cannon, and all their other arms and ammunition. I remain,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER CLXIV.

'*To my very loving Brother, Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These.*'

DEAR BROTHER, 'Burntisland,' 28th July, 1657

I was glad to receive a Letter from you; for indeed anything that comes from you is very welcome to me. I believe your expectation of my Son's coming is deferred. I wish he may see a happy delivery of his Wife first,[1] for whom I frequently pray.

I hear my Son hath exceeded his allowance, and is in debt. Truly I cannot commend him therein; wisdom requiring his living within com-

* Tanner MSS., in Cary, ii. 288-90.

[1] Noble's registers are very defective! These Letters, too, were before the poor man's eyes.

pass, and calling for it at his hands. And in my judgment, the reputation arising from thence would have been more real honour than what is attained the other way. I believe vain men will speak well of him that does ill.

I desire to be understood that I grudge him not laudable recreations, nor an honourable carriage of himself in them; nor is any matter of charge, like to fall to my share, a stick[1] with me. Truly I can find in my heart to allow him not only a sufficiency but more, for his good. But if pleasure and self-satisfaction be made the business of a man's life, 'and' so much cost laid out upon it, so much time spent in it, as rather answers appetite than the will of God, or is comely before His Saints,—I scruple to feed this humour; and God forbid that his being my Son should be his allowance to live not pleasingly to our Heavenly Father, who hath raised me out of the dust to be what I am!

I desire your faithfulness (he being also your concernment as well as mine) to advise him to approve himself to the Lord in his course of life; and to search His statutes for a rule to conscience, and to seek grace from Christ to enable him to walk therein. This hath life in it, and will come to somewhat: what is a poor creature without this! This will not abridge of lawful pleasures; but teach such a use of them as will have the peace of a good conscience going along with it. Sir, I write what is in my heart: I pray you communicate my mind herein to my Son, and be his remembrancer in these things. Truly I love him, he is dear to me; so is his Wife; and for their sakes do I thus write. They shall not want comfort nor encouragement from me, so far as I may afford it. But indeed I cannot think I do well to feed a voluptuous humour in my Son, if he should make pleasures the business of his life,—in a time when some precious Saints are bleeding, and breathing out their last, for the safety of the rest. Memorable is the speech of Uriah to David (*Second Samuel*, xi. 11).[2]

Sir, I beseech you believe I here say not this to save my purse; for I shall willingly do what is convenient to satisfy his occasions, as I have opportunity. But as I pray he may not walk in a course not pleasing to the Lord, so 'I' think it lieth upon me to give him, in love, the best counsel I may; and know not how better to convey it to him than by so good a hand as yours. Sir, I pray you acquaint him with these thoughts of mine. And remember my love to my Daughter; for whose sake I shall be induced to do any reasonable thing. I pray for her happy deliverance, frequently and earnestly.

I am sorry to hear that my Bailiff[3] in Hantshire should do to my Son as is intimated by your Letter. I assure you I shall not allow any such thing. If there be any suspicion of his abuse of the Wood, I desire it may be looked after, and inquired into; that so, if things appear true, he may be removed,—although indeed I must needs say he had the repute of a godly man, by divers that knew him when I placed him there.

1 stop.

2 "And Uriah said unto David, The Ark, and Israel, and Judah abide in tents; and my lord Joab, and the servants of my lord, are encamped in the open fields: shall I then go into mine house, to eat and to drink, and to lie with my wife? As thou livest, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing."

3 "Baylye."

Sir, I desire my hearty affection may be presented to my Sister; to my Cousin Ann, and her Husband though unknown.—I praise the Lord I have obtained much mercy in respect of my health; the Lord give me a truly thankful heart. I desire your prayers; and rest,

Your very affectionate brother and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

My Cousin Anne, then, is wedded! "Her husband though unknown" is John Dunch; who, on his Father's decease, became John Dunch of Pusey;—to whom we owe this Letter, among the others.

LETTER CLXV.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

SIR, Burntisland, 29th July, 1651.

The greatest part of the Army is in Fife; waiting what way God will farther lead us. It hath pleased God to give us in Burntisland;[1] which is indeed very conducing to the carrying-on of our affairs. The Town is well seated; pretty strong; but marvellous capable of further improvement in that respect, without great charge. The Harbour, at a high spring, is near a fathom deeper than at Leith; and doth not lie commanded by any ground without the Town. We took three or four small men-of-war in it, and I believe thirty or forty guns.

Commissary-General Whalley marched along the seaside in Fife, having some ships to go along the coast; and hath taken great store of great artillery, and divers ships. The Enemy's affairs are in some discomposure, as we hear. Surely the Lord will blow upon them.

'I rest,'

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

LETTER CLXVI.

IN effect the crisis has now arrived. The Scotch King and Army finding their supplies cut off, and their defences rendered unavailing, by this flank-movement,—break up suddenly from Stirling;[2] march direct towards England,—for a stroke at the heart of the Commonwealth itself. Their game now is, All or nothing. A desperate kind of play. Royalists, Presbyterian-Royalists and the large miscellany of Discontented Interests may perhaps join them there;—perhaps also not! They march by Biggar; enter England by Carlisle,[3] on Wednesday, 6th of August, 1651. "At Girthhead, in the Parish of Wamphray, in Annandale," human Tradition, very faintly indeed, indicates some Roman Stones or Mile-stones, by the wayside, as the place where his Sacred Majesty passed the Tuesday night;—which are not quite so venerable now as formerly.[4]

* Harris, p. 513. † Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 107).
[1] "Brunt Island," *in orig.*
[2] "Last day of July" (Bates, ii. 120).
[3] Whitlocke, p. 474.
[4] Nicholas Carlisle's Topographical Dict. of Scotland, Sec. Wamphray.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

SIR, Leith, 4th August, 1651.

In pursuance of the Providence of God, and that blessing lately given to your forces in Fife; and finding that the Enemy being masters of the Pass at Stirling, could not be gotten out there except by hindering his provisions at St. Johnston,—we, by general advice, thought fit to attempt St. Johnston; knowing that that would necessitate him to quit his Pass. Wherefore, leaving with Major-General Harrison about three-thousand horse and dragoons, besides those which are with Colonel Rich, Colonel Saunders, and Colonel Barton, upon the Borders, we marched to St. Johnston;[1] and lying one day before it, we had it surrendered to us.

During which time we had some intelligence of the Enemy's marching southward; though with some contradictions, as if it had not been so. But doubting it might be true, we (leaving a Garrison in St. Johnston, and sending Lieutenant-General Monk with about Five or Six thousand to Stirling to reduce that place, and by it to put your affairs into a good posture in Scotland), marched, with all possible expedition, back again; and have passed our foot and many of our horse over the Frith this day; resolving to make what speed we can up to the Enemy,—who, in his desperation and fear, and out of inevitable necessity, is run to try what he can do this way.

I do apprehend that if he goes for England, being some few days march before us, it will trouble some men's thoughts; and may occasion some inconveniences;—which I hope we are as deeply sensible of, and have been, and I trust shall be, as diligent to prevent, as any. And indeed this is our comfort, That in simplicity of heart as towards God, we have done to the best of our judgments; knowing that if some issue were not put to this Business, it would occasion another winter's war: to the ruin of your soldiery, for whom the Scots are too hard in respect of enduring the Winter's difficulties of this Country; and to the endless expense of the treasure of England in prosecuting this War. It may be supposed we might have kept the Enemy from this, by interposing between him and England. Which truly I believe we might: but how to remove him out of this place, without doing what we have done, unless we had a commanding Army on both sides of the River of Forth, is not clear to us; or how to answer the inconveniences aforementioned, we understand not.

We pray therefore that (seeing there is a possibility for the Enemy to put you to some trouble) you would, with the same courage, grounded upon a confidence in God, wherein you have been supported to the great things God hath used you in hitherto,—improve, the best you can, such forces as you have in readiness, or 'as' may on the sudden be gathered together, To give the Enemy some check, until we shall be able to reach up to him; which we trust in the Lord we shall do our utmost endeavour in. And indeed we have this comfortable experience from the Lord, That this Enemy is heart-smitten by God; and whenever the Lord shall bring us up to them, we believe the Lord will make

[1] 2d August, 1651 (Balfour. iv. 322).

the desperateness of this counsel of theirs to appear, and the folly of it also. When England was much more unsteady than now; and when a much more considerable Army of theirs, unfoiled, invaded you; and we had but a weak force to make resistance at Preston,—upon deliberate advice, we chose rather to put ourselves between their Army and Scotland: and how God succeeded that, is not well to be forgotten! This present movement' is not out of choice on our part, but by some kind of necessity; and, it is to be hoped, will have the like issue. Together with a hopeful end of your work;—in which it's good to wait upon the Lord, upon the earnest of former experiences, and hope of His presence, which only is the life of your Cause.

Major-General Harrison, with the horse and dragoons under him, and Colonel Rich and the rest in those parts, shall attend the motion of the Enemy; and endeavour the keeping of them together, as also to impede his march. And will be ready to be in conjunction with what forces shall gather together for this service:—to whom orders have been speeded to that purpose; as this enclosed to Major-General Harrison will show. Major-General Lambert, this day, marched with a very considerable body of horse, up towards the Enemy's rear. With the rest of the horse, and nine regiments of foot, most of them of your old foot and horse, I am hasting up; and shall, by the Lord's help, use utmost diligence. I hope I have left a commanding force under Lieutenant-General Monk in Scotland.

This account I thought my duty to speed to you; and rest,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The Scots found no Presbyterian-Royalists, no Royalists Proper to speak of, nor any Discontented Interest in England disposed to join them in present circumstances. They marched, under rigorous discipline, weary and uncheered, south through Lancashire; had to dispute their old friend the Bridge of Warrington with Lambert and Harrison, who attended them with horse-troops on the left; Cromwell with the main Army steadily advancing behind. They carried the Bridge at Warrington; they summoned various Towns, but none yielded; proclaimed their King with all force of lungs and heraldry, but none cried, God bless him. Summoning Shrewsburgh, with the usual negative response, they quitted the London road; bent southward towards Worcester, a City of slight Garrison and loyal Mayor; there to entrench themselves, and repose a little.

Poor Earl Derby, a distinguished Royalist Proper, had hastened over from the Isle of Man, to kiss His Majesty's hand in passing. He then raised some force in Lancashire, and was in hopes to kindle that country again, and go to Worcester in triumph:—but Lilburn, Colonel Robert, whom we have known, fell upon him at Wigan; cut his force in pieces:[1] the poor Earl had to go to Worcester in a wounded and wrecked condition. To Worcester,—and, alas, to the scaffold by and by, for that business. The Scots at Worcester have a loyal Mayor, some very few adventurous loyal Gentry in the neighbourhood; and excitable Wales,

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 107, 8). [1] Lilburn's two Letters, in Cary, ii. 338-45.

perhaps again excitable, lying in the rear: but for the present, except in their own poor Fourteen-thousand right-hands, no outlook. And Cromwell is advancing steadily; by York, by Nottingham, by Coventry and Stratford; "raising all the County Militias," who muster with singular alacrity;—flowing towards Worcester like the Ocean-tide; begirdling it with "upwards of Thirty-thousand men." His Majesty's royal summons to the Corporation of London is burnt there by the hands of the common hangman; Speaker Lenthall and the Mayor have a copy of it burnt by that functionary at the head of every regiment, at a review of the Trainbands in Moorfields.[1] London, England generally, seems to have made up its mind.

At London on the 22d of August, a rigorous thing was done: Reverend Christopher Love, eloquent zealous Minister of St. Laurence in the Jewry, was, after repeated respites and negotiations, beheaded on Tower Hill. To the unspeakable emotion of men. Nay, the very Heavens seemed to testify a feeling of it,—by a thunderclap, by two thunderclaps. When the Parliament passed their votes, on the 4th of July, That he should die, according to the sentence of the Court, there was then a terrible thunderclap, and darkening of daylight. And now when he actually dies, "directly after his beheading," arises thunderstorm that threatens the dissolution of Nature! Nature, as we see, survived it.

The old Newspaper says, It was on the 22d August, 1642, that Charles late King erected his Standard at Nottingham: and now on this same day, 22d August, 1651, Charles Pretender erects his at Worcester,—and the Reverend Christopher dies. Men may make their reflections.—There goes a story, due to Carrion Heath or some such party, That Cromwell being earnestly solicited for mercy to this poor Christopher, did, while yet in Scotland, send a Letter to the Parliament, recommending it; which Letter, however, was seized by some roving outriders of the Scotch Worcester Army; who reading it, and remembering Uxbridge Sermon, tore it, saying, "No, let the villain die!"—after the manner of Heath. Which could be proved, if time and paper were of no value, to be, like a hundred other very wooden *myths* of the same Period, without truth. *Guarda e passa.* Glance at it here for the last time, and never repeat it more!—

Charles's Standard, it would seem then, was erected at Worcester on Friday the 22d, the day of poor Christopher's death. On which same Friday, about sunrise, "our Messenger" (the Parliament's) "left the Lord General at Mr. Pierpoint's House,"—William Pierpoint, of the Kingston Family, much his friend,—the house called Thoresby "near Mansfield;" just starting for Nottingham, to arrive there that night. From Nottingham, by Coventry, by Stratford and Evesham, to "the southeast side of Worcester," rallying Country forces as we go, will take till Thursday next. Here at Stratford on the Wednesday, eve of that, is a Letter accidentally preserved.

LETTER CLXVII.

DUBITATING Wharton, he also might help to rally forces; his name, from "Upper Winchington in Buck's," or wherever he may be, might

[1] Bates, ii. 122; Whitlocke, p. 492; see also Commons Journals, vii. 6 (23 August, 1651).

something. Give him, at any rate, a last chance.—"Tom Westrow," here accidentally named; once a well-known man, familiar to the Lord General and to men of worth and quality; now, as near as may be, swallowed forever in the Night-Empires; is still visible,—strangely enough, through one small chink, and recoverable into daylight as far as needful. A Kentish man, a Parliament Soldier once, named in military Kent Committees; indisputably sat in Parliament too,[1] though the Official Lists say nothing of him. Above all, he was the Friend of poor George Wither, stepson of the Muses; to whom in his undeserved distresses he lent beneficent princely sums; and who, in poor splayfooted doggrel,—very poor, but very grateful, pious, true, and on the whole, noble,—preserves some adequate memory of him for the curious.[2] By this chink Tom Westrow, and the ancient figure of his Life, is still recoverable if needed.

Westrow, we find by good evidence, did return to his place in Parliament;[3]—quitted it to, as Wither informs us, foreseeing the great Catastrophe; and retired to country quiet, up the River at Teddington. Westrow and the others returned: Wharton continued to dubitate:—and we shall here take leave of him. "Poor foolish Mall," young Mary Cromwell, one of "my two little Wenches," has been on a visit at Winchington, I think;—"thanks to you and the dear Lady" for her.

For my honoured Lord Wharton: These.

MY LORD, Stratford-on-Avon, 27th August, 1651.

I know I write to my Friend,—therefore give me leave to say one bold word.

In my very heart: Your Lordship, Dick Norton, Tom Westrow, Robert Hammond have, though not intentionally, helped one another to stumble at the Dispensations of God, and to reason yourselves out of His service!—

Now 'again' you have opportunity to associate with His people in His work; and to manifest your willingness, and desire to serve the Lord against His and His people's enemies. Would you be blessed out of Zion, and see the good of His people, and rejoice with His inheritance,—I advise you all in the bowels of love, Let it appear you offer yourselves willingly to His work! Wherein to be accepted, is more honour from the Lord than the world can give or hath. I am persuaded it needs you not,—save as your Lord and Master needed the Ass's Colt, to shew His humility, meekness and condescension; but you need it, to declare your submission to, and owning yourself the Lord's and His people's![4]—

If you can break through old disputes,—I shall rejoice if you help others to do so also. Do not say, You are now satisfied because it is the *old* Quarrel:—as if it had not been so, all this while!

[1] Husbands; Commons Journals, v. 356, iv. 691, &c.

[2] *Westrow Revived: a Funeral Poem without Fiction, composed by George Wither, Esq.; that God may be glorified in His Saints, and that*—&c. &c. (King's Pamphlets, 12mo, no. 390: London, 1653-4, dated with the pen "3 January"): unadulterated doggrel; but really *says* something *just*;—by no means your insupportablest "poetic" reading, as times go!

[3] "Admitted to sit;" means, readmitted after Pride's Purge: Commons Journals (vii. 27, 29), 10 October, 1651.

[4] Grammar, in this last clause, lost in the haste: "Ass's Colt" is "Beast" *in orig*

I have no leisure; but a great deal of entire affection to you and yours, and those named 'here,'—which I thus plainly express. Thanks to you and the dear Lady, for all loves,—and for poor foolish Mall. I am in good earnest 'thankful;' and so also

Your Lordship s

Faithful friend and most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Charles's Standard has been floating over Worcester some six days; and now on Thursday, 28th of August, comes in sight Cromwell's also; from the Evesham side; with upwards of Thirty-thousand men now near him, and some say, upwards of Eighty-thousand rising in the distance to join him if need were.

LETTERS CLXVIII., CLXIX.

BATTLE OF WORCESTER.

THE Battle of Worcester was fought on the evening of Wednesday, 3d September, 1651; anniversary of that at Dunbar last year. It could well have but one issue: defeat for the Scots and their Cause;—either swift and complete; or else incomplete, ending in slow sieges, partial revolts, and much new misery and blood. The swift issue was the one appointed; and complete enough; severing the neck of the Controversy now at last, as with one effectual stroke, no need to strike a second time.

The Battle was fought on both sides of the Severn; part of Cromwell's forces having crossed to the Western bank, by Upton Bridge, somes miles below Worcester, the night before. About a week ago, Massey understood himself to have ruined this Bridge at Upton; but Lambert's men "straddled across by the parapet,"—a dangerous kind of *saddle* for such riding, I think!—and hastily repaired it; hastily got hold of Upton Church, and maintained themselves there; driving Massey back, with a bad wound in the hand. This was on Thursday night last, the very night of the Lord General's arrival in those parts; and they have held this post ever since. Fleetwood crosses here with a good part of Cromwell's Army, on the evening of Tuesday, September 2d; shall, on the morrow, attack the Scotch posts on the Southwest, about the Suburb of St. John's, across the River; while Cromwell, in person, on this side, plies them from the Southeast. St. John's Suburb lies at some distance from Worcester; west, or southwest as we say, on the Herefordshire Road; and connects itself with the City by Severn Bridge. Southeast of the City, again, near the then and present London Road, is "Fort Royal,' an entrenchment of the Scots: on this side Cromwell is to attempt the Enemy, and second Fleetwood, as occasion may serve. Worcester City itself is on Cromwell's side of the River; stands high, surmounted by its high Cathedral; close on the left or eastern margin of the Severn, surrounded by fruitful fields, and hedges unfit for cavalry-fighting. This is the posture of affairs on the eve of Wednesday, 3d September, 1651.

But now, for Wednesday itself, we are to remark that between Fleetwood at Upton, and the Enemy's outposts at St. John's on the west

* Gentleman's Magazine (London, 1814, lxxxiv. p. 419)

side of Severn, there runs still a River Teme ; a western tributary of the Severn, into which it falls about a mile below the City. This River Teme Fleetwood hopes to cross, if not by the Bridge at Powick which the Enemy possesses, then by a Bridge of Boats which he is himself to prepare lower down, close by the mouth of Teme. At this point also, or "within pistol-shot of it," there is to be a Bridge of Boats laid across the Severn itself, that so both ends of the Army may communicate. Boats, boatmen, carpenters, aquatic and terrestrial artificers and implements, in great abundance, contributed by the neighbouring Towns, lie ready on the river, about Upton, for this service. Does the reader now understand the ground a little ?

Fleetwood, at Upton, was astir with the dawn, September 3d. But it was towards "three in the afternoon" before the boatmen were got up ; must have been towards five before these Bridges were got built, and Fleetwood set fairly across the Teme to begin business. The King of Scots and his Council of War, "on the top of the Cathedral," have been anxiously viewing him all afternoon ; have seen him build his Bridges of Boats : see him now in great force got across Teme River, attacking the Scotch on the South, fighting them from hedge to hedge towards the Suburb of St. John's. In great force : for new regiments, horse and foot, now stream across the Severn Bridge of Boats to assist Fleetwood : nay, if the Scots knew it, my Lord General himself is come across, "did lead the van in person, and was the first to set foot on the Enemy's ground."—The Scots, obstinately struggling, are gradually beaten there ; driven from hedge to hedge. But the King of Scots and his War-Council decide that most part of Cromwell's Army must now be over in that quarter, on the West side of the River, engaged among the hedges ; —decide that they, for their part, will storm out, and offer him battle on their own East side, now while he is weak there. The Council of War comes down from the top of the Cathedral ; their trumpets sound : Cromwell also is soon back, across the Severn Bridge of Boats again ; and the deadliest tug of war begins.

Fort Royal is still known at Worcester, and Sudbury Gate at the southeast end of the City is known, and those other localities here specified ; after much study of which and of the old dead Pamphlets, this Battle will at last become conceivable. Besides Cromwell's Two Letters there are plentiful details, questionable and unquestionable, in *Bates* and elsewhere, as indicated below.[1] The fighting of the Scots was fierce and desperate. "My Lord General did exceedingly hazard himself, riding up and down in the midst of the fire ; riding, himself in person, to the Enemy's foot to offer them quarter, whereto they returned no answer but shot." The small Scotch Army, begirdled with overpowering force, and cut off from help or reasonable hope, storms forth in fiery pulses, horse and foot ; charges now on this side of the River, now on that ;—can on no side prevail. Cromwell recoils a little ; but only to rally, and return irresistible. The small Scotch Army is, on every side, driven in again. Its fiery pulsings are but the struggles of death : agonies as of a lion coiled in the folds of a boa !

[1] Bates, Part ii., 124-7. King's Pamphlets ; small 4to, no. 507, sec. 12 (given mostly in Cromwelliana, pp. 114, 15); large 4to, no. 54, secs. 15, 18 Letter from Stapylton the Chaplain, in Cromwelliana, p. 112.

"As stiff a contest, for four or five hours, as ever I have seen." But it avails not. Through Sudbury Gate, on Cromwell's side, through St. John's Suburb, and over Severn Bridge on Fleetwood's the Scots are driven-in again to Worcester Streets: desperately struggling and recoiling, are driven through Worcester Streets, to the North end of the City,—and terminate there. A distracted mass of ruin: the foot all killed or taken; the horse all scattered on flight, and their place of refuge very far! His sacred Majesty escaped, by royal oaks and other miraculous appliances well known to mankind: but Fourteen-thousand other men, sacred too after a sort though not majesties, did not escape. One could weep at such a death for brave men in such a Cause! But let us now read Cromwell's Letters.

LETTER CLXVIII.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

Near Worcester, 3d September, 1651,
(10 at night).

SIR,

Being so weary, and scarce able to write, yet I thought it my duty to let you know thus much. That upon this day, being the 3d of September (remarkable for a mercy vouchsafed to your Forces on this day twelvemonth in Scotland), we built a Bridge of Boats over Severn, between it and Teme, about half a mile from Worcester; and another over Teme, within pistol-shot of the other Bridge. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and Major-General Dean marched from Upton on the southwest side of Severn up to Powick, a Town which was a Pass the Enemy kept. We, 'from our side of Severn,' passed over some horse and foot, and were in conjunction with the Lieutenant-General's Forces. We beat the Enemy from hedge to hedge till we beat them into Worcester.

The Enemy then drew all his Forces on the other side the Town, all but what he had lost; and made a very considerable fight with us, for three hours space: but in the end we beat them totally, and pursued him to his Royal Fort, which we took,—and indeed have beaten his whole Army. When we took this Fort, we turned his own guns upon him. The Enemy hath had a great loss; and certainly is scattered, and run several ways. We are in pursuit of him, and have laid forces in several places, that we hope will gather him up.

Indeed this hath been a very glorious mercy;—and as stiff a contest, for four or five hours, as ever I have seen. Both your old Forces and those new-raised have behaved with very great courage; and He that made them come out, made them willing to fight for you. The Lord God Almighty frame our hearts to real thankfulness for this, which is alone His doing. I hope I shall within a day or two give you a more perfect account.

In the meantime I hope you will pardon,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 113).

On Saturday the 6th comes a further Letter from my Lord General; "the effect whereof speaketh thus:"

LETTER CLXIX.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

SIR, Worcester, 4th September, 1651.

I am not able yet to give you an exact account of the great things the Lord hath wrought for this Commonwealth and for His People: and yet I am unwilling to be silent; but, according to my duty, shall represent it to you, as it comes to hand.

This Battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on your part; and in the end became an absolute Victory,—and so full an one as proved a total defeat and ruin of the Enemy's Army; and a possession of the Town, our men entering at the Enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets with very great courage. We took all their baggage and artillery. What the slain are, I can give you no account, because we have not taken an exact view; but they are very many:—and must needs be so; because the dispute was long and very near at hand; and often at push of pike, and from one defence to another. There are about Six or Seven thousand prisoners taken here; and many Officers and Noblemen of very great quality: Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Rothes, and divers other Noblemen,—I hear, the Earl of Lauderdale; many Officers of great quality; and some that will be fit subjects for your justice.

We have sent very considerable parties after the flying Enemy; I hear they have taken considerable numbers of prisoners, and are very close in the pursuit. Indeed, I hear the country riseth upon them everywhere; and I believe the forces that lay, through Providence, at Bewdley, and in Shropshire and Staffordshire, and those with Colonel Lilburne, were in a condition, as if this had been foreseen, to intercept what should return.

A more particular account than this will be prepared for you as we are able. I heard they had not many more than a Thousand horse in their body that fled; and I believe we have near Four-thousand forces following, and interposing between them and home; what fish they will catch Time will declare.[1] Their Army was about Sixteen-thousand strong; and fought ours on the Worcester side of Severn almost with their whole, whilst we had engaged about half our Army on the other side but with parties of theirs. Indeed it was a stiff business; yet I do not think we have lost Two-hundred men. Your new-raised forces did perform singular good service; for which they deserve a very high estimation and acknowledgment; as also for their willingness thereunto —forasmuch as the same hath added so much to the reputation of your affairs. They are all despatched home again: which I hope will be much for the ease and satisfaction of the country; which is a great fruit of these successes.

The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught

[1] Phrase omitted in the Newspaper.

I know, a crowning mercy. Surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness; and the Parliament to do the will of Him who hath done his Will for it, and for the Nation;—whose good pleasure is to establish the Nation and the Change of the Government, by making the People so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally blessing the endeavours of your servants in this late great work. I am bold humbly to beg, That all thoughts may tend to the promoting of His honour who hath wrought so great salvation; and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen Nation;[1] but that the fear of the Lord, even for His mercies, may keep an Authority and a People so prospered, and blessed, and witnessed unto, humble and faithful; and that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth may flow from you, as a thankful return to our gracious God. This shall be the prayer of,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Your Officers behaved themselves with much honour in this service; and the Person[2] who is the Bearer hereof was equal, in the performance of his duty, to most that served you that day.*

"On Lord's day next, by order of Parliament," these Letters are read from all London Pulpits, amid the general thanksgiving of men. At Worcester, the while, thousands of Prisoners are getting ranked, "penned up in the Cathedral," with sad outlooks: carcasses of horses, corpses of men, frightful to sense and mind, encumber the streets of Worcester; "we are plucking Lords, Knights and Gentlemen from their lurking-holes," into the unwelcome light. Lords very numerous; a Peerage sore slashed. The Duke of Hamilton has got his thigh broken; dies on the fourth day. The Earl of Derby, also wounded, is caught, and tried for Treason against the State; lays down his head at Bolton, where he had once carried it too high. Lauderdale and others are put in the Tower; have to lie there, in heavy dormancy, for long years. The Earls of Cleveland and Lauderdale came to town together, about a fortnight hence. "As they passed along Cornhill in their coaches with a guard of horse, the Earl of Lauderdale's coach made a stand near the Conduit: where a Carman gave his Lordship a visit, saying, 'Oh, my Lord, you are welcome to London! I protest, off goes your head, as round as a hoop!' But his Lordship passed off the fatal compliment only with a laughter, and so fared along to the Tower."[3] His Lordship's big red head has yet other work to do in this world. Having at the ever-blessed Restoration, managed, not without difficulty, "to get a new suit of clothes,"[4] he knelt before his now triumphant Sacred

[1] "But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked:—(and thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatness): then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the rock of his salvation" (*Deuteronomy*, xxxii., 15).

[2] Major Cobbet, "who makes a relation," and gets 100*l.* (Commons Journals, vii., 12-13).

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 113, 14); Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 359-82).

[3] King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 507, sec. 18.

[4] Roger Coke's Detection of the Court and State of England.

Majesty on that glorious Thirtieth of May; learned from his Majesty, that "Presbytery was no religion for a gentleman;" gave it up, not without pangs; and resolutely set himself to introduce the exploded Tulchan Apparatus into Scotland again, by thumbikins, by bootikins, by any and every method, since it was the will of his Sacred Majesty;—failed in the Tulchan Apparatus, as is well known; earned for himself new plentiful clothes-suits, Dukedoms and promotions, from the Sacred Majesty; and from the Scotch People deep-toned universal sound of curses, not yet become inaudible; and shall, in this place, and we hope elsewhere, concern us no more.

On Friday the 12th of September the Lord General arrived in Town. Four dignified Members, of whom Bulstrode was one, specially missioned by vote of Parliament,[1] had met him the day before with congratulations, on the other side Aylesbury; "whom he received with all kindness and respect; and after ceremonies and salutations passed, he rode with them across the fields;—where Mr. Winwood the Member for Windsor's hawks met them; and the Lord General, with the other Gentlemen, went a little out of the way a-hawking. They came that night to Aylesbury; where they had much discourse; especially my Lord Chief Justice St. John," the dark Shipmoney Lawyer, "as they supped together." To me Bulstrode, and to each of the others, he gave a horse and two Scotch prisoners: the horse I kept for carrying me; the two Scots, unlucky gentlemen of that country, I handsomely sent home again without any ransom whatever.[2] And so on Friday we arrive in Town, in very great solemnity and triumph: Speaker and Parliament, Lord President and Council of State, Sheriffs, Mayors, and an innumerable multitude, of quality and not of quality, eagerly attending us; once more splitting the welkin with their human shoutings and volleys of great shot and small: in the midst of which my Lord General "carried himself with much affability; and now and afterwards, in all his discourses about Worcester, would seldom mention anything of himself; mentioned others only; and gave, as was due, the glory of the Action unto God."[3]—Hugh Peters, however, being of loose-spoken, somewhat sibylline turn of mind, discerns a certain inward exultation and irrepressible irradiation in my Lord General, and whispers to himself, "This man will be King of England yet." Which, unless Kings are entirely superfluous in England, I should think very possible, O Peters! To wooden Ludlow Mr. Peters confessed so much, long afterwards; and the wooden head drew its inferences therefrom.[4]

This, then, is the last of my Lord General's Battles and Victories, technically so-called. Of course his Life, to the very end of it, continues, as from the beginning it had always been, a *battle*, and a dangerous and strenuous one, with due modicum of victory assigned now and then; but it will be with other than the steel weapons henceforth. He here sheaths his war-sword; with that, it is not his Order from the Great Captain that he fight any more.

The Distracted Scheme of the Scotch Governors to accomplish their

[1] Commons Journals, vii. 13 (9 Sept. 1651). [2] Whitlocke, p. 484; see also ad edit. p. 509.
[3] Whitlocke, p. 485 [4] Ludlow.

Covenant by this Charles-Stuart method has here ended. By and by they shall have their Charles-Stuart back, as a general Nell-Gwynn Defender of the Faith to us all;—and shall see how they will like him! But as a Covenanted King he is off upon his travels, and will never return more. Worcester Battle has cut the heart of that affair in two: and Monk, an assiduous Lieutenant to the Lord General in his Scotch affairs, is busy suppressing the details.

On Monday the 1st of September, two days before the Battle of Worcester, Lieutenant-General Monk had stormed Dundee, the last stronghold of Scotland; where much wealth, as in a place of safety, had been laid up. Governor Lumsden would not yield on Summons: Lieutenant-General Monk stormed him; the Town took fire in the business; there was once more a grim scene, of flame and blood, and rage and despair, transacted in this Earth: and taciturn General Monk, his choler all up, was become surly as the Russian Bear; nothing but negatory growls to be got out of him: nay, to one clerical dignitary of the place he not only gave his "No!" but audibly threatened a slap with the fist to back it,—"ordered him, Not to speak one word, or he would scobe his mouth for him!"[1]

Ten days before, some Shadow of a new Committee of Estates attempting to sit at Alyth on the border of Angus, with intent to concert some measures for the relief of this same Dundee, had been, by a swift Colonel of Monk's, laid hold of; and the members were now all shipped to the Tower. It was a snuffing-out of the Government-light in Scotland. Except some triumph came from Worcester to rekindle it:—and, alas, no triumph came from Worcester, as we see; nothing but ruin and defeat from Worcester! The Government-light of Scotland remains snuffed out.—Active Colonel Alured, a swift devout man, somewhat given to Anabaptist notions, of whom we shall hear again, was he that did this feat at Alyth; a kind of feather in his cap. Among the Captured in that poor Committee or Shadow of Committee was poor old General Leven, time-honoured Lesley, who went to the Tower with the others; his last appearance in Public History. He got out again, on intercession from Queen Christina of Sweden; retired to his native fields of Fife; and slept soon and still sleeps in Balgony Kirk under his stone of honour,—the excellent "crooked little Feldtmarshal" that he was. Excellent, though unfortunate. He bearded the grim Wallenstein at Stralsund once, and rolled him back from the bulwarks there, after long tough wrestle;—and in fact did a thing or two in his time. Farewell to him.[2]

But with the light of Government snuffed out in Scotland, and no rekindling of it from the Worcester side, resistance in Scotland has ended. Lambert, next summer, marched through the Highlands, pacificating them.[3] There rose afterwards rebellion in the Highlands, rebellion of Glencairn, of Middleton, with much mosstroopery and horsestealing; but Monk, who had now again the command there, by energy and vigilance, by patience, punctuality, and slow methodic strength, put it

[1] Balfour, iv. 316.

[2] Scotch Peerages; Förster's *Wallensteinals Feldherr* (Potsdam, 1834), p. 124, Grange (Biographic History of England) has some nonsense about Leven,—in his usual neat style.

[3] Whitlocke, p. 514.

down, and kept it down. A taciturn man; speaks little; thinks more or less;—does whatever is doable here and elsewhere.

Scotland therefore, like Ireland, has fallen to Cromwell to be administered. He had to do it under great difficulties; the Governing Classes, especially the Clergy or Teaching Class, continuing for most part obstinately indisposed to him, so baleful to their formulas had he been. With Monk for an assiduous Lieutenant in secular matters, he kept the country in peace;—it appears on all sides, he did otherwise what was possible for him. He sent new Judges to Scotland; "a pack of kinless loons," who minded no claim but that of fair play. He favoured, as was natural, the *Remonstrant* Ker-and-Strahan Party in the Church;—favoured, above all things, the Christian-Gospel Party, who had some good message in them for the soul of man. Within wide limits he tolerated the *Resolutioner* Party; and beyond these limits would not tolerate them;—would not suffer their General Assembly to sit; marched the Assembly out bodily to Bruntisfield Links, and sent it home again, when it tried such a thing.[1] He united Scotland to England by act of Parliament; tried in all ways to unite it by still deeper methods. He kept peace and order in the country; was a little heavy with taxes:—on the whole, did what he could; and proved, as there is good evidence, a highly beneficial though unwelcome phenomenon there.

Alas, may we not say, In circuitous ways he proved the Doer of what this poor Scotch Nation really wished and willed, could it have known so much at sight of him! The true Governor of this poor Scotch Nation; accomplishing their Covenant *without* the Charles Stuart, since *with* the Charles Stuart it was a flat impossibility. But they knew him not; and with their stiff-necked ways obstructed him as they could. How seldom can a Nation, can even an individual man, understand what at heart his own real will is: such masses of superficial bewilderment, of respectable hearsay, of fantasy and pedantry, and old and new cobwebbery, overlie our poor will; much hiding *it* from us, for most part! So that if we can once get eye on *it*, and walk resolutely towards fulfilment of it, the battle is as good as gained!—

For example, who, of all Scotch or other men, is he that verily understands the "real ends of the Covenant," and discriminates them well from the superficial forms thereof; and with pious valour does them,—and continually struggles to see them done? I should say, this Cromwell, whom we call Sectary and Blasphemer! The Scotch Clergy, persisting in their own most hidebound formula of a Covenanted Charles Stuart, bear clear testimony that, at no time, did Christ's Gospel so flourish in Scotland as now under Cromwell the Usurper. "These bitter waters," say they, "were sweetened by the Lord's remarkably blessing the labours of His faithful servants. A great door and an effectual was opened to many."[2] Not otherwise in matters civil. "Scotland," thus testifies a competent eye-witness, "was kept in great order. Some Castles in the Highlands had Garrisons put into

[1] Whitlocke, 25 July, 1655. Life of Robert Blair (Edinburgh, 1754), pp. 118, 19. Blencowe's Sidney Papers, pp. 153-5.

[2] Life of Robert Blair, p. 120; Livingston's Life of Himself (Glasgow, 1754), pp. 54, 5, &c. &c.

them, which were so careful of their discipline, and so exact to their rules," the wild Highlanders were wonderfully tamed thereby. Cromwell built three Citadels, Leith, Ayr, and Inverness, besides many little Forts, over Scotland. Seven or Eight thousand men, well paid, and paying well; of the strictest habits, military, spiritual and moral: these it was everywhere a kind of Practical Sermon to take note of! "There was good justice done; and vice was suppressed and punished. So that we always reckon those Eight Years of Usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity,"[1]—though we needed to be twice beaten, and to have our foolish Governors flung into the Tower, before we could accept the same. We, and mankind generally, are an extremely wise set of creatures.

PART VII.

THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT.

1651-1653.

LETTER CLXX.—CLXXIV.

BETWEEN Worcester Battle on the 3d of September, 1651, and the Dismissal of the Long Parliament on the 20th of April, 1653, are Thirty-one very important months in the History of Oliver, which, in all our Books and Historical rubbish-records, lie as nearly as possible dark and vacant for us. Poor Dryasdust has emitted, and still emits, volumes of confused noise on the subject; but in the way of information or illumination, of light in regard to any fact, physiognomic feature, event or fraction of an event, as good as nothing whatever. Indeed, onwards from this point where Oliver's own Letters begin to fail us, the whole History of Oliver, and of England under him, becomes very dim; —swimming most indistinct in the huge Tomes of *Thurloe* and the like, as in shoreless lakes of ditchwater and bilgewater; a stagnancy, a torpor, and confused horror to the human soul! No historical genius, not even a Rushworth's, now presides over the matter; nothing but bilgewater *Correspondences*; vague jottings of a dull fat Bulstrode; vague printed babblements of this and the other Carrion Heath or Flunkey Pamphleteer of the Blessed-Restoration Period, writing from ignorant rumour and for ignorant rumour, from the winds and to the winds. After long reading in very many Books, of very unspeakable quality, earning for yourself only incredibility, inconceivability, and darkness visible, you begin to perceive that in the Speeches of Oliver himself once well read, such as they are, some shadowy outlines, authentic prefigurements of what the real History of the Time may have been, do first, in the huge inane night, begin to loom forth for you,—credible, conceivable in some measure, there for the first time. My reader's patience is henceforth to be still more severely tried: there is unluckily no help for it, as matters stand.

Great lakes of watery *Correspondence* relating to the History of this Period, as we intimate, survive in print; and new are occasionally

[1] Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time, Book i.

issued upon mankind:[1] but the essence of them has never yet in the smallest been elaborated by any man;—will require a succession and assiduous series of many men to elaborate it. To pluck up the great History of Oliver from it, like drowned Honour by the locks; and shew it to much-wondering and, in the end, right-thankful England! The richest and noblest thing England hitherto has. The basis England will have to start from again, if England is ever to struggle Godward again, instead of staggering Devilward, and Mammonward merely. Serene element of Cant has been tried now for two Centuries; and fails. Serene element, general completed life-atmosphere, of Cant religious, Cant moral, Cant political, Cant universal, where England vainly hoped to live in a serene soft-spoken manner,—England now finds herself on the point of choking there; large masses of her People no longer able to find even potatoes in that serene element. England will have to come out of that; England, too terribly awakened at last, is everywhere preparing to come out of that. England, her Amazon-eyes once more flashing strange Heaven's-light, like Phœbus Apollo's fatal to the Pythian mud-serpents, will lift her hand, I think, and her heart, and swear by the Eternal, "I will not die in that! I had once men who knew better than that!"——

But with regard to the History of Oliver, as we were saying, for those Thirty-one months there is almost no light to be communicated at present. Of Oliver's own uttering, I have found only Five Letters, short, insignificant, connected with no phasis of Public Transactions: there are Two Dialogues recorded by Whitlocke, of dubious authenticity; certain small splinters of Occurrences not pointing very decisively anywhither, sprinkling like dust of stars the dark vacancy: these, and Dryasdust's vociferous commentaries new and old;—and of discovered or discoverable, nothing more. Oliver's own *Speech*, which the reader is by and by to hear, casts backwards some straggling gleams; well accordant, as is usual, with whatever else we know; and worthy to be well believed and meditated, by Historical readers, among others. Out of these poor elements the candid imagination must endeavour to shape some not inconceivable scheme and genesis of this very indubitable Fact, the Dismissal of the Long Parliament, as best it may. Perhaps if Dryasdust were once well gagged, and his vociferous commentaries all well forgotten, such a feat might not be very impossible for mankind!—

Concerning this Residue, Fag-end, or "Rump" as it had now got nicknamed, of the Long Parliament, into whose hands the Government of England had been put, we have hitherto, ever since the King's Death-Warrant, said almost nothing: and in fact there was not much to be said. "Statesmen of the Commonwealth" so-called: there wanted not among them men of real mark; brave men, of much talent, of true resolution, and nobleness of aim: but though their title was chief in this Commonwealth, all men may see their real function in it has been subaltern all along. Not in St. Stephen's and its votings and debatings, but in the battle-field, in Oliver Cromwell's fightings, has the

[1] Thurloe's *State Papers*, Milton's, Clarendon's, Ormond's, Sidney's, &c. &c. are old and very watery; new and still waterier are Vaughan's *Protectoral* [illegible] others not even worth naming here.

OLIVER CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

destiny of this Commonwealth decided itself. One unsuccessful Battle, at Preston or at any time since, had probably wrecked it;—one stray bullet hitting the life of a certain man had soon ended this Commonwealth. Parliament, Council of State, they sat like diligent Committees of Ways and Means, in a very wise and provident manner: but the soul of the Commonwealth was at Dunbar, at Worcester, at Tredah: Destiny, there questioned, "Life or death for this Commonwealth?" has answered, "Life yet for a time!"—That is a fact which the candid imagination will have to keep steadily in view.

And now if we practically ask ourselves, What is to become of this small junto of men, somewhat above a Hundred in all,[1] hardly above Half-a-hundred the active part of them, who now sit in the chair of authority? the shaping-out of any answer will give rise to considerations. These men have been raised thither by miraculous interpositions of Providence; they may be said to sit there only by continuance of the like. They cannot sit there forever. They are not Kings by birth, these men; nor in any of them have I discovered qualities as of a very indisputable King by attainment. Of dull Bulstrode, with his lumbering law-pedantries, and stagnant official self-satisfactions, I do not speak; nor of dusky tough St. John, whose abstruse fanaticisms, crabbed logics, and dark ambitions, issue all, as was very natural, in "decided avarice" at last:—not of these. Harry Marten is a tight little fellow, though of somewhat loose life: his witty words pierce yet, as light-arrows, through the thick oblivious torpor of the generations; testifying to us very clearly, Here was a right hard-headed, stout-hearted little man, full of sharp fire and cheerful light; sworn foe of Cant in all its figures; an indomitable little Roman Pagan if no better: but Harry is not quite one's King either; it would have been difficult to be altogether loyal to Harry! Doubtful too, I think, whether without great effort you could have worshipped even the Younger Vane. A man of endless virtues, says Dryasdust, who is much taken with him, and of endless intellect;—but you must not very specially ask, How or Where? Vane was the Friend of Milton: that is almost the only answer that can now be given. A man, one rather finds, of light fibre this Sir Harry Vane. Grant all manner of purity and elevation; subtle high discourse; much intellectual and practical dexterity: there is an amiable, devoutly zealous, very pretty man;—but not a royal man; alas, no! On the whole rather a thin man. Whom it is even important to keep strictly subaltern. Whose tendency towards the Abstract, or Temporary-Theoretic, is irresistible; whose hold of the Concrete, in which lies always the Perennial, is by no means that of a giant, or born Practical King: whose "astonishing subtlety of intellect" conducts him not to new clearness, but to ever-new abstruseness, wheel within wheel, depth under depth; marvellous temporary empire of the air;—wholly vanished now, and without meaning to any mortal. My erudite friend, the astonishing intellect that occupies itself in splitting hairs, and not in twisting some kind of cordage and effectual draught-tackle to take the

[1] One notices division-numbers as high as 121, and occasionally lower than even 40. Godwin (iii. 121), "by careful scrutiny of the Journals," has found that the utmost number of all that had still the right to come "could not be less than 150."

road with, is not to me the most astonishing of intellects! And if, as is probable, it get into narrow fanaticisms; become irrecognisant of the Perennial because not dressed in the fashionable Temporary; become self-secluded, atrabiliar, and perhaps shrill-voiced and spasmodic,—what can you do but get away from it, with a prayer, "The Lord deliver me from thee!" I cannot do with *thee*. I want twisted cordage, steady pulling, and a peaceable bass tone of voice; not split hairs, hysterical spasmodics, and treble! Thou amiable, subtle, elevated individual, the Lord deliver me from thee!

These men cannot continue Kings forever; nor in fact did they in the least design such a thing: only they find a terrible difficulty in getting abdicated. Difficulty very conceivable to us. Some weeks after Pride's Purge, which may be called the constituting of this remnant of members into a Parliament and Authority, there had been presented to it, by Fairfax and the Army, what we should now call a Bentham-Sieyes Constitution, what was then called an "Agreement of the People,"[1] which might well be imperative on honourable members sitting there; whereby it was stipulated for one thing, That this present Parliament should dissolve itself, and give place to another "equal Representative of the People,"—in some three months hence; on the 30th of April, namely. The last day of April 1649: this Parliament was then to have its work finished, and go its ways, giving place to another. Such was our hope.

They did accordingly pass a vote to that effect; fully intending to fulfil the same: but, alas, it was found impossible. How summon a new Parliament, while the Commonwealth is still fighting for its existence? All we can do is to resolve ourselves into Grand Committee, and consider about it. After much consideration, all we can decide is, That we shall go weekly into Grand Committee, and consider farther. Duly every Wednesday we consider, for the space of eleven months and odd; find, more and more, that it is a thing of some considerableness! In brief, when my Lord General returns to us from Worcester, on the 16th of September, 1651, no advance whatever towards a dissolution of ourselves has yet been made. The Wednesday Grand Committees had become a thing like the meeting of Roman augurs, difficult to go through with complete gravity; and so, after the eleventh month, have silently fallen into desuetude. We sit here very immovable. We are scornfully called the Rump of a Parliament by certain people: but we have an invincible Oliver to fight for us: we can afford to wait here, and consider to all lengths; and by one name we shall smell as sweet as by another.

I have only to add at present, that on the morrow of my Lord General's reappearance in Parliament, this sleeping question was resuscitated;[2] new activity infused into it; some shew of progress made; nay, at the end of three months, after much labour and struggle, it was got decided, by a neck-and-neck division,[3] That the present *is* a fit time

[1] Commons Journals, 20 January, 1648-9: some six weeks after the Purge; ten days before the King's Death.

[2] Commons Journals, 17 September, 1651.

[3] 49 to 47; Commons Journals, 14 November 1651: "Lord General and Lord Chief Justice," Cromwell and St. John, are Tellers for the Yea.

for fixing a limit beyond which this Parliament shall not sit. Fix a limit therefore ; give us the *non-plus-ultra* of you. Next Parliament-day we do fix a limit, Three years hence, 3d November, 1654 ; three years of rope still left us : a somewhat wide limit ; which, under conceivable contingencies, may perhaps be tightened a little. My honourable friends, you ought really to get on with despatch of this business ; and know of a surety that not being, any of you, Kings by birth, nor very indubitably by attainment, you will actually have to go, and even in case of extremity to be shoved and sent !

LETTER CLXX.

AT this point the law of dates requires that we introduce Letter Hundred-and-seventieth ; though it is as a mere mathematical point, marking its own whereabouts in Oliver's history ; and imparts little or nothing that is new to us.

Reverend John Cotton is a man still held in some remembrance among our new England friends. He had been Minister of Boston in Lincolnshire ; carried the name across the Ocean with him ; fixed it upon a new small Home he had found there,—which has become a large one since ; the big busy Capital of Massachusetts, Boston, so called. *John Cotton his mark* very curiously stamped on the face of this Planet ; likely to continue for some time.—For the rest a painful Preacher, oracular of high Gospels to New England ; who in his day was well seen to be connected with the Supreme Powers of this Universe, the word of him being as a live-coal to the hearts of many. He died some years afterwards ;—was thought, especially on his deathbed, to have manifested gifts even of Prophecy[1]—a thing not inconceivable to the human mind that well considers Prophecy and John Cotton.

We should say farther, that the Parliament, that Oliver among and before them, had taken solemn anxious thought concerning Propagating of the Gospel in New England ; and, among other measures, passed an Act to that end ;[2] not unworthy of attention, were our hurry less. In fact, there are traceable various small threads of relation, interesting reciprocities and mutualities, connecting the poor young Infant, New England, with the old Puritan Mother and her affairs, in those years. Which ought to be disentangled, to be made conspicuous and beautiful, by the Infant herself now that she has grown big ; the busy old Mother having had to shove them, with so much else of the like, hastily out of her way for the present ! However, it is not in reference to this of Propagating the Gospel in New England, it is in congratulation on the late high Actings, and glorious Appearances of Providence in Old England, that Cotton has been addressing Oliver : introduced to him, as appears, by some small mediate or direct acquaintanceship, old or new ; —founding too on their general relationship as Soldier of the Gospel and Priest of the Gospel, high brother and humble one, appointed, both of them, to fight for it to the death, each with such weapons as were given him. The Letter of Cotton with due details, is to be seen in Hutchinson's *Collection*.[3] The date is "Boston in New England, 28th

[1] Thurloe, i. 565 :—in 1653. [2] Scobell (27 July, 1649), ii. 66.
[3] Papers relating to the State of Massachusetts (Boston, 1769) p. 236.

of Fifth," (*Fifth Month, or July*), "1651:" the substances, full of piety and loyalty, like that of hundreds of others, must not concern us here,—except these few interesting words, upon certain of our poor old Dunbar friends: "The Scots whom God delivered into your hands at Dunbar," says Cotton, "and whereof sundry were sent hither,—we have been desirous, as we could, to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy or other diseases have not wanted physic and chirurgery. They have not been sold for slaves to *perpetual* servitude; but for six or seven, or eight years, as we do our own. And he that bought the most of them, I hear, buildeth Houses for them, for every Four a House; and layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them as their own, requiring them three days in the week to work for him by turns, and four days for themselves; and promiseth, as soon as they can repay him the money he laid out for them, he will set them at liberty." Which really is a mild arrangement, and much preferable to Durham Cathedral and the raw cabbages at Morpeth; and may turn to good for the poor fellows, if they can behave themselves!—

For my esteemed Friend, Mr. Cotton, Pastor of the Church at Boston in New England: These.

'London,' 2nd October, 1651.

WORTHY SIR, AND MY CHRISTIAN FRIEND,

I received yours a few days since. It was welcome to me because signed by you, whom I love and honour in the Lord: but more 'so' to see some of the same grounds of our Actings, stirring in you that are in us, to quiet us in our work, and support us therein. Which hath had the greatest difficulty in our engagement in Scotland; by reason we have had to do with some who were, I verily think, Godly, but, through weakness and the subtlety of Satan, 'were' involved in Interests against the Lord and His People.

With what tenderness we have proceeded with such, and that in sincerity, our Papers (which I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest; and I give you some comfortable assurance of 'the same.' The Lord hath marvellously appeared even against them.[1] And now again when all the power was devolved into the Scottish King and the Malignant Party,—they invading England, the Lord rained upon them such snares as the Enclosed[2] will shew. Only the Narrative is short in this, That at their whole Army, when the Narrative was framed, not five men were returned.

Surely, Sir, the Lord is greatly to be feared and to be praised! We need your prayers in this as much as ever. How shall we behave ourselves after such mercies? What is the Lord a-doing? What Prophecies are now fulfilling?[3] Who is a God like ours! To know His will, to do His will are both of Him.

I took this liberty from business, to salute you thus in a word. Truly I am ready to serve you and the rest of your Brethren and Churches

[1] From Preston downward.

[2] Probably the Official Narrative of Worcester Battle; published about a week ago, as Preamble to the Act appointing a Day of Thanksgiving; 26th September, 1651; reprinted in Parliamentary History, xx. 59-65.

[3] See Psalm Hundred-and-tenth.

with you. I am a poor weak creature, and not worthy the name of a worm; yet accepted to serve the Lord and His People. Indeed, my dear Friend, between you and me, you know not me,—my weakness, my inordinate passions, my unskilfulness, and every-way unfitness to my work. Yet, yet the Lord, who will have mercy on whom He will, does as you see! Pray for me. Salute all Christian Friends though unknown.

I rest,

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

About this time, for there is no date to it but an evidently vague and erroneous one, was held the famous Conference of Grandees, called by request of Cromwell; of which Bulstrode has given record. Conference held "one day" at Speaker Lenthall's house in Chancery Lane, to decide among the leading Grandees of the Parliament and Army, How this Nation *is* to be settled,—the Long Parliament having now resolved on actually dismissing itself by and by. The question is really complex: one would gladly know what the leading Grandees did think of it; even what they found good to say upon it! Unhappily our learned Bulstrode's report of this Conference is very dim, very languid: nay Bulstrode, as we have found elsewhere, has a kind of dramaturgic turn in him, indeed an occasional poetic friskiness; most unexpected, as if the hippopotamus should shew a tendency to dance; which painfully deducts from one's confidence in Bulstrode's entire accuracy on such occasions! Here and there the multitudinous Paper Masses of learned Bulstrode do seem to smack a little of the date when he redacted them, —posterior to the Ever-blessed Restoration, not prior to it. We shall, nevertheless, excerpt this dramaturgic Report of Conference: the reader will be willing to examine, with his own eyes, even as in a glass darkly, any feature of that time; and he can remember always that a learned Bulstrode's fat terrene mind, imaging a heroic Cromwell and his affairs, is a very dark glass indeed!

The Speakers in this Conference,—Desborow, Oliver's Brother-in-law; Whalley, Oliver's Cousin; fanatical Harrison, tough St. John, my learned Lord Keeper or Commissioner Whitlocke himself,—are mostly known to us. Learned Widdrington, the mellifluous orator, once Lord Commissioner too, and like to be again, though at present "excused from it owing to scruples," will by and by become better known to us. A mellifluous, unhealthy, seemingly somewhat scrupulous and timorous man.[1] He is of the race of that Widdrington whom we still lament in doleful dumps,—but does not fight upon the stumps like him. There were "many other Gentlemen" who merely listened.

"Upon the defeat at Worcester," says Bulstrode vaguely,[2] "Cromwell desired a Meeting with divers Members of Parliament, and some chief Officers of the Army, at the Speaker's house. And a great many being there, he proposed to them, That now the old King being dead, and his

* Harris, p. 518; Birch's Original,—copied in Additional Ayscough MSS. no, 4156; sec. 70.

1 Wood, *in voce.*

2 Whitlocke, p. 491; the date, 10 December, 1651, is that of the Paper merely, and as applied to the Conference itself cannot be correct.

Son being defeated, he held it necessary to come to a Settlement of the Nation. And in order thereunto, had requested this meeting; that they together might consider and advise, What was fit to be done, and to be presented to the Parliament.

"SPEAKER. My Lord, this Company were very ready to attend your Excellence, and the business you are pleased to propound to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous success to our Forces under your command; and if we do not improve these mercies to some Settlement, such as may be to God's honour, and the good of this Commonwealth, we shall be very much blameworthy.

"HARRISON. I think that which my Lord General hath propounded, is, To advise as to a Settlement both of our Civil and Spiritual Liberties; and so, that the mercies which the Lord hath given-in to us may not be cast away. How this may be done is the great question.

"WHITLOCKE. It is a great question indeed, and not suddenly to be resolved! Yet it were pity that a meeting of so many able and worthy persons as I see here, should be fruitless.—I should humbly offer, in the first place, Whether it be not requisite to be understood in what way this Settlement is desired? Whether of an absolute Republic, or with any mixture of Monarchy.

"CROMWELL. My Lord Commissioner Whitlocke hath put us upon the right point: and indeed it is my meaning, that we should consider Whether a Republic, or a mixed Monarchical Government will be best to be settled? And if anything Monarchical, then, In whom that power shall be placed?

"SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. I think a mixed Monarchical Government will be most suitable to the Laws and People of this Nation. And if any Monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the Sons of the late King.

"COLONEL FLEETWOOD. I think that the question, Whether an absolute Republic, or a mixed Monarchy, be best to be settled in this Nation, will not be very easy to be determined!

"LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE ST. JOHN. It will be found, that the Government of this Nation, without something of Monarchical power, will be very difficult to be so settled as not to shake the foundation of our Laws, and the Liberties of the People.

"SPEAKER. It will breed a strange confusion to settle a Government of this Nation without something of Monarchy.

"COLONEL DESBOROW. I beseech you, my Lord, why may not this, as well as other Nations, be governed in the way of a Republic?

"WHITLOCKE. The Laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of Monarchy, that to settle a Government without something of Monarchy in it, would make so great an alteration in the Proceedings of our Law, that you will scarce have time[1] to rectify it, nor can we well foresee the inconveniences which will arise thereby.

"COLONEL WHALLEY. I do not well understand matters of Law: but it seems to me the best way, Not to have anything of Monarchical power in the Settlement of our Government. And if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The King's Eldest Son

[1] Between this and November 1654.

hath been in arms against us, and his Second Son[1] likewise is our enemy.

"SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. But the late King's Third Son, the Duke of Gloucester, is still among us; and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies.

"WHITLOCKE. There may be a day given for the King's Eldest Son[2] or for the Duke of York his Brother, to come in to the Parliament. And upon such terms as shall be thought fit, and agreeable both to our Civil and Spiritual liberties, a Settlement may be made with them.

"CROMWELL. That will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty! But really I think, if it may be done with safety, and preservation of our Rights, both as Englishmen and as Christians, That a Settlement with somewhat of Monarchical power in it would be very effectual."

Much other discourse there was, says my learned friend;—but amounting to little. The Lawyers all for a mixed Government, with something of Monarchy in it; tending to call in one of the King's Sons, I especially tending that way; secretly loyal in the worst of times. The Soldiers again were all for a Republic; thinking they had had enough of the King and his Sons. My Lord General always checked that secret-loyalty of mine, and put off the discussion of the King's Son; yet did not declare himself for a Republic either;—was indeed, as my terrene fat mind came at length to image him, merely "fishing for men's opinions," and for provender to himself and his appetites, as I in the like case should have been doing!—The Conference broke up, with what of "fish" in this kind my Lord General had taken, and no other result arrived at.

Many Conferences held by my Lord General have broken up so. Four years ago, he ended one in King Street by playfully "flinging a cushion" at a certain solid head of our acquaintance, and running down stairs.[3] Here too it became ultimately clear to the solid head that he had been "fishing." Alas, a Lord General has many Conferences to hold; and in terrene minds, ligneous, oleaginous, and other, images himself in a very strange manner!——The candid imagination, busy to shape out some conceivable Oliver in these Thirty-one months, will accept thankfully the following small indubitabilities, or glimpses of definite events.

December 8th, 1651. In the beginning of December (Whitlocke dates it 8th December) came heavy tidings over from Ireland, dark and heavy in the house of Oliver especially: that Deputy Ireton, worn out with sleepless Irish services, had caught an inflammatory fever, and suddenly died. Fell sick on the 16th of November, 1651; died, at Limerick, the 26th.[4] The reader remembers Bridget Ireton, the young wife at

[1] James; who has fled to the Continent some time ago, "in women's clothes," with one Colonel Bamfield, and is getting fast into Papistry and other confusions.

[2] Charles Stuart: "a day" for him, upon whose *head* there was, not many weeks ago, a Reward of 1000*l.*? Did you actually *say* this, my learned friend? Or merely strive to think, and redact, at an after-period, that you had said it,—that you had thought it, meant to say it, which was virtually all the same, in a case of difficulty!

[3] Ludlow, i. 240.

[4] Wood, iii. 300; Whitlocke, p. 491.

Cornbury:[1] she is now Widow Ireton; a sorrowful bereaved woman. One brave heart and subtle-working brain has ended: to the regret of all the brave. A man able with his pen and his sword; "very stiff in his ways."

Dryasdust, who much loves the brave Ireton in a rather blind way, intimates that Ireton's "stern virtue" would probably have held Cromwell in awe; that had Ireton lived, there had probably been no sacrilege against the Constitution on Oliver's part. A probability of almost no weight, my erudite friend. The "stern virtue" of Ireton was not sterner on occasion than that of Oliver; the probabilities of Ireton's disapproving what Oliver did, in the case alluded to, are very small, resting on solid Ludlow mainly; and as to those of Ireton's holding Cromwell "in awe," in this or in any matter he had himself decided to do, I think we may safely reckon them at zero, my erudite friend!

Lambert, now in Scotland, was appointed Deputy in Ireton's room; and meant to go; but did not. Some say the Widow Ireton, irritated that the beautiful and shewy Lady Lambert should *already* "take precedence of her in St. James's Park," frustrated the scheme: what we find certain is, That Lambert did not go, that Fleetwood went; and farther, that the Widow Ireton in due time became Wife of the Widower Fleetwood: the rest hangs vague in the head of zealous Mrs. Hutchinson, solid Ludlow, and empty Rumour.[2] Ludlow, already on the spot, does the Irish duties in the interim. Ireton has solemn Public Funeral in England: copious monies settled on his Widow and Family: all honours paid to him, for his own sake and his Father-in-law's.

March 25th, 1652. Above two years ago, when this Rump Parliament was in the flush of youthful vigour, it decided on reforming the Laws of England, and appointed a working Committee for that object, our learned friend Bulstrode one of them. Which working Committee finding the job heavy, gradually languished; and after some Acts for having Law-proceedings transacted in the English tongue, and for other improvements of the like magnitude, died into comfortable sleep. On my Lord General's return from Worcester, it had been poked up again; and, now rubbing its eyes, set to work in good earnest; got a subsidiary Committee appointed, of Twenty-one persons not members of this House at all, To say and suggest what improvements were really wanted: such improvements they the working Committee would then, with all the readiness in life, effectuate and introduce in the shape of Specific Acts. Accordingly, on March 25th, first day of the new year, 1652, learned Bulstrode, in the name of this working Committee, reports that the subsidiary Committee has suggested a variety of things; among others some improvement in our method of Transferring Property,—of enabling poor John Doe, who finds at present a terrible difficulty in doing it, to inform Richard Roe, "I John Doe do, in very fact, sell to thee Richard Roe, such and such a Property,—according to the usual human meaning of the word *sale*;" and it is hereby, let me again assure thee, indisputably SOLD to thee Richard, by me John:" which, my learned friend thinks, might really be an im-

[1] Letter xxxvi., p. 162, ; and antea, p. 393.
[2] Hutchinson's Memoirs (London, 1806), p. 105; Ludlow, pp. 414, 449, 450, &c.

provement. To which end he will introduce an Act: nay there shall farther be an Act for the "Registry of Deeds in each County,"—if it please Heaven. "Neglect to register your Sale of Land in this promised County-Register within a given time," enacts the learned Bulstrode, "such Sale shall be void. Be exact in registering it, the Land shall not be subject to any incumbrance." Incumbrance: yes, but what is "incumbrance?" asks all the working Committee, with wide eyes, when they come actually to sit upon this Bill of Registry, and to hatch it into some kind of perfection: What is "incumbrance?" No mortal can tell. They sit debating it, painfully sifting it, "for three months;"[1] three months by Booker's Almanac, and the Zodiac Horologe: March violets have become June roses; and still they debate what "incumbrance" is; —and indeed, I think, could never fix it at all; and are perhaps debating it, if so doomed, in some twilight foggy section of Dante's Nether World, to all Eternity, at this hour!—Are not these a set of men likely to reform English Law? Likely these to strip the accumulated owl-droppings and foul guano-mountains from your rock-island, and lay the reality bare,—in the course of Eternities! The wish waxes livelier in Colonel Pride that he could see a certain addition made to the Scots Colours hung in Westminster Hall yonder.

I add only, for the sake of Chronology, that on the fourth day after this appearance of Bulstrode as a Law-reformer, occurred the famous *Black Monday;* fearfulest eclipse of the Sun ever seen by mankind. Came on about nine in the morning; darker and darker; ploughmen unyoked their teams, stars came out, birds sorrowfully chirping took to roost, men in amazement to prayers: a day of much obscurity; *Black Monday* or *Mirk Monday;* 29th March, 1652.[2] Much noised of by Lilly, Booker, and the buzzard Astrologer tribe. Betokening somewhat? Belike that Bulstrode and this Parliament will, in the way of Law-reform and otherwise, make a Practical Gospel, or real Reign of God, in this England?—

July 9th, 1652. A great external fact which, no doubt, has its effect on all internal movements, is the War with the Dutch. The Dutch, ever since our Death-Warrant to Charles First, have looked askance at the New Commonwealth, which wished to stand well with them; and have accumulated offence on offence against it. Ambassador Dorislaus was assassinated in their country; Charles Second was entertained there; evasive slow answers were given to tough St. John, who went over as new Ambassador: to which St. John responding with great directness, in a proud, brief and very emphatic manner, took his leave, and came home again. Came home again; and passed the celebrated Navigation Act,[3] forbidding that any goods should be imported into England except either in English ships or in ships of the country where the goods were produced. Thereby terribly maiming the "Carrying Trade of the Dutch;" and indeed, as the issue proved, depressing the Dutch Maritime Interest not a little, and proportionally elevating that of England. Embassies in consequence, from their irritated High Mightinesses; sea-fightings in consequence; and much negotiating,

[1] Ludlow i. 430: Parliamentary History, xx. 84; Commons Journals, vii. 67. 110, &c.
[2] Balfour, iv. 349; Law's Memorials, p. 6.
[3] Introduced, 5 August, 1651; passed 9 October, 1651: given in Scobell, ii. 176.

apologising, and bickering mounting ever higher ;—which at length, at the date above given, issues in declared War. Dutch War : cannonadings and fierce sea-fights in the narrow seas ; land-soldiers drafted to fight on shipboard ; and land-officers, Blake, Dean, Monk, who became very famous sea-officers ; Blake a thrice-famous one ;—poor Dean lost his life in this business. They doggedly beat the Dutch, and again beat them : their best Van Tromps and De Ruyters could not stand these terrible Puritan Sailors and Gunners. The Dutch gradually grew tame. The public mind, occupied with sea-fights and sea-victories, finds again that the New Representative must be patiently waited for ; that this is not a time for turning out the old Representative, which has so many affairs on its hands.

But the Dutch War brings another consequence in the train of it : renewed severity against Delinquents. The necessities of cash for this War are great : indeed the grand business of Parliament at present seems to be that of Finance,—finding of sinews for such a War. Any remnants of Royal lands, of Dean-and-Chapter lands,—sell them by rigorous auction : the very lead of the Cathedrals one is tempted to sell ; nay almost the Cathedrals themselves,[1] if any one would buy them. The necessities of the Finance Department are extreme. Money, money : our Blakes and Monks, in deadly wrestle with the Dutch, must have money !

Estates of Delinquents, one of the readiest resources from of old, cannot, in these circumstances, be forgotten. Search out Delinquents ; in every County make stringent inquest after them ! Many, in past years, have made light settlements with lax Committee-men ; neighbours, not without pity for them. Many of minor sort have been overlooked altogether. Bring them up, every Delinquent of them ; up hither to the Rhadamanthus-bar of Goldsmiths' Hall and Haberdashers' Hall ; sift them, search them ; riddle the last due sixpence out of them. The Commons Journals of these months have formidable ell-long Lists of Delinquents ; List after List ; who shall, on rigorous terms, be ordered to compound. Poor unknown Royalist Squires, from various quarters of England ; whose names and surnames excite now no notion in us except that of No. 1 and No. 2 : my Lord General has seen them "crowding by thirties and forties in a morning"[2] about these Haberdasher-Grocer Halls of Doom, with a haggard expression of countenance ; soliciting, from what austere official person they can get a word of, if not mercy, yet at least swift judgment. In a way which affected my Lord General's feelings. We have now the third year of Peace in our borders : is this what you call Settlement of the Nation ?

LETTER CLXXI.

THE following Letter "to my honoured Friend Mr. Hungerford the Elder," which at any rate by order of time introduces itself here, has probably some reference to these Committee businesses ;—at all events, there hangs by it a little tale. Some six miles from Bath, in the direction towards Salisbury, are to be seen, "on the northeast slope of a rocky height called Farley Hill," the ruins of an old Castle, once well

[1] Parliamentary History, xx. 90. [2] Speech, *postea*.

known by the name of *Farley Montfort*, or *Farley Hungerford*: Mansion once of the honourable Family of Hungerfords, while there was such a Family. The Hungerfords are extinct above a century ago; and their Mansion stands there as a Ruin, knowing little of them any more. But it chanced long since, before the Ruin became quite roofless, some Land-Steward or Agent of a new Family, tapping and poking among the melancholy lumber there,—found "an old loose Chest" shoved loosely "under the old Chapel-altar;" and bethought him of opening the same. Masses of damp dust, unclean accumulation of beetle-and-spider exuviæ, to the conceivable amount; under these certain bundles of rubbish-papers, extinct lease-records, marriage-contracts, all extinct now,—among which, however, were two Letters bearing Oliver Cromwell's Signature. These Two the Land-Steward carefully copied, thanks to him;—and here, out of *Collinson's History of Somersetshire*, the first of them now is very dark to the Land-Steward, to Collinson, and to us. For the Hungerfords are extinct; their Name and Family, like their old Mansion, a mouldering ruin,—almost our chief delight in regard to it, the Two little bits of Paper, rescued from the old Chest under the Chapel-altar, in that romantic manner.

There were three Hungerfords in Parliament; all for Wiltshire constituencies. Sir Edward "Knight of the Bath," Puritan original member for Chippenham; Lord of this Mansion of Farley, as we find;[1] then Henry, Esq., "recruiter" for Bedwin since 1646; probably a cadet of the House, perhaps heir to it; both these are now "secluded Members," purged away by Pride; nay, it seems Sir Edward was already dead, about the time of Pride's Purge. The third, Anthony Hungerford, original member for Malmesbury, declared for the King in 1642; was of course disabled, cast into the Tower when caught;—made his composition, by repentance and due fine, "fine of 2,532*l.*," in 1646[2] when the First Civil War ended; and has lived ever since a quiet repentant man. He is of "Blackbourton in Oxfordshire," this Anthony; but, I judge, by his Parliamentary connection and other circumstances, likewise a cadet of the House of Farley. Of him by-and-by, when we arrive at the next Letter.

For the present, with regard to Sir Edward, Lord of the Farley Mansion, we have to report, by tremulous but authentic lights, that he stood true for the Parliament; had controversies, almost duels, in behalf of it; among other services, lent it 500*l.* Furthermore, that he is now dead, "died in 1648;" and that his Widow cannot yet get payment of that 500*l.*; that she is yet only struggling to get a Committee to sit upon it.[3] One might guess, but nobody can know, that this note was addressed to Henry Hungerford, in reference to that business of Sir Edward's Widow. Or possibly it may be Anthony Hungerford, the repentant Royalist that is now the "Elder Hungerford;" a man with whom the Lord General is not without relations? Unimportant

[1] Collinson (iii. 357 n.) gives his Epitaph copied from the old Chapel; but is very dark and even self-contradictory in what he says farther.

[2] Commons Journals, iv. 565 (5 June, 1646); ib. iii. 526, &c.

[3] Committee got, 18 February 1652-3, "the Lord General" Cromwell in it (Commons Journals, vii. 260): Danger of Duel (ib. ii. 928, 981: iii. 185, January—June 1643). See ib. iv. 161, v. 518, &c.

to us either way. A hasty Note, on some "business" now unknown, about which an unknown "gentleman" has been making inquiry and negotiation; for the answer to which an unknown "servant" of some "Mr. Hungerford the Elder" is waiting in the hall of Oliver's House,—the Cockpit, I believe, at this date:—in such faintly luminous state, revealing little save its own existence, must this small Document be left.

For my honoured Friend Mr. Hungerford the Elder, at his House: These.

SIR, 'London,' 30th July, 1652.

I am very sorry my occasions will not permit me to return[1] to you as I would. I have not yet fully spoken with the Gentleman I sent to wait upon you; when I shall do it, I shall be enabled to be more particular. Being unwilling to detain your servant any longer,—with my service to your Lady and Family, I take my leave, and rest,

Your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

It is a sad reflection with my Lord General, in this Hungerford and other businesses, that the mere justice of any matter will so little avail a man in Parliament: you can make no way till you have got up some party on the subject there![2] In fact, red-tape has, to a lamentable extent, tied up the souls of men in this Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. They are becoming hacks of office; a savour of Godliness still on their lips, but seemingly not much deeper with some of them. I begin to have a suspicion *they* are no Parliament! If the Commonwealth of England had not still her Army Parliament, rigorous devout Council of Officers, men in right life-and-death earnest, who have spent their blood in this Cause, who in case of need can assemble and act again,—what would become of the Commonwealth of England? Earnest persons, from this quarter and that, make petition to the Lord General and Officers, That they would be pleased to take the matter in hand, and see right done. To which the Lord General and Officers answer always: Wait, be patient; the Parliament itself will yet do it.

What the "state of the Gospel in Wales" is, in Wales or elsewhere, I cannot with any accuracy ascertain; but see well that this Parliament has shown no zeal that way; has shackled rather, and tied up with its sorrowful red-tape the movements of men that had any zeal.[3] Lamentable enough. The light of the Everlasting Truth was kindled; and you do not fan the sacred flame, you consider *it* a thing which may be left to itself! Unhappy: and for what did we fight then, and wrestle with our souls and our bodies as in strong agony; besieging Heaven with our prayers, and Earth and its Strengths, from Naseby on to Worcester, with our pikes and cannon? Was it to put an Official Junto of some Three-score Persons into the high saddle in England; and say, Ride ye? They would need to be Three-score beautifuller men! Our blood shed like water, our brethren's bones whitening a hundred fields; Tredah Storm, Dunbar death-agony, and God's voice from the battle-whirlwind;

[1] reply.
* Collinson's History of Somersetshire, (Bath, 1791), iii. 357 (Note).—Appendix, No. 12.
[2] Speech, *postea*.
[3] Ibid.

did they mean no ma e out you !—My Lord General urges us always to be patient: Patience he Par ament itself will yet do it. That is what we shall see!—

On the whole, it must be seriously owned by every reader, this present Fag-end of a rliament of England has failed altogether to realise the high dream of those old Puritan hearts. "Incumbrance," it appears, cannot in the abstract be defined: but if you would know in the concrete what it is, look there! The thing we fought for, and gained as if by miracle, it is ours this long while, and yet not ours; within grasp of us, it lies there unattainable, enchanted under Parliamentary formulas. Enemies are swept away; extinguished as in the brightness of the Lord: and no Divine Kingdom, and no clear incipiency of such, has yet in any measure come!—These are sorrowful reflections.

For, alas, such high dream is difficult to realise! Not the Stuart Dynasty alone that opposes it; all the Dynasties of the Devil, the whole perversions of this poor Earth, without us and within us, oppose it.—Yea, answers with a sigh the heart of my Lord General: Yea, it is difficult, and thrice difficult;—and yet woe to us, if we do not with our whole soul try it, make some clear beginning of it; if we sit defining "incumbrances" instead of bending every muscle to the wheel that is encumbered! Who art thou that standest still; that having put-to thy hand, turnest back? In these years of miracle in England, were there not great things, as if by divine voices, audibly promised? "The Lord said unto my Lord!"—And is it all to end here? In Juntos of Three-score; in Grocers'-Hall Committees, in red-tape, and official shakings of the head?—

My Lord General, are there no voices, dumb voices from the depths of poor England's heart, that address themselves to you, even you? My Lord General hears voices; and would fain distinguish and discriminate them. Which, in all these, is the God's voice? That were the one to follow. My Lord General, I think, has many meditations, of a very mixed, and some of a very abstruse nature, in these months.

August 13th, 1652. This day came a "Petition from the Officers of my Lord General's Army," which a little alarmed us. Petition craving for some real reform of the Law; some real attempt towards setting up a Gospel Ministry in England; real and general outsting of scandalous, incompetent and plainly diabolic persons from all offices of Church and State; real beginning, in short, of a Reign of Gospel Truth in this England;—and for one thing, a swift progress in that most slow-going Bill for a New Representative; an actual ending of this present Fag-end of a Parliament, which has now sat very long! So, in most respectful language, prays this petition[1] of the Officers. Petition prefaced, they say, with earnest prayer to God: that was the preface or prologue they gave it;—what kind of epilogue they might be prepared to give it, one does not learn: but the men carry swords at their sides; and we have known them! "Many thought this kind of petition dangerous; and counselled my Lord General to put a stop to the like: but he seemed to make light of it," says Bulstrode. In fact, my Lord

[1] Whitlocke p. 526.

General does not disapprove of it: my Lord General, after much abstruse meditation, has decided on putting himself at the head of it. He, and a serious minority in Parliament, and in England at large, think with themselves, once more, If it were not for this Army Parliament, what would become of us?—Speaker Lenthall "thanked" these Officers, with a smile which I think must have been of the grimmest, like that produced by eating thistles.

September, 14th, 1652. The somnolent slow-going Bill for a New Representative, which has slept much, and now and then pretended to move a little, for long years past, is resuscitated by this Petition; comes out, rubbing its eyes, disposed for decided activity;—and in fact sleeps no more; cannot think of sleep any more, the noise round it waxing ever louder. Settle how your Representative shall be: for be it now actually must!

This Bill, which has slept and waked so long, does not sleep again; but, How to settle the conditions of the New Representative?—there is a question! My Lord General will have good security against "the Presbyterial Party" that come not into power again; good security against the red-tape Party, that they sit not for three months defining an incumbrance again. How shall we settle the New Representative:—on the whole, what or how shall we do? For the old stagnancy is verily broken up: these petitioning Army Officers, with all the earnest armed and unarmed men of England in the rear of them, have verily torn us from our moorings: and we do go adrift,—with questionable havens, on starboard and larboard, very difficult of entrance; with Mahlstroms and Niagaras very patent right ahead! We are become to mankind a Rump Parliament; sit here we cannot much longer: and we know not what to do!

"During the month of October, some ten or twelve conferences took place,"—private conferences between the Army Officers and the Leaders of the Parliament: wherein nothing could be agreed upon. Difficult to settle the New Representative; impossible for this Old Misrepresentative or Rump to continue! What shall or can be done? Summon, without popular intervention, by earnest selection on your and our part, a Body of godly wise Men, the Best and Wisest we can find in England: to them entrust the whole question; and do you abdicate, and depart straightway, say the Officers. Forty good Men, or a Hundred-and-forty; choose them well,—they will define an incumbrance in less than three months, we may hope, and tell us what to do! Such is the notion of the Army Officers, and my Lord General; a kind of Puritan "Convention of the Notables," so the French would call it: to which the Parliament Party see insuperable objections. What other remedy, then? The Parliament Party mournfully insinuate that there is no remedy, except,—except continuance of the present Rump![1]

November 7th, 1652. "About this time," prior or posterior to it, while such conferences and abstruse considerations are in progress, my Lord General, walking once in St. James's Park, beckons the learned Bulstrode, who is also there; strolls gradually aside with him, and begins one of the most important Dialogues. Whereof learned Bulstrode has

[1] Speech, *postea*.

preserved some record; which is unfortunately much dimmed by just suspicion of dramaturgy on the part of Bulstrode; and shall not be excerpted by us here. It tends conspicuously to shew, *first*, how Cromwell already entertained most alarming notions of "making oneself a King," and even wore them pinned on his sleeve, for the inspection of the learned; and *secondly*, how Bulstrode, a secret-royalist in the worst of times, advised him by no means to think of that, but to call in Charles Stuart,—who had an immense popularity among the Powerful in England just then! "My Lord General did not in words express any anger, but only by looks and carriage; and turned aside from me to other company,"—as this Editor, in quest of certainty and insight, and not of doubt and fat drowsy pedantry, will now also do!

LETTER CLXXII.

HERE, from the old Chest of Farley Castle, is the other Hungerford Letter; and a dim glance into the domesticities again. *Anthony* Hungerford, as we saw, was the Royalist Hungerford, of Blackbourton in Oxfordshire; once Member for Malmesbury; has been living these six or seven years past, in a repentant, wholesomely secluded state. "Cousin Dunch" is young Mrs. Dunch of Pusey, once Ann Mayor of Hursley; she lives within visiting distance of Blackbourton, when at Pusey; does not forget old neighbours while in Town,—and occasionally hears gloomy observations from them. "Your Lord General is become a great man now!"—From the Answer to which we gather at least one thing: That the "offer of a very great Proposition" as to Son Richard's marriage, which we once obscurely heard of,[1] was, to all appearance, made by this Anthony Hungerford,—perhaps in behalf of his kinsman Sir Edward, who, as he had no Son,[2] might have a Daughter that would be a very great Proposition to a young man. Unluckily "there was not that assurance of Godliness" that seemed to warrant it: however, the nobleness of the Overture is never to be forgotten.

For my honoured Friend, Anthony Hungerford, Esquire: These.

SIR, Cockpit, 10th December, 1652.

I understand, by my Cousin Dunch, of so much trouble of yours, and so much unhandsomeness (at least seeming so) on my part, as doth not a little afflict me, until I give you this account of my innocency.

She was pleased to tell my Wife of your often resorts to my house to visit me, and of your disappointments. Truly, Sir, had I but once known of your being there, and "had concealed myself," it had been an action so below a gentleman or an honest man, so full of ingratitude for your civilities I have received from you, as would have rendered me unworthy of human society! Believe me, Sir, I am much ashamed that the least colour of the appearance of such a thing should have happened; and 'I' could not take satisfaction but by this plain-dealing for my justification, which I ingenuously offer you. And although Providence did not dispose other matters to our mutual satisfaction, yet your noble-

[1] Antea, p 189.
[2] Epitaph in *Collinson's Somersetshire.*

ness in that Overture obligeth me, and I hope ever shall whilst I live, to study upon all occasions to approve myself your Family's and yours,

Most affectionate and humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

My Wife and I desire our service be presented to your Lady and Family.*

LETTER CLXXIII.

SEEMINGLY belonging to the same neighbourhood is the following altogether domestic Letter to Fleetwood; which still survives in Autograph; but has no date whatever, and no indication that will enable us to fix its place with perfect exactness. Fleetwood's Commission for Ireland is dated 10th July, 1652;[1] the precise date of his marriage with Bridget Ireton, of his departure for Ireland, or of any ulterior proceedings of his, is not recoverable in those months. Of Henry Cromwell, too, we know only that he sat in the *Little Parliament;* and, indisputably therefore, was home from Ireland before summer next. From the total silence as to Public Affairs, in this Letter, it may be inferred that nothing decisive had yet been done or resolved upon;—that through this strange old Autograph, as through a dim Horn-Gate (not of Dreams but of Realities), we are looking into the interior of the Cromwell Lodging, and the Cromwell heart, in the Winter of 1652.

For the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland: These.

DEAR CHARLES, 'Cockpit,——1652.'

I thank you for your loving Letter. The same hopes and desires, upon your planting into my Family were much the same in me that you express in yours towards me. However, the dispensation of the Lord is, to have it otherwise for the present; and therein I desire to acquiesce;—not being out of hope that it may lie in His good pleasure, in His time, to give us the mutual comfort of our relation: the want whereof He is able abundantly to supply by His own presence; which indeed makes up all defects, and is the comfort of all our comforts and enjoyments.

Salute your dear Wife from me. Bid her beware of a *bondage* spirit.[2] Fear is the natural issue of such a spirit;—the antidote is, Love. The voice of Fear is: If I had done this; if I had avoided that, how well it had been with me!—I know this hath been her vain reasoning: 'poor Biddy!'

Love argueth in this wise: What a Christ have I; what a Father in and through Him! What a Name hath my Father: *Merciful, gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth; forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin.* What a Nature hath my Father: *He is* LOVE;—free in it, unchangeable, infinite! What a Covenant between Him and Christ,—for all the Seed, for every one: wherein He undertakes

* Oliver Cromwell's Memoirs of the Protector (3d edition, London, 1822), ii, 488; Collinson's History of Somersetshire, iii. 357 (Note).

[1] Thurloe, i. 212.

[2] A Secretary has written hitherto; the Lord General now begins, himself, with a new pen.

all, and the poor Soul nothing. The new Covenant is *Grace*,—to or upon the Soul: to which it, 'the Soul,' is passive and receptive: *I'll do away their sins; I'll write my Law*, &c.; *I'll put it in their hearts: they shall never depart from me*, &c.[1]

This commends the Love of God: it's Christ dying for men *without* strength, for men whilst sinners, whilst enemies. And shall we seek for the root of our comforts within us,—What God hath done, what He is to us in Christ, 'this' is the root of our comfort: in this is stability; in us is weakness. Acts of obedience are not perfect, and therefore yield not perfect Grace. Faith as an act, yields it not; but 'only' as it carries us into Him, who is our perfect rest and peace; in whom we are accounted of, and received by, the Father,—even as Christ himself! This is our high calling. Rest we here, and here only.[2]

Commend me to Harry Cromwell: I pray for him, That he may thrive, and improve in the knowledge and love of Christ. Commend me to all the Officers. My prayers indeed are daily for them. Wish them to beware of bitterness of spirit; and of all things uncomely for the Gospel. The Lord give you abundance of wisdom, and faith, and patience. Take heed also of your natural inclination to compliance.

Pray for me. I commit you to the Lord: and rest,

Your loving father,

OLIVER CROMWELL.[3]

The Boy and Betty are very well. Shew what kindness you well may to Colonel Clayton, to my nephew Gregory, to Claypole's Brother.*

And so the miraculous Horn-Gate, not of Dreams but of Realities and old dim Domesticities, closes again, into totally opaque;—and we return to matters public.

December 1652—*March* 1653. The Dutch War prospers and has prospered, Blake and Monk beating the Dutch in tough sea-fights; Delinquents, monthly Assessments, and the lead of Cathedrals furnishing the sinews: the Dutch are about sending Ambassadors to treat of Peace. With home affairs, again, it goes not so well. Through winter, through spring, this Bill for a New Representative goes along in its slow gestation; reappearing Wednesday after Wednesday: painfully struggling to take a shape that shall fit both parties, Parliament Grandees and Army Grandees both at once. A thing difficult; a thing impossible! Parliament Grandees, now become a contemptible Rump, wish they could grow into a Reputable Full Parliament again, and have the Government and the Governing Persons go on as they are now doing: this naturally is their wish. Naturally too the Army Party's wish is the reverse of this: that a Full free Parliament, with safety to the Godly Interests, and due subordination of the Presbyterian and other factions, should assemble; but also that the present Governing Persons, with

[1] Has been crowding, for the last line or two, very close upon the bottom of the page; finds now that it will not do; and takes to the margin.

[2] Even so, my noble one! The noble soul will, one day, again come to understand these old words of yours.

[3] Has exhausted the long broad margin; inverts now, and writes atop.

* Ayscough MSS. no. 4165, f. 1. On the inner or blank leaf of this curious old Sheet are neatly pasted two square tiny bits of Paper; on one of them, "Fairfax" in autograph; on the other these words: "God blesse the now Lord Protector;" and crosswise, "Marquis Worcester writt it;"—concerning which Marquis, once "Lord Herbert," see antea p 438.

their red-tape habits unable to define an incumbrance in three months, should for most part be out of it. Impossible to shape a Bill that will fit both of these Parties: Tom Thumb and the Irish Giant, you cannot, by the art of Parliamentary tailoring, clip out a coat that will fit them both! We can fancy "conferences," considerations deep and almost awful; my Lord General looking forward to possibilities that fill even him with fear. Puritan Notables they will not have; these present Governing men are clear against that: not Puritan Notables;—and if they themselves, by this new Bill or otherwise, insist on staying there, what is to become of them?

Dryasdust laments that this invaluable Bill, now in process of gestation, is altogether lost to Posterity; no copy even of itself, much less any record of the conferences, debates, or contemporaneous considerations on it, attainable even in fractions by mankind. Much is lost, my erudite friend;—and we must console ourselves! The substantial essence of the Bill came out afterwards into full practice, in Oliver's own Parliaments. The present form of the Bill, I do clearly perceive, had one clause, That all the Members of this present Rump should continue to sit without re-election; and still better, another, That they should be a general Election Committee, and have power to say to every new Member, "Thou art dangerous, thou shalt not enter; go!" This clearly in the Bill: and not less clearly that the Lord General and Army Party would in nowise have a Bill with this in it,—or indeed have any Bill that was to be the old story over again under a new name. So much, on good evidence, is very clear to me;—the rest, which is all obliterated, becomes not inconceivable. Cost what it may cost, this Rump Parliament, which has by its conduct abundantly "defined what an incumbrance is," shall go about its business. Terrible Voices, supernal and other, have said it, awfully enough, in the hearts of some men! Neither under its own shabby figure, nor under another more plausible, shall *it* guide the Divine Mercies and Miraculous Affairs of this Nation any farther.

The last of all the conferences was held at my Lord General's house in Whitehall, on Tuesday evening, 19th of April, 1653. Above twenty leading Members of Parliament present, and many Officers. Conference of which we shall have some passing glimpse from a sure hand by and by.[1] Conference which came to nothing, as all the others had done. Your Bill with these clauses and visible tendencies in it cannot pass, says the one party: Your Scheme of Puritan Notables seems full of danger, says the other. What remedy? "No remedy except,—except that you leave us to sit as we are, for a while yet!" suggest the Official persons.—"In no wise!" answer the Officers, with a vehemence of look and tone, which my Lord General, seemingly anxious to do it, cannot repress. You must not, and cannot sit longer, say the Officers;—and their look says even, Shall not! Bulstrode went home to Chelsea, very late, with the tears in his big dull eyes, at thought of the courses men were getting into. Bulstrode and Widdrington were the most eager for sitting; Chief-Justice St. John, strange thing in a Constitutional gentleman, declared that there could be no sitting for us any

[1] Speech, *postea*; see also Whitlocke, p. 529.

longer. We parted, able to settle on nothing, except the engagement to meet here again to-morrow morning, and to leave the Bill asleep till something were settled on. "A leading person," Sir Harry Vane or another, undertook that nothing should be done in it till then.

Wednesday, 20th April, 1653. My Lord General accordingly is in his reception-room this morning, "in plain black clothes and grey worsted stockings;" he, with many Officers: but few Members have yet come, though punctual Bulstrode and certain others are there. Some waiting; some impatience that the Members would come. The Members do not come: instead of Members, comes a notice that they are busy getting on with their Bill in the House; hurrying it double-quick through all the stages. Possible? New message that it will be Law in a little while, if no interposition take place! Bulstrode hastens off to the House: my Lord General, at first incredulous, does now also hasten off,—nay orders that a Company of Musketeers of his own regiment attend him. Hastens off, with a very high expression of countenance, I think;—saying or feeling: Who would have believed it of them? "It is not honest; yea, it is contrary to common honesty!"—My Lord General, the big hour is come!

Young Colonel Sidney, the celebrated Algernon, sat in the House this morning; a House of some Fifty-three.[1] Algernon has left distinct note of the affair; less distinct we have from Bulstrode, who was also there, who seems in some points to be even wilfully wrong. Solid Ludlow was far off in Ireland, but gathered many details in after-years; and faithfully wrote them down in the unappeasable indignation of his heart. Combining these three originals, we have, after various perusals and collations and considerations, obtained the following authentic, moderately conceivable account:[2]

"The Parliament sitting as usual, and being in debate upon the Bill with the amendments, which it was thought would have been passed that day, the Lord General Cromwell came into the House, clad in plain black clothes and grey worsted stockings, and sat down, as he used to do, in an ordinary place." For some time he listens to this interesting debate on the Bill: beckoning once to Harrison, who came over to him, and answered dubitatingly. Whereupon the Lord General sat still, for about a quarter of an hour longer. But now the question being to be put, That this Bill do now pass, he beckons again to Harrison, says, "'This is the time; I must do it!'"—and so "rose up, put off his hat, and spake. At the first, and for a good while, he spake to the commendation of the Parliament for their pains and care of the public good; but afterwards he changed his style, told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults,"—rising higher and higher, into a very aggravated style indeed. An honourable Member, Sir Peter Wentworth by name, not known to my readers, and by me better known than trusted, rises to order, as we phrase it; says, "It is a strange language this; unusual within the walls of Parliament this! And from a trusted servant too; and one whom we have so highly honoured; and

[1] That is Cromwell's number; Ludlow, far distant, and not credible on this occasion, says "Eighty or a Hundred."

[2] Blencowe's Sidney Papers (London, 1825), pp. 139-41; Whitlocke, p. 529; Ludlow, ii. 456—the last two are reprinted in Parliamentary History, xx. 128.

one"—"'Come, come!'" exclaims my Lord General in a very high key, "we have had enough of this,"—and in fact my Lord General now blazing all up into clear conflagration, exclaims, "'I will put an end to your prating;'" and steps forth into the floor of the house, and "clapping on his hat," and occasionally "stamping the floor with his feet," begins a discourse which no man can report! He says—Heavens! he is heard saying: "'It is not fit that you should sit here any longer!' You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing lately. 'You shall now give place to better men!—Call them in!'" adds he briefly, to Harrison, in word of command: and "some twenty or thirty" grim musketeers enter, with bullets in their snaphances; grimly prompt for orders; and stand in some attitude of Carry-arms there. Veteran men: men of might and men of war, their faces are as the faces of lions, and their feet are swift as the roes upon the mountains:—not beautiful to honourable gentlemen at this moment!

"You call yourselves a Parliament," continues my Lord General in clear blaze of conflagration: "'You are no Parliament; I say you are no Parliament! Some of you are drunkards,'" and his eye flashes on poor Mr. Chaloner, an official man of some value, addicted to the bottle; "'some of you are ———'" and he glares into Harry Marten, and the poor Sir Peter who rose to order, lewd livers both; "living in open contempt of God's Commandments. Following your own greedy appetites, and the Devil's Commandments. 'Corrupt unjust persons,'" and here I think he glanced "at Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, giving him and others very sharp language, though he named them not:" "'Corrupt unjust persons; scandalous to the profession of the Gospel:' how can you be a Parliament for God's People? Depart, I say; and let us have done with you. In the name of God,—go!"

The House is of course all on its feet,—uncertain almost whether not on its head: such a scene as was never seen before in any House of Commons. History reports with a shudder that my Lord General, lifting the sacred Mace itself, said, "What shall we do with this bauble? Take it away!"—and gave it to a musketeer. And now,—"Fetch him down!" says he to Harrison, flashing on the Speaker. Speaker Lenthall, more an ancient Roman than anything else, declares, He will not come till forced. "Sir," said Harrison, "I will lend you a hand;" on which Speaker Lenthall came down, and gloomily vanished. They all vanished; flooding gloomily clamorously out, to their ulterior businesses, and respective places of abode: the Long Parliament is dissolved! "'It's you that have forced me to this,'" exclaims my Lord General: "'I have sought the Lord night and day, that He would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work.'" "At their going out, some say the Lord General said to young Sir Harry Vane, calling him by his name, That *he* might have prevented this; but that he was a juggler, and had not common honesty." "'O Sir Harry Vane,' thou with thy subtle casuistries and abstruse hair-splittings, thou art other than a good one, I think! 'The Lord deliver me from thee, Sir Harry Vane!'" "All being gone out, the door of the House was locked, and the Key with the Mace, as I heard, was carried away by Colonel Otley;"—

and it is all over, and the unspeakable Catastrophe has come, and remains.

Such was the destructive wrath of my Lord General Cromwell against the Nominal Rump Parliament of England. Wrath which innumerable mortals since have accounted extremely diabolic; which some now begin to account partly divine. Divine or diabolic, it is an indisputable fact; left for the commentaries of men. The Rump Parliament has gone its ways;—and truly, except it be in their own, I know not in what eyes are tears at their departure. They went very softly, softly as a Dream, say all witnesses. "We did not hear a dog bark at their going!" asserts my Lord General elsewhere.

It is said my Lord General did not, on his entrance into the House, contemplate quite as a certainty this strong measure; but it came upon him like an irresistible impulse, or inspiration, as he heard their Parliamentary eloquence proceed. "Perceiving the spirit of God so strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood."[1] He has done it, at all events; and is responsible for the results it may have. A responsibility which he, as well as most of us, knows to be awful: but he fancies it was in answer to the English Nation and to the Maker of the English Nation and of him; and he will do the best he may with it.

LETTER CLXXIV.

WE have to add here an Official Letter, of small significance in itself, but curious for its date, the Saturday after this great Transaction, and for the other indications it gives. Except the Lord General, "Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces raised and to be raised," there is for the moment no Authority very clearly on foot in England;—though Judges, and all manner of Authorities whatsoever do, after some little preliminary parleying, consent to go on as before.

The Draining of the Fens had been resumed under better auspices when the War ended;[2] and a new Company of Adventurers, among whom Oliver himself is one, are vigorously proceeding with a New Bedford Level,—the same that yet continues. A "Petition" of theirs, addressed "To the Lord General," in these hasty hours, sets forth that upon the "20th of this instant April" (exactly while Oliver was turning out the Parliament!), "about a Hundred-and-fifty persons," from the Towns of Swaffham and Botsham,—which Towns had petitioned about certain rights of theirs, and got clear promise of redress in fit time,—did "tumultuously assemble," to seek redress for themselves; did "by force expel your Petitioners's workmen from their diking and working in the said Fens;" did tumble in again "the dikes by them made;" and in fine did peremptorily signify that if they or any other came again to dike in these Fens, it would be worse for them. "The evil effects of which"—are very apparent indeed. Whereupon this Official Letter, or Warrant; written doubtless in the press of much other business.

[1] Godwin, iii. 456 (who cites Echard; not much of an authority in such matters.)
[2] Act for that object (Scobell, ii. 33), 29 May, 1649.

'To Mr. Parker, Agent for the Company of Adventurers for Draining the Great Level of the Fens.'

MR. PARKER, 'Whitehall,' 23d April, 1653.

I hear some unruly persons have lately committed great outrages in Cambridgeshire, about Swaffham and Botsham, in throwing down the works making by the Adventurers, and menacing those they employ thereabout. Wherefore I desire you to send one of my Troops, with a Captain, who may by all means persuade the people to quiet, by letting them know, They must not riotously do anything, for that must not be suffered: but 'that' if there be any wrong done by the Adventurers,—upon complaint, such course shall be taken as appertains to justice, and right will be done. I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The *Declaration of the Lord General and his Council of Officers*,[1] which came out on the Friday following the grand Catastrophe, does not seem to be of Oliver's composition: it is a narrative of calm pious tone, of considerable length; promises, as a second Declaration does still more explicitly,[2] a Real Assembly of the Puritan Notables;—and on the whole can be imagined by the reader; nay we shall hear the entire substance of it, from Oliver's own mouth, before long. These Declarations and other details we omit. Conceive that all manner of Authorities, with or without some little preambling, agree to go on as heretofore; that adherences arrive from Land-Generals and Sea-Generals by return of post; that the old Council of State having vanished with its Mother, a new Interim Council of State, with "Oliver Cromwell Captain General" at the head of it, answers equally well; in a word, that all people are looking eagerly forward to these same "Known Persons, Men fearing God, and of approved Integrity," who are now to be got together from all quarters of England, to say what *shall* be done with this Commonwealth,—whom there is now no Fag-end of a corrupt Parliament to prevent just men from choosing with their best ability. Conceive all this; and read the following

SUMMONS.

To ————.

FORASMUCH as, upon the dissolution of the late Parliament, it became necessary, that the peace, safety and good government of this Commonwealth should be provided for: And in order thereunto, divers Persons fearing God, and of approved Fidelity and Honesty, are, by myself, with the advice of my Council of Officers, nominated; to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed: And having good assurance of your love to, and courage for, God and the interest of His Cause, and 'that' of the good People of this Commonwealth:

I, Oliver Cromwell, Captain General and Commander-in-chief of all

* From the Records of the Fen Office, in Sergeants' Inn, London; communicated, with other Papers relating thereto, by Samuel Wells, Esq.

[1] 22 April, Cromwelliana, p. 120. [2] 30 April, ibid. p. 122

the Armies and Forces raised and to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require You, ————, being one of the Persons nominated,—Personally to be and appear at the Council-Chamber, commonly known or called by the name of the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, within the City of Westminster, upon the Fourth day of July next ensuing the date hereof; Then and there to take upon you the said Trust; unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a Member for the County of ——. And hereof you are not to fail.

Given under my hand and seal the 6th day of June, 1653.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

SPEECH FIRST.

A HUNDRED-AND-FORTY of these Summonses were issued; and of all the Parties so summoned, "only two" did not attend. Disconsolate Bulstrode says, "Many of this Assembly being persons of fortune and knowledge, it was much wondered at by some that they would at this Summons, and from such hands, take upon them the Supreme Authority of this Nation; considering how little right Cromwell and his Officers had to give it, or those Gentlemen to take it."[1] My disconsolate friend, it is a sign that Puritan England in general accepts this action of Cromwell and his Officers, and thanks them for it, in such a case of extremity; saying as audibly as the means permitted: Yea, we did wish it so! Rather mournful to the disconsolate official mind!—Lord Clarendon again, writing with much latitude, has characterised this Convention as containing in it "divers Gentlemen who had estates, and such a proportion of credit" in the world as might give some colour to the business, but consisting on the whole of a very miserable beggarly sort of persons, acquainted with nothing but the art of praying; "artificers of the meanest trades," if they even had any trade:—all which the reader shall, if he please, add to the general *guano*-mountains, and pass on not regarding.

The undeniable fact is, these men were, as Whitlocke intimates, a quite reputable Assembly; got together by anxious "consultation of the godly Clergy" and chief Puritan lights in their respective Counties; not without much earnest revision, and solemn consideration in all kinds, on the part of men adequate enough for such a work, and desirous enough to do it well. The List of the Assembly exists;[2] not yet entirely gone dark for mankind. A fair proportion of them still recognisable to mankind. Actual Peers one or two: founders of Peerage Families, two or three, which still exist among us,—Colonel Edward Montague, Colonel Charles Howard, Anthony Ashley Cooper. And better than King's Peers, certain Peers of Nature; whom if not the King and his pasteboard Norroys have had the luck to make Peers of, the living heart of England has since raised to the Peerage, and means to keep there,—Colonel Robert Blake the Sea-King, for one. "Known persons," I do think; "of approved integrity, men fearing God;" and perhaps not entirely destitute of sense any one of them! Truly it seems rather a distinguished Parliament,—even though Mr. Praisegod

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 125). [1] Whitlocke, p. 534. [2] Somers Tracts, i. 216

Barbone, "the Leather-merchant in Fleet-street," be, as all mortals must admit, a member of it. The fault, I hope, is forgivable! Praisegod, though he deals in leather, and has a name which can be misspelt, one discerns to be the son of pious parents; to be himself a man of piety, of understanding and weight,—and even of considerable private capital, my witty flunkey friends! We will leave Praisegod to do the best he can, I think.—And old Francis Rouse is there from Devonshire; once member for Truro; Provost of Eton College; whom by and by they make Speaker;—whose Psalms the Northern Kirks still sing. Richard Mayor of Hursley is there, and even idle Dick Norton; Alexander Jaffray of Aberdeen, Laird Swinton of the College of Justice in Edinburgh; Alderman Ireton, brother of the late Lord Deputy, colleague of Praisegod in London. In fact, a real Assembly of the Notables in Puritan England; a Parliament, *Parliamentum*, or real *Speaking-Apparatus* for the now dominant Interest in England, as exact as could well be got,—much more exact, I suppose, than any ballot-box, free hustings or ale-barrel election usually yields.

Such is the Assembly called the Little Parliament, and wittily *Barebones's Parliament;* which meets on the 4th of July. Their witty name survives; but their history is gone all dark; and no man, for the present, has in his head or in his heart the faintest intimation of what they did or what they aimed to do. They are very dark to us; and will never be illuminated much! Here is one glance of them face to face; here in this Speech of Oliver's,—if we can read it, and listen along with them to it. There is this one glance; and for six generations, we may say, in the English mind there has not been another.

Listening from a distance of two Centuries, across the Death-chasms, and howling kingdoms of Decay, it is not easy to catch everything! But let us faithfully do the best we can. Having once packed Dryasdust, and his unedifying cries of "Nonsense! Mere Hypocrisy! Ambitious Dupery!" &c., &c., about his business; closed him safe under hatches, and got silence established,—we shall perhaps hear a word or two; have a real glimpse or two of things long vanished; and *see* for moments this fabulous Barebones's Parliament itself, standing dim in the heart of the extinct Centuries, as a recognisable fact, once flesh and blood, now air and memory; not untragical to us!

Read this first, from the old Newspapers; and then the Speech itself, which a laborious Editor has with all industry copied and corrected from Two Contemporaneous Reports by different hands, and various editions of these. Note, however: The *Italic* sentences in brackets, most part of which, and yet perhaps not enough of which I have suppressed, are evidently by an altogether modern hand!

"*July 4th*, 1653. This being the day appointed by Letters of Summons from his Excellency the Lord General, for the meeting of the Persons called to the Supreme Authority, there came about a Hundred-and-twenty of them to the Council-Chamber in Whitehall. After each person had given in a Ticket of his Name, they all entered the room, and sat down in chairs appointed for them, round about the table. Then his Excellency the Lord General, standing by the window opposite to the middle of the table, and as many of the Officers of the Army as

the room could well contain, some on his right hand and others on his left, and about him,—made the following Speech to the Assembly:"

GENTLEMEN,

I suppose the Summons that hath been instrumental to bring you hither gives you well to understand the occasion of your being here. Howbeit, I have something farther to impart to you, which is an Instrument drawn up by the consent and advice of the principal Officers of the Army; which is a little (as we conceive) more significant than the Letter of the Summons. We have that here to tender you; and somewhat likewise to say farther for our own exoneration;[1] which we hope may be somewhat farther for your satisfaction. And withal seeing you sit here somewhat uneasily by reason of the scantness of the room, and heat of the weather, I shall contract myself with respect thereunto.

We have not thought it amiss a little to remind you of that Series of Providences wherein the Lord hath appeared, dispensing wonderful things to these Nations from the beginning of our troubles to this very day.

If I should look much backward, we might remind you of the state of affairs as they were before the Short, that is the last, Parliament,—in what posture the things of this Nation then stood: but they do so well, I presume, occur to all your memories and knowledge, that I shall not need to look so far backward. Nor yet to those hostile occasions which arose between the King that was and the Parliament[2] that then followed. And indeed should I begin much later, the things that would fall very necessarily before you, would rather be for a History than for a verbal Discourse at this present.

But thus far we may look back. You very well know, it pleased God, much about the midst of this War, to winnow (if I may so say) the Forces of this Nation;[3] and to put them into the hands of other men of other principles than those that did engage at the first. By what ways and means that was brought about, would ask more time than is allotted me to mind you of it. Indeed there are Stories that do recite those Transactions, and give you narratives of matters of fact: but those things wherein the life and power of them lay; those strange windings and turnings of Providence; those very great appearances of God, in crossing and thwarting the purposes of men, that He might raise up a poor and contemptible company of men,[4] neither versed in military affairs, nor having much natural propensity to them, 'into wonderful success—!' Simply by their owning a Principle of Godliness and Religion; which so soon as *it* came to be owned, and the state of affairs put upon the foot of that account,[5] how God blessed them, furthering all undertakings, yet using the most improbable and the most contemptible and despicable means (for that we shall ever own): is very well known to you.

1 "exoneration" does not here mean "excuse" or "shifting away of blame," but mere laying down of office with due form.

2 The Long Parliament.

3 Self-denying Ordinance: beginning of 1645: see vol. i., p. set seq.

4 Fairfax's Army.

5 upon that footing

What the several Successes and Issues have been, is not fit to mention at this time neither ;—though I confess I thought to have enlarged myself upon that subject ; forasmuch as Considering the works of God, and the operations of His hands, is a principal part of our duty ; and a great encouragement to the strengthening of our hands and of our faith, for that which is behind.[1] And among other ends which those marvellous Dispensations have been given us for, that's a principal end, which ought to be minded by us.

'Certainly' in this revolution of affairs, as the issue of those Successes which God was pleased to give to the Army, and 'to' the Authority that then stood, there were very great things brought about ;—besides those dints that came upon the Nations[2] and places where the War itself was, very great things in Civil matters too. 'As first,' the bringing of Offenders to justice,—and the Greatest of them. Bringing of the State of this Government to the name (at least) of a Commonwealth. Searching and sifting of all persons and places. The King removed, and brought to justice ; and many great ones with him. The House of Peers laid aside. The House of Commons itself, the representative of the People of England, winnowed, sifted, and brought to a handful ; as you very well remember.

And truly God would not rest there :—for by the way, although it's fit for us to ascribe[3] our failings and miscarriages to ourselves, yet the gloriousness of the work may well be attributed to God Himself, and may be called His strange work. You remember well that at the Change of the Government there was not an end of our Troubles, [*No!*] —although in that year were such high things transacted as indeed made it to be the most memorable year (I mean the year 1648) that this Nation ever saw. So many Insurrections,[4] Invasions, secret Designs, open and Public Attempts, all quashed in so short a time, and this by the very signal appearance of God Himself ; which, I hope, we shall never forget !—You know also, as I said before, that, as the first effect of that memorable year of 1648 was to lay a foundation, by bringing Offenders to Punishment, so it brought us likewise to the Change of Government :—although it were worth the time 'perhaps, if one had time,' to speak of the carriage of some in places of trust, in most eminent places of trust, which was such as (had not God miraculously appeared) would have frustrated us of the hopes of all our undertakings. I mean by the closure of the Treaty that was endeavoured with the King ;[5] whereby they would have put into his hands all that we had engaged for, and all our security should have been a little piece of Paper ! That thing going off, you very well know how it kept this Nation still in broils by sea and land. And yet what God wrought in Ireland and Scotland you likewise know ; until He had finished these Troubles, upon the matter,[6] by His marvellous salvation wrought at Worcester.

1 still to come. 2 England, Ireland, Scotland.
3 "Intitle" *in orig.*
4 Kent, St. Neot's, Colchester, Welsh Poyer at Pembroke, Scotch Hamilton at Preston, &c. &c.
5 Treaty of the Isle of Wight, again and again endeavoured.
6 Means "so to speak;" a common phrase of those times ; a perpetual one with Clarendon, for instance.

I confess to you, that I am very much troubled in my own spirit that the necessity of affairs requires I should be so short in those things: because, as I told you, this is the *leanest* part of the Transactions, this mere historical Narrative of them; there being in every particular; in the King's first going from the Parliament, in the pulling-down of the Bishops, the House of Peers, in every step towards that Change of the Government,—I say there is not any one of these things, thus removed and reformed, but hath an evident print of Providence set upon it, so that he who runs may read it. I am sorry I have not an opportunity to be more particular on these points, which I principally designed, this day; thereby to stir up your hearts and mine to gratitude and confidence.

I shall now begin a little to remind you of the passages that have been transacted since Worcester. Coming from whence, with the rest of my fellow Officers and Soldiers, we did expect, and had some reasonable confidence our expectations would not be frustrated, That, having such an history to look back unto, such a God, so eminently visible, even our enemies confessing that "God Himself was certainly engaged against them, else they should never have been disappointed in *every* engagement,"—and that may be used by the way, That if we had but miscarried in the least,[1] all our former mercies were in danger to be lost:—I say, coming up then, we had some confidence That the mercies God had shown, and the expectations which were upon our hearts, and upon the hearts of all good men, would have prompted those who were in Authority to do those good things which might, by honest men, have been judged fit for such a God, and worthy of such mercies; and indeed been a discharge of duty from those to whom all these mercies had been shewn, for the true interest of this Nation! [*Yes!*]—If I should now labour to be particular in enumerating how businesses have been transacted from that time to the Dissolution of the late Parliament, indeed I should be upon a theme which would be troublesome to myself. For I think I may say for myself and my fellow Officers, That we have rather desired and studied Healing and Looking-forward than to rake into sores and to look backward,—to give things forth in those colours that would not be very pleasing to any good eye to look upon. Only this we shall say for our own vindication, as pointing out the ground for that unavoidable necessity, nay even that duty that was incumbent upon us, to make this last great Change—I think it will not be amiss to offer a word or two to that [*Hear, Hear!*]. As I said before, we are loath to rake into businesses, were there not a necessity so to do.

Indeed we may say that, ever since the coming-up of myself and those Gentlemen who have been engaged in the military part, it hath been full in our hearts and thoughts, To desire and use all the fair and lawful means we could to have the Nation reap the fruit of all the blood and treasure that had been spent in this Cause: and we have had many desires, and thirstings in our spirits, to find out ways and means wherein we might be anywise instrumental to help it forward. We were very tender, for a long time, so much as to petition. For some of the Officers being Members; and others having very good acquaintance with, and

[1] lost one battle of these many

some relations to, divers Members of Parliament,—we did, from time to time, solicit such; thinking if there had been nobody to prompt them, nor call upon them, these things might have been attended to, from ingenuity [1] and integrity in those that had it in their power to answer such expectations.

Truly when we saw nothing would be done, we did, as we thought according to our duty, a little, to remind them by a Petition; which I suppose you have seen: it was delivered, as I remember, in August last.[2] What effect that had, is likewise very well known. The truth is, we had no return at all for our satisfaction,—a few words given us; the things presented by us, or the most of them, we were told, "were under consideration:" and those not presented by us had very little or no consideration at all. Finding the People dissatisfied in every corner of the Nation, and 'all men' laying at our doors the non-performance of these things, which had been promised, and were of duty to be performed,—truly we did then think ourselves concerned, if we would (as becomes honest men) keep up the reputation of honest men in the world. And therefore we, divers times, endeavoured to obtain meetings with divers Members of Parliament;—and we did not begin those till about October last. And in these meetings we did, with all faithfulness and sincerity, beseech them that they would be mindful of their duty to God and men, in the discharge of the trust reposed in them. I believe (as there are many gentlemen here know), we had at least ten or twelve meetings; most humbly begging and beseeching of them, That by their own means they would bring forth those good things which had been promised and expected; that so it might appear they did not do them by any suggestion from the Army, but from their own ingenuity. so tender were we to preserve them in the reputation of the People. Having had very many of those meetings; and declaring plainly that the issue would be the displeasure and judgment of God, the dissatisfaction of the People, the putting of 'all' things into a confusion: yet how little we prevailed we very well know, and we believe it's not unknown to you.

At last, when indeed we saw that things would not be laid to heart, we had a very serious consideration among ourselves what other ways to have recourse unto [*Yea, that is the question!*]; and when we grew to more closer considerations, then they 'the Parliament men' began to take the Act for a Representative [3] to heart, and seemed exceeding willing to put it on. And had it been done with integrity, there could nothing have happened more welcome to our judgments than that. But plainly the intention was, Not to give the People a right of choice: it would have been but a seeming right: that 'semblance' of giving them a choice was only to recruit the House, the better to perpetuate *themselves*. And truly, having been, divers of us, spoken unto to give way hereunto, to which we made perpetual aversions, indeed abominating the thoughts of it,—we declared our judgments against it, and our dissatisfaction with it. And yet they that would not hear of a Representative formerly, when it lay three years before them, without

[1] ingenuousness. [2] Antea, p. 126 Commons Journals, vii. 164 (12 Aug. 1652).
[3] For a New Parliament and Method of Election.

proceeding one line, or making any considerable progress,—I say, those that would not hear of this Bill formerly, did now, when they saw us falling into more closer considerations, make, instead of protracting their Bill, as much preposterous haste with it on the other side, and run into that 'opposite' extremity.

Finding that this spirit was not according to God; and that the whole weight of this Cause,—which must needs be very dear unto us who had so often adventured our lives for it, and we believe it was so to you,—did hang upon the business now in hand; and seeing plainly that there was not here any consideration to assert this Cause, or provide security for *it*, but only to cross the troublesome people of the Army, who by this time were high enough in their displeasures: Truly, I say, when we saw all this, having power in our hands, 'we could not resolve' to let such monstrous proceedings to go on, and so to throw away all our liberties into the hands of those whom we had fought against [*Presbyterian-Royalists; at Preston and elsewhere—"fought against," yea and beaten to ruin, your Excellency might add!*]; we came, first, to this conclusion among ourselves, That if we had been *fought* out of our liberties and rights, Necessity would have taught us patience; but that to deliver them 'sluggishly' up would render us the basest persons in the world, and worthy to be accounted haters of God and of His People. When it pleased God to lay this close to our hearts; and indeed to shew us that the interest of His people was grown cheap, 'that *it* was' not at all laid to heart, but that if things came to real competition, His Cause, even among themselves, would also in every point go to the ground; indeed this did add more considerations to us, That there was a duty incumbent upon us, 'even upon us.' And,—I speak here, in the presence of some that were at the closure of our consultations, and as before the Lord,—the thinking of an act of violence was to us worse than any battle that ever we were in, or that could be, to the utmost hazard of our lives [*Hear him!*]: so willing were we, even very tender and desirous if possible that these men might quit their places with honour.

I am the longer upon this; because it hath been in our own hearts and consciences, justifying us, and hath never been yet thoroughly imparted to any; and we had rather begin with you than have done it before;—and do think indeed that this Transaction is more proper for a verbal communication than to have it put into writing. I doubt, he whose pen is most gentle in England would, in recording that, have been tempted, whether he would or no, to dip it deep in anger and wrath [*Stifled cries from Dryasdust.*]—But affairs being at this posture; we seeing plainly, even in some critical cases,[1] that the Cause of the People of God was a despised thing;—truly we did believe then that the hands of other men 'than these' must be the hands to be used for the work. And we thought then, it was very high time to look about us, and to be sensible of *our* duty [*Oliver's voice somewhat rising; Major-General Harrison and the others looking rather animated!*]

If, I say, I should take up your time to tell you what instances we have to satisfy our judgments and consciences, That these are not vain imaginations, nor things fictitious, but which fell within the compass of

[1] "things." *in orig.*

our own certain knowledge, it would bring me, I say, to what I would avoid, to rake into these things too much. Only this. If anybody was in competition for any place of real and signal trust, 'if any really public interest was at stake in that Parliament,' how hard and difficult a matter was it to get anything carried without making parties,—without practices [1] indeed unworthy of a Parliament! When things must be carried so in a Supreme Authority, indeed I think it is not as it ought to be, to say no worse [*Nor do I.*]!—Then when we came to other trials, as in that case of Wales, 'of establishing a Preaching Ministry in Wales,' which, I must confess for my own part, I set myself upon,—if I should relate what discountenance that business of the poor People of God there had (who had men [2] watching over them like so many wolves, ready to catch the lambs as soon as they were brought forth into the world); how signally that Business was trodden under foot 'in Parliament,' to the discountenancing of the Honest People, and the countenancing of the Malignant Party, of this Commonwealth—! I need but say it was so. For many of you know, and by sad experience have felt it to be so. And somebody I hope will, at leisure, better impart to you the state of that Business 'of Wales;' which really, to myself and Officers, was as plain a trial of their spirits, 'the Parliament's spirits,' as anything,—it being known to many of us that God had kindled a seed there [*Such is the metaphor.*] indeed hardly to be paralleled since the Primitive Time.—

I would these had been all the instances we had! Finding, 'however,' which way the spirits of men went, finding that good was never intended to the People of God, I mean, when I say the People of God, I mean the *large* comprehension of them, under the several Forms of Godliness in this Nation;—finding, I say, that all tenderness was forgotten to the Good People (though it was by *their* hands and their means, under the blessing of God, that *those* sat where they did),—we thought this a very very bad requital! I will not say, they were come to an utter inability of working Reformation,—though I might say so in regard to one thing: the Reformation of the Law, so much groaned under in the posture it now is in [*Hear, hear!*]. That was a thing we had many good words spoken for; but we know that many months together were not enough for the settling of one word, "Incumbrances" [*Three calendar months! A grim smile on some faces.*], —I say, finding that this was the spirit and complexion of men,—although these were faults for which no man should lift up his hand against the Superior Magistrate; not simply for these faults and failings, —yet when we saw that this 'new Representative of theirs' was meant to perpetuate men of such spirits; nay when we had it from their own mouths, That they could not endure to hear of the Dissolution of this Parliament: we thought this an high breach of trust. If they had been a Parliament never violence was upon,[3] sitting as free and clear as any in former ages, it was thought, this, to be a breach of trust, such as a greater could not be.

And that we might not be in doubt about these matters; having had that Conference among ourselves which I gave you an account of, we

[1] "things" *in orig.* [2] Clergymen so-called.
[3] Had no Pride's Purge, Apprentice-riot or the like ever come upon them.

did desire one more,—and indeed it was the night before the Dissolution; it had been desired two or three nights before: we did desire that we might speak with some of the principal persons of the House. That we might with ingenuity open our hearts to them; that we might either be convinced of the certainty of their intentions; or else that they would be pleased to hear our expedients to prevent these inconveniences. And indeed we could not attain our desire till the night before the Dissolution. There is a touch of this in our Declaration.[1] As I said before, at that time we had often desired it, and at that time we obtained it: where about Twenty of them were, none of the least in consideration for their interest and ability; with whom we desired some discourse upon these things; and had it. And it pleased these Gentlemen, who are here, the Officers of the Army, to desire me to offer their sense for them, which I did, and it was shortly thus: We told them "the reason of our desire to wait upon them now was, that we might know from them, What security lay in their manner of proceeding, so hastened, for a New Representative; wherein they had made a few qualifications, such as they were: and How the whole business would, 'in actual practice,' be executed: Of which we had as yet no account; and yet we had our interest, our lives, estates and families therein concerned; and, we thought likewise, the Honest People had interest in us: 'How all this was to be?' That so, if it did seem they meant to appear in such honest and just ways as might be security to the Honest Interest, we might therein acquiesce: or else that they would hear what we had to offer." Indeed, when this desire was made, the answer was, "That nothing would do good for this Nation but the continuance of this Parliament!" We wondered we should have such a return. We said little to that: but, seeing they would not give us satisfaction that their ways were honourable and just, we craved their leave to make our objections. We then told them, That the way they were going in would be impracticable. 'That' we could not tell how to send out an Act, with such qualifications as to be a rule for electing and for being elected, Until we first knew who the persons were that should be admitted to elect. And above all, Whether any of the qualifications reached 'so far as to include' the Presbyterian Party.[2] And we were bold to tell them, That none of that judgment who had deserted this Cause and Interest[3] should have any power therein. We did think we should profess it, That we had as good deliver up our Cause into the hands of any as into the hands of those who had deserted us, or who were as neuters! For it's one thing to love a brother, to bear with and love a person of different judgment in matters of religion; and another thing to have anybody so far set in the saddle on that account, as to have all the rest of his brethren at mercy.

Truly, Gentlemen, having this discourse concerning the impracticableness of the thing, the bringing-in of neuters, and such as had deserted this Cause, whom we very well knew; objecting likewise how dangerous it would be by drawing concourses of people in the several Counties (every person that was within the qualification or without);

[1] Of April 22; referred to, not given, at p. 486.

[2] "Presbytery" *in orig.*

[3] None of your Royalist, Hamilton-Invasion Presbyterians.

and how it did fall obvious to us that the power would come into the hands of men who had very little affection to this Cause; the answer again was made, and that by very eminent persons, "That nothing would save the Nation but the continuance of this Parliament." This being so, we humbly proposed,—since neither our counsels, our objections to their way of proceeding, nor their answers to justify that, did give us satisfaction; nor did we think they ever intended to give us any, which indeed some of them have since declared 'to be the fact,'—we proposed to them, I say, *our* expedient; which was indeed this: That the Government of the Nation being in such a condition as we saw, and things 'being' under so much ill sense abroad, and likely to end in confusion 'if we so proceeded,'—we desired they would devolve the trust over to some Well-affected Men, such as had an interest in the Nation, and were known to be of good affection to the Commonwealth. Which, we told them, was no new thing when this Land was under the like hurlyburlies. And we had been labouring to get precedents 'out of History' to convince them of it; and it was confessed by them it had been no new thing. This expedient we offered out of the deep sense we had of the Cause of Christ; and were answered so as I told you, That nothing would save this Nation but the continuance of that Parliament. 'The continuance:' they would not 'be brought to' say the *perpetuating* of it, at this time; yet we found their endeavours did directly tend that way; they gave us this answer, "That the thing we offered was of a very high nature and of tender consideration: How would money be raised?"—and made some other objections. We told them 'how' and that we here offered an expedient five times better than that 'of theirs,' for which no reason was given, nor we thought could be given [*Why should the Fag-end of this poor old Parliament, now fallen impotent except to raise money for itself, continue? No reason is given, nor we think can be, that will convince mankind.*];—and desired them that they would lay things seriously to heart! They told us, They would take time for the consideration of these things till to-morrow; they would sleep upon them, and consult some friends: 'some friends,'—though, as I said, there were about Twenty-three 'of them here,' and not above Fifty-three in the House. And at parting, two or three of the chief of them, one of the chief [*O Sir Harry Vane!*], and two or three more, did tell us, That they would endeavour to suspend farther proceedings about their Bill for a New Representative until they had another conference with us. And upon this we had great satisfaction; and had hope, if our expedient could receive a loving debate, that the next day we should have some such issue thereof as would give satisfaction to all.[1] And herewith they went away, 'it' being late at night.

The next morning, we considering how to order what we had farther to offer to them in the evening, word was brought us that the House was proceeding with all speed upon the New Representative! We could not believe it, that such persons would be so unworthy; we remained there till a second and a third messenger came, with tidings That the House was really upon that business, and had brought it near to the issue,—and with that height[2] as was never before exercised;

[1] "hoping by conference to have satisfaction to all," *in orig.* [2] violence, height of temper.

leaving out all things relating to the due exercise of the qualifications (which had appeared all along 'in it till now'); and 'meaning,' as we heard, to pass it only on paper, without engrossing, for the quicker despatch of it.—Thus, as we apprehend, would the Liberties of the Nation have been thrown away into the hands of those who had never fought for it. And upon this we thought it our duty not to suffer it [*No!*]. —And upon this the House was dissolved, even when the Speaker was going to put the last question [*Let* HIM *travel, at any rate!*].

I have too much troubled you with this; but we have made this relation that you might know that what hath been done in the Dissolution of the Parliament was as necessary to be done as the preservation of this Cause. And the necessity which led us to do that, hath brought us to this 'present' issue, Of exercising an extraordinary way and course to draw You together 'here;' upon this account, that you are men who know the Lord, and have made observations of His marvellous Dispensations; and may be trusted, as far as men may be trusted, with this Cause.

It remains now for me to acquaint you a 'little' farther with what relates to your taking upon you this great Business. 'But indeed' that is contained in the Paper[1] here in my hand, which will be offered presently to you to read.[2] But having done that we have done [*Dissolving of the Parliament; which cannot be repented of, and need not be boasted of!*] upon such ground of necessity as we have 'now' declared, which was not a feigned necessity but a real,—'it did behove us,' to the end we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts and our integrity who did these things, Not to grasp at the power ourselves, or keep it in military hands, no not for a day; but, as far as God enabled us with strength and ability, to put it into the hands of Proper Persons that might be called from the several parts of the Nation. This necessity: and I hope we may say for ourselves, this integrity of concluding to divest the Sword of all power in the Civil Administration,—hath been that that hath moved us to put You to this trouble 'of coming hither;' and having done that, truly we think we cannot, with the discharge of our own consciences, but offer somewhat to you on the devolving of the burden on your shoulders.[3] It hath been the practice of others who have, voluntarily and out of a sense of duty, divested themselves, and devolved the Government into new hands; I say, it hath been the practice of those that have done so; it hath been practised, and is very consonant to reason, To lay 'down,' together with their Authority, some Charge 'how to employ it[4] (as we hope we have

[1] An indenture or Instrument of Government, some account of which can be found if any one is curious about it, in Parliamentary History, xx. 175.

[2] Considerable discrepancies in the Two reports throughout this paragraph: indicating some embarrassment and intricacy in the Speaker. Which with our best industry we endeavour to reconcile; to elicit from them what the real utterance, or thought and attempted utterance, of the Speaker may have been. The two Reporters being faithful according to their ability, and the Speaker faithful according to his, all discrepancies ought to dissolve themselves in clearer insight and conviction; as we hope they do.

[3] "for our own exoneration" *in orig.*

[4] He seems embarrassed lest he be thought to assume authority over this new Little Parliament, and to treat them as if he were their King. The dissolving of the old Parliament has also its embarrassment, though not so prominent here; and both together make an intricate paragraph. Our Two Reports, from this point, virtually coincide again.

done), and to press the duty 'of employing it well:' concerning which we have a word or two to offer you.

Truly God hath called you to this Work by, I think, as wonderful providences as ever passed upon the sons of men in so short a time. And truly I think, taking the argument of necessity, for the Government must not *fall*; taking the appearance of the hand of God in this thing,—'I think' you would have been loath it should have been resigned into the hands of wicked men and enemies! I am sure, God would not have it so. It's come, therefore, to you by the way of necessity; by the way of the wise Providence of God,—through weak hands. And therefore, I think, coming through our hands, though such as we are, it may not be ill taken if we do offer somewhat (as I said before) as to the discharge of the Trust which is now incumbent upon you [*Certainly not!*]. And although I seem to speak of that which may have the face and interpretation of a Charge, it's a very humble one: and if he that means to be a Servant to you, who hath now called you to the exercise of the Supreme Authority, discharge what he conceives to be a duty to you, we hope you will take it in good part.

And truly I shall not hold you long in it; because I hope it's written in your hearts to approve yourselves to God. Only this Scripture I shall remember to you, which hath been much upon my spirit: *Hosea*, xi. 12, "Judah yet ruleth with God, and is faithful with the Saints." It's said before, that "Ephraim compassed God about with lies, and the house of Israel with deceit." How God hath been compassed about by fastings and thanksgivings, [1] and other exercises and transactions, I think we have all cause to lament. Truly you are called by God, 'as Judah was,' to "rule with him," and for him. And you are called to be faithful with the Saints who have been instrumental to your call. 'Again,' *Second Samuel*, xxi. 3, "He that ruleth over men," the Scripture saith, "must be just, ruling in the fear of God" [*Groans from Dryasdust. Patience, my friend! Really, does not all this seem an incredibility;—a palpable hypocrisy, since it is not the mouth of an imbecile that speaks it? My estimable, timberheaded, leaden-hearted friend, can there be any doubt of it!*].

And truly it's better to *pray* for you than to *counsel* you in that matter, That you may exercise the judgment of mercy and truth! It's better, I say, to pray for you than counsel you; to ask wisdom from Heaven for you; which I am confident many thousands of Saints do this day, 'and' have done, and will do, through the permission of God and His assistance. I say it's better to pray than advise: yet truly I think of another Scripture, which is very useful, though it seems to be for a common application to every man as a Christian,—wherein he is counselled to ask wisdom;[2]

[1] There was a Monthly Fast, the Last Wednesday of every Month, held duly for about Seven Years; till after the King's Death, we abolished it. Immense preaching and howling, all over the country, there has been on these stated Wednesdays: sincere and insincere. Not to speak of Due Thanksgivings for victories and felicities innumerable; all ending in this infelicitous condition! His Excellency thinks we ought to restrain such habits: not to imitate Ephraim, or the Long Parliament, in such. The rest of this Discourse is properly a Sermon of his; and one conceived in a different style.

[2] "But the Wisdom that is from Above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy. And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace." (*James*, iii. 17, 18.)

and he is told what that is. That's "from Above," we are told; it's "pure, peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits;" it's "without partiality and without hypocrisy." Truly my thoughts run much upon this place, That to the execution of judgment (the judgment of truth, for that's the judgment) you must have wisdom "from Above;" and that's "pure." That will teach you to exercise the judgment of truth; it's "without partiality." Purity, impartiality, sincerity: these are the effects of "wisdom," and these will help you to execute the judgment of truth. And then if God give you hearts to be "easy to be entreated," to be "peaceably spirited," to be "full of good fruits," bearing good fruits to the Nation, to men as men, to the People of God, to all in their several stations,—*this* will teach you to execute the judgment of mercy and truth [*Yes, if thou understand it; still yes,—and nothing else will!*]. And I have little more to say to this. I shall rather bend my prayers for you in that behalf, as I said; and many others will.

Truly the "judgment of truth," it will teach you to be as just towards an Unbeliever as towards a Believer; and it's our duty to do so. I confess I have said sometimes, foolishly it may be: I had rather miscarry to a Believer than an Unbeliever.[1] This may seem a paradox:—but let's take heed of doing that which is evil to either! Oh, if God fill your hearts with such a spirit as Moses had, and as Paul had,—which was not a spirit for Believers only, but for the whole People! Moses, he could die for them; wish himself "blotted out of God's Book:"[2] Paul could wish himself "accursed for his countrymen after the flesh"[3] [*Let us never forget that, in Moses and Paul.—Are not these amazing sentiments, on their part, my estimable, timberheaded, leaden-hearted friend?*]: so full of affection were their spirits unto all. And truly this would help you to execute the judgment of truth, and of mercy also.

A second thing is, To desire you would be faithful with the Saints; to be touched with them. And I hope, whatever others may think, it may be a matter to us all of rejoicing to have our hearts touched (with reverence be it spoken) as Christ, "being full of the spirit," was "touched with our infirmities," that He might be merciful. So should we be; we should be pitiful. Truly, this calls us to be very much touched with the infirmities of the Saints; that we may have a respect unto all, and be pitiful and tender towards all, though of different judgments. And if I did seem to speak something that reflected on those of the Presbyterial judgment,—truly I think if we have not an interest of love for them too, we shall[4] hardly answer this of being faithful to the Saints.

In my pilgrimage, and some exercises I have had abroad, I did read that Scripture often, Forty-first of *Isaiah;* where God gave me and some of my fellows, encouragement 'as to' what He would do there and elsewhere; which He hath performed for us. He said, "He would plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah-tree, and the myrtle and the oil-tree; and He would set in the desert the fir-tree, and the pine-tree, and the box-tree together." For what end will the Lord do all

[1] Do wrong to a good than to a bad man; a remarkable sentiment.
[2] Exodus, xxxii. 32. [3] Romans, ix. 3. [4] "will" *in orig.*

this? That they may see, and know and consider, and understand together, That the hand of the Lord hath done "this;"—that it is He who hath wrought all the salvations and deliverances we have received. For what end! To see, and know, and understand together, that He hath done and wrought all this for the good of the Whole Flock [*Even so. For "Saints" read "Good Men;" and it is true to the end of the world*]. Therefore, I beseech you,—but I think I need not,—have a care of the Whole Flock! Love the sheep, love the lambs, love all, tender all, cherish and countenance all, in all things that are good. And if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under you,—I say, if any shall desire but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected.

I think I need not advise, much less press you, to endeavour the Promoting of the Gospel; to encourage the Ministry;[1] such a Ministry and such Ministers as be faithful in the Land; upon whom the true character is. Men that have received the Spirit, which Christians will be able to discover, and do 'the will of;' men that "have received Gifts from Him who is ascended up on high, who hath led captivity captive, to *give* gifts to men,"[2] even for this same work of the Ministry!

And truly the Apostle, speaking in another place, in the Twelfth of the *Romans*, when he has summed up all the mercies of God and the goodness of God; and discoursed, in the former Chapters, of the foundations of the Gospel, and of those things that are the subject of those first Eleven Chapters,—he beseecheth them to "present their bodies a living sacrifice" [*Note that!*]. He beseecheth them that they would not esteem highly of themselves, but be humble and sober-minded, and not stretch themselves beyond their line, and also that they would have a care for those that "had received gifts" to the uses there mentioned. I speak not,—I thank God it is far from my heart,—for a Ministry deriving itself from the Papacy, and pretending to that which is so much insisted on, "Succession" ["*Hear hear!*" *from the Puseyites*]. The true Succession is through the Spirit—[*I should say so!*],—given in its measure. The Spirit is given for that use, 'To make proper Speakers-forth of God's eternal Truth;' and that's right Succession. But I need not discourse of these things to you; who I am persuaded, are taught of God, much more and in a greater measure than myself, concerning these things.

Indeed I have but one word more to say to you; though in that perhaps I shall show my weakness: it's by way of encouragement to go on in this Work. And give me leave to begin thus. I confess I never looked to see such a Day as this,—it may be nor you neither,—when Jesus Christ should be so owned as He is, this day, in this Work. Jesus Christ is owned this day, by the Call of You; and you own Him, by your willingness to appear for Him. And you manifest this, as far as poor creatures may do, to be a Day of the Power of Christ. I know you well remember that Scripture, "He makes His People willing in the day of His power."[3] God manifests this to be the Day of the Power of Christ; having, through so much blood, and so much trial as hath been

[1] Preaching Clergy. [2] Ephesians, iv 8
[3] Psalm cx. 3, a favourite Psalm of Oliver's.—as we know already, and solid Ludlow knows.

upon these Nations, made this to be one of the great issues thereof: To have His People called to the Supreme Authority [*A thing, I confess, worth striving for; and the one thing worth striving for!*]. He makes this to be the greatest mercy, next to His own Son. God hath owned His Son; and He hath owned you, and made you own Him. I confess I never looked to have seen such a day; I did not.—Perhaps you are not known by face to one another; 'indeed' I am confident you are strangers, coming from all parts of the Nation as you do: but we shall tell you that indeed we have not allowed ourselves the choice of one person in whom we had not this good hope, That there was in him faith in Jesus Christ and love to all His People and Saints [*What a Parliament; unexampled before and since in this world!*].

Thus God hath owned you in the eyes of the world; and thus, by coming hither, you own Him: and, as it is in *Isaiah*, xliii. 21,—it's an high expression; and look to your own hearts whether, now or hereafter, God shall apply it to *you:* "This People," saith God, "I have formed for Myself, that they may shew forth my praise." I say, it's a memorable passage; and I hope, not unfitly applied: the Lord apply it to each of your hearts! I shall not descant upon the words; they are plain: indeed you are as like the "forming of God" as ever people were. If a man should tender a Book to you 'to swear you upon,' I dare appeal to all your consciences, Neither directly nor indirectly did you seek for your coming hither. You have been passive in coming hither; being *called*,—and indeed that's an active work,—'though not on our part!' "This People have *I formed:*" consider the circumstances by which you are "called" hither; through what strivings [*At Marston Moor, at Naseby, Dunbar and elsewhere.*], through what blood you are come hither,—where neither you nor I, nor no man living, three months ago, had any thought to have seen such a company taking upon them, or rather being called to take, the Supreme Authority of this Nation! Therefore, own your call! Indeed, I think it may be truly said that there never was a Supreme Authority consisting of such a Body, above One-hundred-and-Forty, I believe: 'never such a Body' that came into the Supreme Authority 'before,' under such a notion 'as this,' in such a way of owning God, and being owned by Him. And therefore I may also say, never such a "People" so "formed," for such a purpose, 'were' thus called before [*These are lucent considerations; lucent, nay radiant!*].

If it were a time to compare your standing with 'that of' those that have been "called" by the Suffrages of the People—[*He does not say what the result would be*]—Which who can tell how soon God may fit the People for such a thing? None can desire it more than I! Would all were the Lord's people; as it was said, "Would all the Lord's people were Prophets" [*Fit to sit in Parliament and make Laws; alas, hitherto but few of them can "Prophesy!"*]. I would all were fit to be called. It ought to be the longing of our hearts to see men brought to own the Interest of Jesus Christ. And give me leave to say: if I know any thing in the world, what is there likelier to win the People to the interest of Jesus Christ, to the love of Godliness (and therefore what stronger duty lies on you, being thus called), than an humble and godly conversa-

tion? So that they may see 'that' you love them; 'that' you lay yourselves out, time and spirits, for them! Is not this the likeliest way to bring them to their liberties? [*To make them free by being servants of God; free, and fit to elect for Parliament!*] And do not you, by this, put it upon God to find out times and seasons for you; 'fit seasons' by putting forth His spirit? At least you convince them that, as men fearing God have fought them out of their bondage under the Regal Power, so men fearing God do now rule them in the fear of God, and take care to administer Good unto them.—But this is some digression. I say, own your call; for it is of God! Indeed, it is marvellous, and it hath been unprojected. It's not long since either you or we came to know of it. And indeed this hath been the way God dealt with us all along, To keep things from our eyes all along, so that we have seen nothing, in all His dispensations, long before hand: which is also a witness, in some measure, to our integrity—["*Integrity!*" *from Dryasdust.—Husht, my friend, it is incredible! A flat impossibility, how can it be believed? To the human Owl, living in his perennial London Fog, in his Twilight of all imaginable corrupt Exhalations, and with his poor head, too, overspun to such extent with red-tape, parliamentary eloquence, force of public opinion and such like, how shall the Azure Firmaments and Everlasting Stars become credible? They are and remain incredible. From his shut sense all light-rays are victoriously repelled; no light shall get admittance there. In no Heaven's-light will he for his part ever believe;—till at last, as is the necessity withal, it come to him as lightning! Then he will believe it.*]. I say, you are called with an high calling. And why should we be afraid to say or think, That *this* may be the door to usher in the Things that God hath promised; which have been prophesied of; which He has set the hearts of His People to wait for and expect?[1] We know who they are that shall war with the Lamb, "against His enemies:" They shall be "a people called, and chosen and faithful." And God hath, in a Military way,—we may speak it without flattering ourselves, and I believe you know it,—He hath appeared with them, 'with that same "people,"' and for them; and now in these Civil Powers and Authorities 'does not he appear?' These are not ill prognostications of the God we wait for. Indeed I do think somewhat is at the door: we are at the threshold;—and therefore it becomes us to lift up our heads, and encourage ourselves in the Lord. And we have thought, some of us, That it is our duties to *endeavour* this way; not merely to *look* at that Prophecy in Daniel, "And the Kingdom shall not be delivered to another people," and 'passively wait.' Truly God hath brought this to your hands; by the owning of your call; blessing the Military Power. The Lord hath directed their [*our*] hearts to be instrumental to call you; and set it upon our hearts to deliver over the Power "to another people" [*Therefore "we" are not the persons prophesied of?*].—But I may appear to be beyond my line here; these things are dark. Only I desire my thoughts[2] to be exercised in these things, and so I hope are yours.

Truly seeing things are thus, that you are at the edge of the Promises

[1] Hundred-and-tenth Psalm, and other Scriptures, are known to Ludlow and us.
[2] "senses" *in orig.*

and Prophecies—[*Does not say what results*]—At least, if there were neither Promise nor Prophecy, yet you are carrying on the best things, you are endeavouring after the best things: and, as I have said elsewhere,[1] if I were to choose any servant, the meanest Officer for the Army or the Commonwealth, I would choose a godly man that hath principles. Especially where a trust is to be committed. Because I know where to *have* a man that hath principles. I believe if any one of you should choose a servant, you would do thus. And I would all our Magistrates were so chosen:—this may be done; there may be good effects of this! Surely it's our duty to choose men that fear the Lord, and will praise the Lord: such hath the Lord "formed for Himself;" and He expects no praises from *other* 'than such' [*O Secretary of the Home Department, my right honourable friend!*].

This being so, truly it puts me in mind of another Scripture, that famous Psalm, Sixty-eighth Psalm;[2] which indeed is a glorious Prophecy, I am persuaded, of the Gospel Churches,—it may be, of the Jews also. There it prophesies that "He will bring His people again from the depths of the Sea, as once He led Israel through the Red Sea." And it may be, as some think, God will bring the Jews home to their station "from the isles of the sea," and answer their expectations "as from the depths of the sea." But 'at all events' sure I am, when the Lord shall set up the glory of the Gospel Church, it shall be a gathering of people as "out of deep waters," "out of the multitude of waters:" such are His People, drawn out of the multitudes of the Nations and People of this world.—And truly that Psalm is very glorious in many other parts of it: When He gathers them, "great was the company" of them that publish His word. "Kings of Armies did flee apace, and they that tarried at home divided the spoil" [*Consider Charles Stuart, First and Second; and what we see this day!*]; and "Although ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove, covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold" [*Hah!*]. And indeed the triumph of that Psalm is exceeding high and great; and God is accomplishing it. And the close of it,—that closeth with my heart, and I do not doubt with yours, "The Lord shakes the hills and mountains, and they reel." And God hath a Hill too; "an high Hill as the Hill of Bashan: and the chariots of God are twenty-thousand, even thousands of Angels, and God will dwell upon this Hill for ever!"

In some Speech now lost:—probably in many Speeches; certainly in all manner of Practice and Action.

2 We remember it ever since Dunbar morning; let us read a passage or two of it again: His Excellency and the Little Parliament will perhaps wait a moment; and it may do us good!

"Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered: let them also that hate Him flee before Him. As smoke is driven away, so drive them away; as wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish before the presence of God." The unhappy!

"But let the righteous be glad: let them rejoice before God: yea let them rejoice exceedingly. Sing unto God, sing praises to His name. A father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows, is God in His Holy Habitation."—

"O God, when Thou wentest forth before Thy People, — — the Earth shook, the Heavens also dropped. Kings of Armies did flee apace; and she that tarried at home divided the spoil." Ye poor and brave, be ye of courage! "Though ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove, covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold.

"The Hill of God is as the Hill of Bashan; an high Hill as the Hill of Bashan." Inexpugnable, that! "Why leap ye, ye high Hills? This is the Hill of God which God desireth to dwell in: yea the Lord will dwell in it forever. The chariots of God are twenty-thousand, even thousands of Angels: the Lord is among them, as in Sinai in the holy place."

—[PROCUL PROFANI! *The man is without a soul that looks into this Great Soul of a man, radiant with the splendours of very Heaven, and sees nothing there but the shadow of his own mean darkness. Ape of the Dead Sea, peering asquint into the Holy of Holies, let us have done with* THY *commentaries! Thou canst not fathom it.*].

I am sorry I have troubled you, in such a place of heat as this is, so long. All I have to say, in my own name, and that of my fellow Officers who have joined with me in this work, is: That we shall commend you to the grace of God, to the guidance of His Spirit: 'That' having thus far served you, or rather our Lord Jesus Christ 'in regard to you,' we shall be ready in our stations, according as the Providence of God shall lead us, to be subservient to the 'farther' work of God, and to that Authority which we shall reckon God hath set over us. And though we have no formal thing to present you with, to which the hands, or visible expressions, of the Officers and Soldiers of the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland, 'are set;' yet we may say of them, and we may say also with confidence for our brethren at sea,—with whom neither in Scotland, Ireland, nor at Sea, hath there been any artifice used to persuade their consents to this work,—that nevertheless their consents have flowed in to us from all parts, beyond our expectations: and we may with all confidence say, that as we have their approbation and full consent to the other work, so you have their hearts and affections unto this.[1] And not only theirs: we have very many Papers from the Churches of Christ throughout the Nation; wonderfully both approving what hath been done in removing of obstacles, and approving what we have done in this very thing. And having said this, we shall trouble you no more. But if you will be pleased that this Instrument[2] be read to you, which I have signed by the advice of the Council of Officers,—we shall then leave you to your own thoughts and the guidance of God; to dispose of yourselves for a farther meeting, as you shall see cause.[3]

I have only this to add. The affairs of the Nation lying on our hands to be taken care of; and we knowing that both the Affairs at Sea, the Armies in Ireland and Scotland, and the providing of things for the preventing of inconveniences, and the answering of emergencies, did require that there should be no Interruption, but that care ought to be taken for these things; and foreseeing likewise that before you could digest yourselves into such a method, both for place, time and other circumstances, as you shall please to proceed in, some time would be required,—which the Commonwealth could not bear in respect to the managing of things: I have, within a week 'past,' set up a Council of State, to whom the managing of affairs is committed. Who, I may say, very voluntarily and freely, before they see how the issue of things will be, have engaged themselves in business; eight or nine of them being Members of the House that late was.—I say I did exercise that power

[1] "other work" delicately means *dissolving the old Parliament*; "this" is *assembling of you*, "this very thing."

[2] The Instrument is to be found among the Old Pamphlets; but being of a much lower strain mere constitutionalities, &c., in phrase and purport alike leaden, we do not read it.

[3] Report in *Parliamentary History*, and the common Pamphlets, ends here.

which, I thought, was devolved upon me at that time ; to the end affairs might not have any interval 'or interruption.' And now when you are met, it will ask some time for the settling of your affairs and your way. And, 'on the other hand,' a day cannot be lost, 'left vacant,' but they must be in continual Council till you take farther order. So that the whole matter of their consideration also which regards them is at your disposal, as you shall see cause. And therefore I thought it my duty to acquaint you with thus much, to prevent distractions in your way : That things have been thus ordered ; that your affairs will 'not stop, but' go on, 'in the meanwhile,'—till you see cause to alter this Council ; they having no authority or continuance of sitting, except simply until you take farther order.*

The reader has now struggled through this First Speech of my Lord General's ; not without astonishment to find that he has some understanding of it. The Editor has had his difficulties : but the Editor too is astonished to consider how such a Speech should have lain so long before the English Nation asking, "Is there no meaning whatever in me, then?"—with negatory response from almost all persons. Incompetent Reporters :—still more the obscene droppings of an extensive Owl-population, the accumulated *guano* of Human Stupor in the course of ages, do render Speeches unintelligible ! It ought to be added, that my Lord General always spoke extempore ; ready to speak, if his mind were full of meaning ; very careless about the words he put it into. And never, except in one instance, which we shall by and by come upon, does he seem to have taken any charge as to what Report might be published of it. One of his Parliaments once asks him for a correct Report of a certain Speech, spoken some days before : he declares, "He cannot remember four lines of it."[1] It appears also that his meaning, much as Dryasdust may wonder, was generally very well understood by his audience :—it was not till next generation, when the owl-droppings already lay thick, and Human Stupor had decidedly set in, that the cry of Unintelligibility was much heard of. Tones and looks do much ;—yes, and the *having* a meaning in you is also a great help ! Indeed, I fancy he must have been an opaque man to whom these utterances of such a man, all in a blaze with such a conviction of heart, had remained altogether dark.

The printed state of this Speech, and still more of some others, will impose hard duties on an Editor ; which kind readers must take their share of. In the present case, it is surprising how little change has been needed, beyond the mere punctuation ; correct division into sentences. Not the slightest change of meaning has, of course, anywhere seemed, or shall anywhere seem, permissible ; nor indeed the twentieth part of that kind of liberty which a skilful Newspaper Reporter takes with every speech he commits to print in our day.

* Milton State-Papers, pp. 106-114 : and Parliamentary History, xx. 153-175 ; which latter is identical with Harleian Miscellany (London, 1810), vi. 331-344. Our Report, in some cramp passages, which could not always be indicated without confusion, is a *tertium quid* between these two. Generally throughout we adhere to Milton's, which is the more concise, intelligible and every way better Report.

[1] Burton's Diary, *Postea*, Speech XVII

A certain Critic, whom I sometimes cite from, but seldom without some reluctance, winds up his multifarious Commentaries on the present Speech in the following extraordinary way:

"Intelligent readers," says he, "have found intelligibility in this Speech of Oliver's: but to one who has had to read it as a painful Editor, reading every fibre of it with magnifying-glasses, has to do,—it becomes all glowing with intelligibility, with credibility; with the splendour of genuine Veracity and heroic Depth and Manfulness;—and seems in fact, as Oliver's Speeches generally do, to an altogether singular degree, the express image of the soul it came from!—Is not this the end of all speaking, and wagging of the tongue in every conceivable sort, except the false and accursed sorts? Shall we call Oliver a *bad* Speaker, then; shall we not, in a very fundamental sense, call him a good Speaker?—

"Art of Speech? Art of Speech? The Art of Speech, I take it, will first of all be the art of having something genuine to speak! Into what strange regions has it carried us, that same sublime 'Art,' taken up otherwise! One of the saddest bewilderments, when I look at all the bearings of it, nay properly the fountain of all the sad bewilderments, under which poor mortals painfully somnambulate in these generations. 'I have made an excellent Speech about it, written an excellent Book about it,'—and there an end. How much better, hadst thou done a moderately good deed about it, and not had anything to speak at all! He who is about *doing* some mute veracity has a right to be heard speaking, and consulting of the doing of it; and properly no other has. The light of a man shining all as a paltry phosphorescence on the surface of him, leaving the interior dark, chaotic, sordid, dead-alive,—was once regarded as a most mournful phenomenon!

"False Speech is probably capable of being the falsest and most accursed of all things. False Speech; so false that it has not even the veracity to know that it is false,—as the poor commonplace *liar* still does! I have heard Speakers who gave rise to thoughts in me *they* were little dreaming of suggesting! Is man then no longer an 'Incarnate Word,' as Novalis calls him,—sent into this world to utter out of him, and by all means to make audible and visible what of *God's*-Message he has; sent hither and made alive even for that, and for no other definable object? Is there no sacredness, then, any longer, in the miraculous tongue of man? Is his head become a wretched cracked pitcher, on which you jingle to frighten crows, and make bees hive? He fills me with terror, this two-legged Rhetorical Phantasm! I could long for an Oliver without Rhetoric at all. I could long for a Mahomet, whose persuasive-eloquence, with wild-flashing heart and scimitar, is: 'Wretched mortal, give up that; or by the Eternal, thy Maker and mine, I will kill thee! Thou blasphemous scandalous Misbirth of Nature, is not even that the kindes thing I can do for thee, if thou repent not and alter in the name of Allah?'"—

LETTERS CLXXV.—CLXXVII.

CONCERNING this Puritan Convention of the Notables, which in English History is called the *Little Parliament*, and derisively *Barebones's Par-*

liament, we have not much more to say. They are, if by no means the remarkablest Assembly, yet the Assembly for the remarkablest purpose who have ever met in the Modern World. The business is, No less than introducing of the Christian Religion into real practice in the Social Affairs of this Nation. Christian Religion, Scriptures of the Old and New Testament: such, for many hundred years, has been the universal solemnly recognised Theory of all men's Affairs; Theory sent down out of Heaven itself: but the question is now that of reducing it to Practice in said Affairs;—a most noble, surely, and most necessary attempt; which should not have been put off so long in this Nation! We have conquered the Enemies of Christ; let us now, in real practical earnest, set about doing the Commandments of Christ, now that there is free room for us! Such was the purpose of this Puritan Assembly of the Notables, which History calls the *Little Parliament*, or derisively *Barebones's Parliament*.

It is well known they failed: to us, alas, it is too evident they could not but fail. Fearful impediments lay against that effort of theirs: the sluggishness, the slavish half-and-halfness, the greediness, the cowardice, and general opacity and falsity of some ten million men against it;—alas, the whole world, and what we call the Devil and all his angels against it! Considerable angels, human and other: most extensive arrangements, investments, to be sold off at a tremendous sacrifice;—in general the entire set of luggage-traps and very extensive stock of merchant-goods and real and floating property, amassed by that assiduous Entity above-mentioned, for a thousand years or more! For these, and also for other obstructions, it could not take effect at that time;—and the *Little Parliament* became a *Barebones's Parliament*, and had to go its ways again.

Read these three Letters, two of them of small or no significance as to it or its affairs; and then let us hasten to the catastrophe.

LETTER CLXXV.

THE Little Parliament has now sat some seven weeks: the dim old world of England, then in huge travail-throes, and somewhat of the Lord General's sad and great reflections thereon, may be dimly read here.

'*For the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland: These.*'

DEAR CHARLES, Cockpit, 22d August, 1653.

Although I do not so often as is desired by me acquaint you how it is with me, yet I doubt not of your prayers in my behalf, That, in all things, I may walk as becometh the Gospel.

Truly I never more needed all helps from my Christian Friends than now! Fain would I have my service accepted of the Saints, if the Lord will;—but it is not so. Being of different judgments, and 'those' of each sort seeking most to propagate their own, that spirit of kindness that is[1] to them all, is hardly accepted of any. I hope I can say it, My life has been a willing sacrifice,—and I hope,—for them *all*. Yet it

[1] "in me" modestly suppressed.

much falls out as when the Two Hebrews were rebuked: you know upon whom they turned their displeasure![1]

But the Lord is wise; and will, I trust, make manifest that I am no enemy. Oh, how easy is mercy to be abused—Persuade friends with you to be very sober! If the Day of the Lord *be* so near as some say, how should our moderation appear! If every one, instead of contending, would justify his form 'of judgment' by love and meekness, Wisdom would be "justified of her children." But, alas!— —

I am, in my temptation, ready to say, "Oh, would I had wings like a dove, then would I," &c.:[2] but this, I fear, is my "haste." I bless the Lord I have somewhat keeps me alive: some sparks of the light of His countenance, and some sincerity above man's judgment. Excuse me thus unbowelling myself to you: pray for me: and desire my Friends to do so also. My love to thy dear Wife,—whom indeed I entirely love, both naturally, and upon the best account:—and my blessing, if it be worth anything, upon thy little Babe.

Sir George Ayscough having occasions with you, desired my Letters to you on his behalf: if he come or send, I pray you show him what favour you can. Indeed his services have been considerable for the State; and I doubt he hath not been answered with suitable respect. Therefore again I desire you and the Commissioners to take him into a very particular care, and help him so far as justice and reason will any ways afford.

Remember my hearty affections to all the Officers. The Lord bless you all. So prayeth,

Your truly loving father,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' All here love you, and are in health, your Children and all.*

LETTER CLXXVI.

IN the Commons Journals,[3] while this Little Parliament sat, we find that, among other good services, the arrangement of the Customs Department was new-modelled; that instead of Farmers of the Customs, there was a "Committee" of the Parliament appointed to regulate and levy that impost: Committee appointed on the 23d of September, 1653: among whom we recognise "Alderman Ireton," the deceased General's Brother; "Mr. Mayor," of Hursley, Richard Cromwell's Father-in-law; "Alderman Titchborne;" "Colonel Montague," afterwards Earl of Sandwich; and others. It is to this Committee that Oliver's Letter is addressed. It has no date of time: but as the Little Parliament ended, in Self-dissolution and Protectorship, on the 12th of December, the date

[1] "And he," the wrongdoer of the Two, "said unto Moses, 'Who made thee a Prince and a Judge over us? Intendest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian?'" (*Exodus* ii. 14.)

[2] "then would I fly away and be at rest. Lo, then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness. I would hasten my escape from the windy storm and tempest!" (*Psalm* lv. 6, 7, 8.)

* Harleian MSS. no. 7502, f. 13: "Copyed from the Original in ye hands of Mrs. Cook (Granddaughter to Lieutenant General Fleetwood) of Newington, Middsex: Novr 5, 1759, By A Gifford." Printed, without reference, incorrectly, in *Annual Register* for 1761, p. 49; in *Gentleman's Magazine*, &c.—Appendix, No. 13.

[3] vii., 323, 23 September, 1653.

of the Letter lies between the 23d September and that other limit. My Lord General,—who is himself a Member of the Parliament, he and his chief Officers having been forthwith invited to sit,—feels evidently that his recommendations, when grounded in justice, ought to be attended to.

For my honoured Friends, the Committee for Regulating the Customs: These present.

'Whitehall, October 1653.'

GENTLEMEN,

I am sorry after recommendation of a Friend of mine the Bearer hereof,—considering him in relation to his poor Parents an object of pity and commiseration, yet well deserving and not less qualified for employment,—he should find such cold success amongst you.

His great necessities and my love once more invite me to write unto you, in his behalf, To bestow on him, if it may not be in the City by reason of multiplicity of suitors, a place in the Out-ports: and I doubt not but his utmost abilities will be improved to the faithful discharging of such trust as you shall impose on him, for the good of the Commonwealth. And thereby you will engage him who remains,

Your affectionate friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

LETTER CLXXVII.

THIS "Henry Weston," otherwise unknown to all Editors, is a Gentleman of Surrey, his "House at Ockham," not *Oakham*,—is in the neighbourhood of Guilford in that County. So much, strangely enough, an old stone Tablet still legible in Ockham Church, which a beneficent hand has pointed out, enables me to say;—an authentic dim old Stone in Surrey, curiously reflecting light on a dim old Piece of Paper which has fluttered far about the world before it reached us here! "Brother Ford," I find by the same authority, is of knightly rank in Sussex: and Henry Weston's Father "lieth buried in the Chancel of Speldhurst Church" in Kent; his Uncle, a childless man, resting here at Oakham "since the 8th day of July, 1638, in the clymacteric of his age, 63."† "Reverend Mr. Draper" has not elsewhere come across me. Happily we can hope he officiates well in Kent; and read this Letter without other light.

For my honoured Friend, Henry Weston, Esquire, at his House in Oakham: These.

'Whitehall,' 16th November, 1653.

SIR, MY NOBLE FRIEND,

Your Brother Ford was lately with me, acquainting me with my presumption in moving for, and your civility in granting the Advowson of Speldhurst to one Mr. Draper, who is now incumbent there, and who, it seems, was there for three or four years before the death of the old incumbent, by virtue of a sequestration.

Sir, I had almost forgot upon what account I made thus bold with you; but now have fully recollected. I understand the person is very able and honest well approved of by most of the good Ministers there

* Letter genuine, *teste me*; reference unfortunately lost.

† Copy of the Inscription *penes me*.

about; and much desired by the honest people who are in a Religious Association in those parts.[1] Wherefore I now most heartily own and thank you for your favour showed Mr. Draper for my sake; beseeching the continuance of your respects to the Gentleman,—who shall be very much tied to pay you all service; and so shall, in what lieth in his power, Your affectionate friend to serve you,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

And now to Parliament affairs again,—to the catastrophe now nigh.

On the whole, we have to say of this Little Parliament, that it sat for five months and odd days, very earnestly striving; earnestly, nobly,—and by no means unwisely, as the ignorant Histories teach. But the farther it advanced towards real Christianism in human affairs, the louder grew the shrieks of Sham-Christianism everywhere profitably lodged there;—and prudent persons, responsible for the issue, discovered that of a truth, for one reason or another, for reasons evident and for reasons not evident, there could be no success according to that method. We said, the History of this Little Parliament lay all buried very deep in the torpors of Human Stupidity, and was not likely ever to be brought into daylight in this world. In their five months time they passed various good Acts; chose, with good insight, a new Council of State; took wise charge of the needful Supplies; did all the routine business of a Parliament in a quite exceptionable, or even in a superior manner. Concerning their Council of State, I find this Note; which, though the Council had soon to alter itself, and take new figures, may be worth appending here.[2]

Routine business done altogether well by this Little Parliament. But, alas, they had decided on abolishing Tithes, on supporting a Christian Ministry by some other method than Tithes;—nay far worse, they had decided on abolishing the Court of Chancery! Finding grievances greater than could be borne; finding, for one thing, "Twenty-three thousand Causes of from five to thirty years continuance" lying undetermined in Chancery, it seemed to the Little Parliament that some Court ought to be contrived which would actually determine these and the like Causes;—and that, on the whole, Chancery would be better for abolition. Vote to that effect stands registered in the Commons Journals;[3] but still, for near two hundred years now, only expects fulfil-

[1] Has crossed out "thereabouts;" and written "in those parts" as preferable.

* Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 12,098. Original, in good preservation, with this endorsement in a newer hand: "The Generell Cromwell's letter about Speldhurst living;" and this Note appended: "In an old Bible I had from England with other Books, March, 1726." Some Transatlantic Puritan, to all appearance.

[2] Council of State elected,—Tuesday 1st November, 1653 (Commons Journals, vii, 344). The Election is by ballot, 113 Members present; "Colonel Montague" (Sandwich), "Colonel Cromwell" (Henry), and "Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper," are three of the Four Scrutineers. Among the Names reported as chosen, here are some, with the Numbers voting for them: Lord General Cromwell (113, one and all); Sir Gilbert Pickering (Poet Dryden's Uncle,—110); Desborow (74); Harrison (58); Mayor (of Hursley,—57); Colonel Montague (59); Ashley Cooper (60); Lord Viscount Lisle (Algernon Sidney's Brother,—58); Colonel Norton (idle Dick, recovered from the Pride's Purge again, but liable to relapse again,—57). The Council is of Thirty-one; Sixteen of the Old or Interim Council (above referred to in Cromwell's Speech) are to continue; Fifteen new: these mentioned here are all among the Old, whom the Lord General and his Officers had already nominated.

[3] vii., 296; 5 August, 1653.

ment.—So far as one can discover in the huge twilight of Dryasdust was mainly by this attack on the Lawyers, and attempt to abolish Chancery, that the Little Parliament perished. Tithes helped, no doubt; and the clamours of a safely settled Ministry, Presbyterian-Royalist many of them. But the Lawyers exclaimed: "Chancery? Law of the Bible? Do you mean to bring-in the *Mosaic Dispensation*, then; and deprive men of their properties? Deprive men of their properties; and us of our learned wigs and lucrative longwindedness,—with your search for 'Simple Justice,' and 'God's Law' instead of Learned-Sergeant's Law?"—There was immense "carousing in the Temple" when this Parliament ended; as great tremors had been in the like quarters while it continued.[1]

But in brief, on Friday, the 2d of December, 1653, there came a "Report from the Tithes-Committee," recommending that Ministers of an incompetent, simoniacal, loose, or otherwise scandalous nature, plainly unfit to preach any Gospel to immortal creatures, should have a Travelling Commission of chosen Puritan Persons appointed, to travel into all Counties, and straightway inspect them, and eject them, and clear Christ's Church of them:—whereupon there ensued high debatings: Accept the Report, or not accept it? High debatings, for the space of ten days; with Parliamentary manœuverings, not necessary to specify here. Which rose ever higher; and on Saturday the 10th, had got so high that, as I am credibly informed, certain leading persons went about colleaguing and consulting, instead of attending Public Worship on the Lord's Day:—and so, on Monday morning early, while the extreme Gospel Party had not yet assembled in the House, it was surreptitiously moved and carried, old Speaker Rouse somewhat treacherously assenting to it, "That the sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for the good of the Commonwealth; and that therefore it is requisite to deliver up unto the Lord General Cromwell the Powers which we received from him!" Whereupon, adds the same Rhadamantine Record, "the House rose; and the Speaker, with many of the Members of the House, departed out of the House to Whitehall: where they, being the greater number of the Members sitting in Parliament, did, by a Writing," hastily dedacted in the waiting-room there, and signed on separate bits of paper hastily wafered together, "resign unto his Excellency their said Powers. And Mr. Speaker attended by the Members, did present the same unto his Excellency accordingly,"—and retired into private life again.[2]

The Lord General Cromwell testified much emotion and surprise at this result;—emotion and surprise which Dryasdust knows well how to interpret. In fact the Lord General is responsible to England and Heaven for this result; and it is one of some moment! He and the established Council of State, "Council of Officers and" non-established "Persons of Interest in the Nation," must consider what they will now do!

Clearly enough to them, and to us, there can only one thing be done; search be made, Whether there is any King, *Könning*, Can-ning, or

[1] Exact Relation of the Transactions of the late Parliament, by a Member of the same (London, 1654): reprinted in Somers Tracts, vi., 266-84.

[2] Commons Journals, vii. 363; Exact Relation, *ubi supra*; Whitlocke, p. 551, &c.

Supremely Able-Man that you can fall in with, to take charge of these conflicting and colliding elements, drifting towards swift wreck otherwise ;—any "Parish Constable," as Oliver himself defines it, to bid good men keep the peace to one another. To your unspeakable good-luck, such Supremely Able-Man, King, Constable, or by whatever name you will call him, is already found,—known to all persons for years past : your Puritan Interest is not yet necessarily a wreck ; but may still float, and do what farther is in it, while he can float !

From Monday onwards, the excitement of the public mind in old London and whithersoever the news went, in those winter days, must have been great. The "Lord General called a Council of Officers and other Persons of Interest in the Nation," as we said ; and there was "much seeking of God by prayer," and abstruse advising of this matter, —the matter being really great, and to some of us even awful ! The dialogues, conferences, and abstruse advisings are all lost ; the result we know for certain. Monday was 12th of December ; on Friday 16th, the result became manifest to all the world : That the ablest of Englishmen, Oliver Cromwell, was henceforth to be recognised for Supremely Able ; and that the Title of him was to be LORD PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND, with "Instrument of Government," "Council of Fifteen or of Twenty-one," and other necessary less important circumstances, of the like conceivable nature.

The Instrument of Government, a carefully constitutional piece in Forty-two Articles : the Ceremony of Installation, transacted with due simplicity and much modest dignity, "in the Chancery Court in Westminster Hall," that Friday afternoon ;—the chair of state, the Judges in their robes, Lord Mayors with caps of maintenance ; the state-coaches, outriders, outrunners, and "great shoutings of the people ;" the procession from and to Whitehall, and "Mr. Lockier the Chaplain's Exhortation" to us there : these, with the inevitable adjuncts of the case, shall be conceived by ingenious readers, or read in innumerable Pamphlets and Books,[1] and omitted here. "His Highness was in a rich but plain suit ; black velvet, with cloak of the same : about his hat a broad band of gold." Does the reader see him ? A rather likely figure, I think. Stands some five feet ten or more ; a man of strong solid stature, and dignified, now partly military carriage : the expression of him valour and devout intelligence,—energy and delicacy on a basis of simplicity. Fifty-four years old, gone April last ; ruddy-fair complexion, bronzed by toil and age ; light-brown hair and moustache are getting grey. A figure of sufficient impressiveness ;—not lovely to the man-milliner species, nor pretending to be so. Massive stature ; big massive head, of somewhat leonine aspect ; evident workshop and storehouse of a vast treasury of natural parts. Wart above the right eyebrow ; nose of considerable blunt-aquiline proportions ; strict yet copious lips, full of all tremulous sensibilities, and also, if need were, of all fiercenesses and rigours ; deep loving eyes, call them grave, call them stern, looking from under those craggy brows as if in lifelong

[1] Whitlocke, pp. 552-61 ; Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 131, in Parliamentary History, xx.) ; &c. &c.

sorrow, and yet not thinking it sorrow, thinking it only labour and endeavour :—on the whole, a right noble lion-face and hero-face ; and to me royal enough.[1] The reader, in his mind, shall conceive this event and its figures.

Conceived too, or read elsewhere than here, shall Dryasdust's multifarious unmelodious commentaries be,—and likewise Anti-Dryasdust's ; the two together cancelling one another ; and amounting, pretty well by this time, to *zero* for us. "Love of power," as flunkeys love it, remains the one credibility for Dryasdust ; and will forever remain. To the valet-soul how will you demonstrate that, in this world, there is or was anything heroic? You cannot do it ; you need not try to do it.—I cite with some reluctance from a Manuscript Author, often enough referred to here, the following detached sentences, and so close this Seventh Part.

"Dryasdust knows not the value of a King," exclaims he ; "the bewildered mortal has forgotten it. Finding King's-cloaks so cheap, hung out on every hedge, and paltry as beggars' gabardines, he says, 'What use is in a King? This King's-cloak, if this be your King, is naught!'—

"Power? Love of power? Does 'power' mean the faculty of giving places, of having newspaper paragraphs, of being waited on by sycophants? To ride in gilt coaches, escorted by the flunkeyisms and most sweet voices,—I assure thee, it is not the Heaven of all, but only of many! Some born Kings I myself have known, of stout natural limbs, who, in shoes of moderately good fit, found quiet *walking* handier ; and crowned themselves, almost too sufficiently, by putting on their own private hat, with some spoken or speechless, 'God enable me to be King of what lies under this! For Eternities lie under it, and Infinitudes,—and Heaven also and Hell. And it is as big as the Universe, this Kingdom ; and I am to conquer it, or be forever conquered by it, now while it is called Today!'—

"The love of 'power,' if thou understand what to the manful heart 'power' signifies, is a very noble and indispensable love. And here and there, in the outer world too, there is a due throne for the noble man ;—which let him see well that he seize, and valiantly defend against all men and things. God gives it him ; let no Devil take it away. Thou also art called by the God's-message : This, if thou canst read the Heavenly omens and dare do them, this work is *thine*. Voiceless, or with no articulate voice, Occasion, god-sent, rushes storming on, amid the world's events ; swift, perilous ; like a whirlwind, like a fleet lightning-steed : manfully thou shalt clutch it by the mane, and vault into thy seat on it, and ride and guide there, thou! Wreck and ignominious overthrow, if thou have dared when the Occasion was *not* thine : everlasting scorn to thee if thou dare not when it is ;—if the cackling of Roman geese and Constitutional ganders, if the clack of human tongues and leading-articles, if the steel of armies and the crack of Doom deter thee, when the voice *was* God's!—Yes, this too is in the law for a man, my poor quack-ridden, bewildered Constitutional friends ; and we ought to remember this withal. *Thou shalt* is written upon Life in characters

[1] Maidston's Letter to Winthrop, in *Thurloe*, i. 763-8 ; Cooper's Portraits ; Mask of Cromwell's Face (in the Statuaries' Shops).

as terrible as *Thou shalt not*,—though poor Dryasdust reads almost nothing but the latter hitherto."

And so we close Part Seventh; and proceed to trace with all piety, what faint authentic vestiges of Oliver's Protectorate the envious Stupidities have not yet obliterated for us.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

VOLUME III.

PART V II.

FIRST PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT.

1654.

LETTERS CLXXVIII.—CLXXXI.

THE 3rd of September ever since Worcester Battle has been kept as a Day of Thanksgiving; commemorative of the mercy at Dunbar in 1650, and of the crowning-mercy which followed next year;—a memorable day for the Commonwealth of England. By Article Seventh of the Instrument of Government, it is now farther provided that a Parliament shall meet on that auspicious Anniversary when it next comes round. September 3d, 1654, then shall the First Protectorate Parliament meet; successive Parliaments, one at least every Three years, are to follow, but this shall be the First. Not to be dissolved or prorogued for at least Five months. Free Parliament of Four-hundred; for England Three-hundred-and-forty, for Scotland Thirty, for Ireland Thirty; fairly chosen by election of the People, according to rules anxiously constitutional, laid down in that same Instrument,—which we do not dwell upon here. Smaller Boroughs are excluded; among Counties and larger Boroughs is a mere equable division of representatives according to their population: nobody to vote that has not some clearly visible property to the value of Two-hundred Pounds; all others to vote, or to be voted for,—except, of course, all such as have appeared against the Parliament in any of these Wars "since the First of January, 1642," and "not since given signal testimony" of their repenting that step. To appearance, a very reasonable Reform Bill;—understood to be substantially the same with that invaluable measure once nearly completed by the Rump: only with this essential difference, That the Rump Members are not now to sit by nature and without election; not now to decide, they, in case of extremity, Thou shall sit, Thou shalt not sit;—others than they will now decide that, in cases of extremity. How this Parliament, in its Five-months Session, will welcome the new Protector and Protectorate is naturally the grand question during those Nine or Ten months that intervene. A question for all Englishmen; and most of all for Oliver Protector;—who however, as we can perceive, does not allow it to overawe him very much; but diligently doing this day the day's duties, hopes he may find, as God has often favoured him to do, some good solution for the morrow, whatsoever the morrow please to be. A man much apt to be overawed by any question that is

smaller than Eternity, or by any danger that is lower than God's Displeasure, would not suit well in Oliver's place at present! Perhaps no more perilous place, that I know clearly of, was ever deliberately accepted by a man. "The post of honour,"—the post of terror and of danger and forlorn-hope: this man has all along been used to occupy such.

To see a little what kind of England it was, and what kind of incipient Protectorate it was, take, as usual, the following small and few fractions of Authenticity, of various complexion, fished from the doubtful slumber-lakes and dust-vortexes, and hang them out at their places in the void night of things. They are not very luminous; but if they were well let alone, and the positively tenebrific were well forgotten, they might assist our imaginations in some slight measure.

Sunday, 18th December, 1653. A certain loud-tongued, loud-minded Mr. Feak, of Anabaptist-Leveller persuasion, with a Colleague, seemingly Welsh, named Powel, have a Preaching-Establishment, this good while past, in Blackfriars; a Preaching-Establishment every Sunday, which on Monday Evening becomes a National-Charter Convention as we should now call it: there Feak, Powel and Company are in the habit of vomiting forth from their own inner-man, into other inner-men greedy of such pabulum, a very flamy fuliginous set of doctrines,—such as the human mind, superadding Anabaptistry to Sansculottism, can make some attempt to conceive. Sunday the 18th, which is two days after the Lord Protector's Installation, this Feak-Powel Meeting was unusually large; the Feak-Powel inner-man unusually charged. Elements of soot and fire really copious; fuliginous-flamy in a very high degree! At a time, too, when all Doctrine does not satisfy itself with spouting, but longs to become instant Action. "Go and tell your Protector," said the Anabaptist Prophet, That he has deceived the Lord's People; "that he is a perjured villain,"—"will not reign long," or I am deceived; "will end worse than the last Protector did," Protector Somerset who died on the scaffold, or the tyrant Crooked Richard himself! Say, I said it!—A very foul chimney indeed, here got on fire. And "Major-General Harrison, the most eminent man of the Anabaptist Party, being consulted whether he would own the new Protectoral Government, answered frankly, No;"—was thereupon ordered to retire home to Staffordshire, and keep quiet.[1]

Does the reader bethink him of those old Leveller Corporals at Burford, and Diggers at St. George's Hill five years ago; of Quakerisms, Calvinistic Sansculottisms, and one of the strangest Spiritual Developments ever seen in any country? The reader sees here one foul chimney on fire, the Feak-Powel chimney in Blackfriars; and must consider for himself what masses of combustible material, noble fuel and base soot and smoky explosive fire-damp, in the general English Household it communicates with! Republicans Proper, of the Long Parliament; Republican Fifth-Monarchists of the Little Parliament; the solid Ludlows, the fervent Harrisons: from Harry Vane down to Christopher Feak, all manner of Republicans find Cromwell unforgivable. To the Harrison-and-Feak species Kingship in every sort, and government of man by man, is carnal, expressly contrary to various

[1] Thurloe, i. 641;—442, 591, 621.

Gospel Scriptures. Very horrible for a man to think of governing men; —whether he ought even to govern cattle, and drive them to field and to needful penfold, "except in the way of love and persuasion," seems doubtful to me! But fancy a Reign of Christ and his Saints; Christ and his Saints just about to come,—had not Oliver Cromwell stept in and prevented it! The reader discerns combustibilities enough; conflagrations, plots, stubborn disaffections, and confusions on the Republican and Republican-Anabaptist side of things. It is the first Plot-department, which my Lord Protector will have to deal with, all his life long. This he must wisely damp down, as he may. Wisely: for he knows what is noble in the matter, and what is base in it; and would not sweep the fuel and the soot both out of doors at once.

Tuesday, 14th February, 1653-4. "At the Ship-Tavern in the Old-Bailey, kept by Mr. Thomas Amps," we come upon the second lifelong Plot-department: Eleven truculent, rather threadbare persons, sitting over small drink there, on the Tuesday night, considering how the Protector might be assassinated. Poor broken Royalist men; payless Old-Captains, most of them, or such like; with their steeple-hats worn very brown, and jack-boots slit,—and projects that cannot be executed. Mr Amps knows nothing of them, except that they came to him to drink; nor do we. Probe them with questions; clap them in the Tower for a while:[1] Guilty, poor knaves; but not worth hanging:—disappear again into the general mass of Royalist Plotting, and ferment there.

The Royalists have lain quiet ever since Worcester; waiting what issue matters would take. Dangerous to meddle with a Rump Parliament, or other steadily regimented thing; safer if you can find it fallen out of rank; hopefullest of all, when it collects itself into a Single Head. The Royalists judge, with some reason, that if they could kill Oliver Protector, this Commonwealth were much endangered. In these Easter weeks, too, or Whitsun weeks, there comes "from our Court" (Charles Stuart's Court) "at Paris," great encouragement to all men of spirit in straitened circumstances. A Royal Proclamation "By the King," drawn up, say some, by Secretary Clarendon; setting forth that "Whereas a certain base mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell, has usurped our throne," much to our and other people's inconvenience, whosoever will kill the said mechanic fellow "by sword, pistol or poison," shall have 500*l.* a-year settled upon him, with colonelcies in our Army, and other rewards suitable, and be a made man,—"on the word and faith of a Christian King."[2] A Proclamation which cannot be circulated except in secret; but is well worth reading by all loyal men. And so Royalist Plots also succeed one another, thick and threefold through Oliver's whole life;—but cannot take effect. Vain for a Christian King and his cunningest Chancellors to summon all the Sinners of the Earth, and whatsoever of necessitous Truculent-Flunkeyism there may be, and to bid, in the name of Heaven and of Another place, for the Head of Oliver Cromwell: once for all, they cannot have it;—not till *he* has entirely done with it, and can make them welcome

[1] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 135).
[2] Thurloe, ii. 248. "Given at Paris 3d May (22d April by old style,) 1654."

to their benefit from it! We shall come upon these Royalist Plots, Rebellion Plots and Assassin Plots, in the order of time; and have to mention them, though with brevity. Oliver Protector, I suppose, understands and understood his Protectorship moderately well, and what Plots and other Hydra-coils were inseparable from it; and contrives to deal with these too, like a conscientous man, and not like a hungry slave.

Secretary Thurloe, once St. John's Secretary in Holland, has come now, ever since the Little-Parliament time, into decided action as Oliver's Secretary, or the State Secretary; one of the expertest Secretaries in the real meaning of the word Secretary, any State or working King could have. He deals with all these Plots; it is part of his function, supervised by his Chief. Mr. John Milton, we all lament to know, has fallen blind in the Public Service; lives now in Bird-cage Walk, still doing a little when called upon; bating no jot of heart or hope. Mr. Milton's notion is, That this Protectorate of his Highness Oliver was a thing called for by the Necessities and the Everlasting Laws; and that his Highness ought now to quit himself like a Christian Hero in it, as in other smaller things he has been used to do.[1]

March 20th, 1653-4. By the Instrument of Government, the Lord Protector with his Council,[2] till once the First Parliament were got together, was empowered not only to raise monies for the needful supplies, but also "to make Laws and Ordinances for the peace and welfare of these Nations;" which latter faculty he is by no means slack to exercise. Of his "Sixty Ordinances" passed in this manner before the Parliament met, which are well approved of by good judges, we cannot here afford to say much: but there is one bearing date as above, which must not be omitted. First Ordinance relating to the Settlement of a Gospel Ministry in this Nation; Ordinance of immense interest to Puritan England at that time. An object which has long been on the anvil, this same "Settlement;" much laboured at, and striven for, ever since the Long Parliament began: and still, as all confess, no tolerable result has been attained. Yet is it not the greatest object; properly the soul of all these struggles and confused wrestlings and battlings, since we first met here? For the thing men are taught, or get to *believe*, that is the thing they will infallibly *do:* the kind of "Gospel" you settle, kind of "Ministry" you settle, or do not settle, the root of all is there! Let us see what the Lord Protector can accomplish in this business.

Episcopacy being put down, and Presbytery not set up, and Church-Government for years past being all a Church-Anarchy, the business is

[1] *Defensio Secunda.*

[2] Fifteen in number, which he may enlarge to Twenty-one, if he see good. Not removable, any of them, except by himself with advice of the rest. A very remarkable Majesty's Ministry;—of which, for its own sake and the Majesty's, take this List, as it stood in 1654:

Philip Viscount Lisle (Algernon Sidney's Brother): Fleetwood; Lambert; Montague (of Hinchinbrook); Desborow (Protector's Brother-in-law); Ashley Cooper (Earl of Shaftesbury afterwards); Walter Strickland (Member for Minehead in the Long Parliament, once Ambassador in Holland); Colonel Henry Lawrence (for Westmoreland in the Long Parliament, of whom we have transiently heard, became *President* of the Council); Mayor (of Hursley); Francis Rouse (our old friend); pious old Major-General Skippon; Colonels Philip Jones and Sydenham; Sirs Gilbert Pickering and Charles Wolseley, of whom my readers do not know much. Fifteen Councillors in all. To whom Nathaniel Fiennes (son of Lord Say and Sele) was afterwards added; with the Earl of Mulgrave; and another, Colonel Mackworth, who soon died (Thurloe, i. 581). Thurloe is Secretary; and blind Milton, now with assistants, is Latin Secretary.

somewhat difficult to deal with. The Lord Protector, as we find, takes it up in simplicity and integrity, intent upon the real heart or practical outcome of it ; and makes a rather satisfactory arrangement. Thirty-eight chosen Men, the acknowledged Flower of English Puritanism, are nominated by this Ordinance of the 20th of March,[1] nominated a Supreme Commission for the Trial of Public Preachers. Any person pretending to hold a Church-living, or levy tithes or clergy-dues in England, has first to be tried and approved by these men. Thirty-eight, as Scobell teaches us : nine are Laymen, our friend old Francis Rouse at the head of them ; twenty-nine are Clergy. His Highness, we find, has not much inquired of what Sect they are ; has known them to be Independents, to be Presbyterians, one or two of them to be even Anabaptists ;—has been careful only of one characteristic, That they were men of wisdom, and had the root of the matter in them. Owen, Goodwin, Sterry, Marshall, Manton, and others not yet quite unknown to men, were among these Clerical *Triers :* the acknowledged Flower of Spiritual England at that time ; and intent, as Oliver himself was, with an awful earnestness, on actually having the Gospel taught to England.

This is the First branch or limb of Oliver's scheme for Church-Government, this Ordinance of the 20th March, 1653-4. A Second, which completes what little he could do in the matter at present, developed itself in August following. By this August Ordinance,[2] a Body of Commissioners, distinguished Puritan Gentry, distinguished Puritan Clergy, are nominated in all Counties of England, from Fifteen to Thirty in each County ; who are to inquire into "scandalous, ignorant, insufficient," and otherwise deleterious alarming Ministers of the Gospel ; to be a tribunal for judging, for detecting, ejecting them (only in case of ejection, if they have wives, let some small modicum of living be allowed them) : and to sit there, judging and sifting, till gradually all is sifted clean, and can be kept clean. This is the Second branch of Oliver's form of Church-Government : this, with the other Ordinance, makes at last a kind of practical Ecclesiastical Arrangement for England.

A very republican arrangement, such as could be made on the sudden ; contains in it, however, the germ or essence of all conceivable arrangements, that of worthy men to judge of the worth of men ;—and was found in practice to work well. As indeed, any arrangement will work well, when the men in it have the root of the matter at heart ; and, alas, all arrangements, when the men in them have not, work ill and not well ! Of the Lay Commissioners, from fifteen to thirty in each County, it is remarked that not a few are political enemies of Oliver's : friends or enemies of his, Oliver hopes they are men of pious probity, and friends to the Gospel in England. My Lord General Fairfax, the Presbyterian ; Thomas Scot, of the Long Parliament, the fanatical Republican ; Lords Wharton, Say, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Colonel Robert Blake, Mayor of Hursley, Dunch of Pusey, Montague of Hinchinbrook, and other persons known to us,—are of these Commissioners. Richard Baxter, who seldom sat, is one of the Clergy for his County : he testifies, not in the willingest manner, being no friend to Oliver, That these Commissioners,

[1] Scobell, ii. 279, 80.

[2] 28 August, 1654 (Scobell, ii. 335-47).

of one sort and the other, with many faults, did sift out the deleterious alarming Ministers of the Gospel, and put-in the salutary in their stead, with very considerable success,—giving us "able, serious Preachers who lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were;" so that "many thousands of souls blessed God" for what they had done; and grieved sore when, with the return of the Nell-Gwynn Defender, and his Four Surplices or what remained of them, it was undone again.[1] And so with these *Triers* and these Expurgators both busy, and a faithful eye to watch their procedure, we will hope the Spiritual Teaching-Apparatus of England stood now on a better footing than usual, and actually succeeded in teaching somewhat.

Of the Lord Protector's other Ordinances; Ordinance "declaring the Law of Treason," Ordinances of finance, of Amnesty for Scotland, of Union with Scotland, and other important matters, we must say nothing. One elaborate Ordinance, "in sixty-seven Articles," for "Reforming the Court of Chancery," will be afterwards alluded to with satisfaction, by the Lord Protector himself. Elaborate Ordinance; containing essential improvements, say some;—which has perhaps saved the Court of Chancery from abolition for a while longer! For the rest, "not above Two-hundred Hackney-coaches" shall henceforth be allowed to ply in this Metropolis and six miles round it; the ever-increasing number of them, blocking up our thoroughfares, threatens to become insupportable.[2]

April 14th, 1654. This day, let it be noted for the sake of poor Editors concerned with undated Letters, and others, his Highness removed from his old Lodging in the Cockpit, into new properly Royal Apartments in Whitehall, now ready for him,[3] and lived there henceforth, usually going out to Hampton Court on the Saturday afternoon. He has "assumed somewhat of the state of a King;" due ceremonial, decent observance beseeming the Protector of the Commonwealth of England; life-guards, ushers, state-coaches,—in which my erudite friend knows well what delight this Lord Protector had! Better still, the Lord Protector has concluded good Treaties; received congratulatory Embassies,—France, Spain itself have sent Embassies. Treaty with the Dutch, with Denmark, Sweden, Portugal:[4] all much to our satisfaction. Of the Portuguese Treaty there will perhaps another word be said. As for the Swedish, this, it is well known, was managed by our learned friend Bulstrode at Upsal itself; whose Narrative of that formidable Embassy exists, a really curious life-picture by our Pedant friend; whose qualities are always fat and good;—whose parting from poor Mrs. Whitlocke at Chelsea, in those interesting circumstances, may be said to resemble that of Hector from Andromache, in some points.

And now for our Two small Letters, for our first Protectorate Parliament, without waste of another word!

[1] Baxter's Life, Part i. 72.
[2] Scobell, ii. 313; Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 139.)
[3] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 139.)
[4] Dutch Treaty signed, 5 April, 1654; Swedish, 28 April; Portuguese, 10 July; Danish Claims settled, 31 July (Godwin, iv. 49-56).

LETTER CLXXVIII.

For my loving Brother, Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley in Hampshire: These.

DEAR BROTHER, 'Whitehall,' 4th May, 1654.

I received your loving Letter; for which I thank you: and surely were it fit to proceed in that Business, you should not in the least have been put upon anything but the trouble; for indeed the land in Essex, with some money in my hand, should have gone towards it.

But indeed I am so unwilling to be a seeker after the world, having had so much favour from the Lord in giving me so much without seeking; and 'am' so unwilling that men should think me so, which they will though you only appear in it (for they will, by one means or other, know it),—that indeed I dare not meddle nor proceed therein. Thus I have told you my plain thoughts.

My hearty love I present to you and my Sister, my blessing and love to dear Doll and the little one. With love to all,

I rest,

Your loving brother,

OLIVER P.*

A "business" seemingly of making an advantageous purchase of land for Richard; which Mayor will take all the trouble of, and even advance the money for; but which Oliver P., for good reasons given, "dare not meddle" with. No man can now guess what land it was,—nor need much. In the Pamphletary dust-mountains is a confused story of Cornet Joyce's,[1] concerning Fawley Park in Hampshire; which, as the dim dateless indications point to the previous winter or summer, and to the "Lord General Cromwell" as looking towards that property for his Son Richard,—may be the place, for aught we know! The story sets forth, with the usual bewildered vivacity of Joyce: How Joyce, the same who took the King at Holmby, and is grown now a noisy Anabaptist and Lieutenant-Colonel,—how Joyce, I say, was partly minded and fully entitled to purchase Fawley Park, and Richard Cromwell was minded and not fully entitled: how Richard's Father thereupon dealt treacherously with the said Joyce; spake softly to him, then quarrelled with him, menaced him (owing to Fawley Park); nay ended by flinging him into prison, and almost reducing him to his needle and thimble again,—greatly to the enragement and distraction of the said Joyce. All owing to Fawley Park, thinks Joyce and prints;—so that my Lord Protector, if this Park be the place, is very wise "not to meddle or proceed therein." And so we leave it.

LETTER CLXXIX.

MONK, in these summer months, has a desultory kind of Rebellion in the Highlands, Glencairn's or Middleton's Rebellion, to deal with; and is vigorously coercing and strangling it. Colonel Alured, an able officer,

* Noble, i. 330: Harris, p. 515:—one of the Pusey Letters.

1 True Narrative of the Causes of the Lord General Cromwell's anger and indignation against Lieutenant-Colonel George Joyce: reprinted (without date) in *Harleian Miscellany*, v 557, &c.—"Joyce is *in* Jail," 19 Sept. 1653 (Thurloe, i. 470).

but given to Anabaptist notions, has been sent into Ulster to bring over certain forces to assist Monk. His loose tongue, we find, has disclosed designs or dispositions in him which seem questionable. The Lord Protector sees good to revoke his Commission to Alured, and order him up to Town.

'*To the Lord Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland: These.*'

SIR, 'Whitehall,' 16th May, 1654.

By the Letter I received from you, and by the information of the Captain you sent to me, I am sufficiently satisfied of the evil intentions of Colonel Alured; and by some other considerations amongst ourselves, tending to the making up a just suspicion,—by the advice of friends here, I do revoke Colonel Alured from that Employment.

Wherefore I desire you to send for him to return to you to Dublin; and that you cause him to deliver up the Instructions and Authorities into your hands, which he hath in reference to that Business; as also such monies and accounts concerning the same,—according to the Letter, herein enclosed, directed to him, which I entreat you to deliver when he comes to you.

I desire 'you' also, to the end the Service may not be neglected, nor 'for' one day stand, it being of so great concernment, To employ some able Officer to assist in Colonel Alured's room, until the men be shipped off for their design. We purpose also, God willing, to send one very speedily who, we trust, shall meet them at the place, to command in chief. As for provision of victual and other necessaries, we shall hasten them away; desiring that these Forces may by no means stay in Ireland; because we purpose they shall meet their provision in the place they are designed 'for.'

If any farther discovery be with you about any other passages on Colonel Alured's part, I pray examine them, and speed them to us; and send Colonel Alured over hither with the first opportunity. Not having more upon this subject at present,

I rest,

Your loving father,

OLIVER P.

'P.S.' I desire you that the Officer, whom you appoint to assist the shipping of the Forces, may have the money in Colonel Alured's hands, for carrying on the Service; and also that he may have what remains at Carrickfergus for the Commander-in-chief, who shall call for it there.*

This is the Enclosure, above spoken of:

LETTER CLXXX.

'*To Colonel Alured: These.*'

SIR, 16th May, 1654.

I desire you to deliver up into the hands of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood such Authorities and Instructions as you had for the prosecution of the Business of the Highlands in Scotland; and 'that' forthwith repair to me to London; the reason whereof you shall

* Thurloe, ii. 285.

know when you come hither, which I would have you do with all speed. I would have you also give an account to the Lieutenant-General, before you come away, how far you have proceeded in this Service, and what money you have in your hands, which you are to leave with him.

I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

This Colonel Alured is one of several Yorkshire Alureds somewhat conspicuous in these wars; whom we take to be Nephews or Sons of the valuable Mr. Alured or Ald'red who wrote "to old Mr. Chamberlain," —in the last generation, one morning, during the Parliament of 1628, when certain honourable Gentlemen held their Speaker down,—a Letter which we thankfully read.[1] One of them, John, was Member in this Long Parliament; a Colonel too, and King's Judge; who is now dead. Here is another, Colonel Matthew Alured, a distinguished soldier and republican; who is not dead; but whose career of usefulness is here ended. "Repairing forthwith to London," to the vigilant Lord Protector, he gives what account he can of himself; none that will hold water, I perceive; lingers long under a kind of arrest "at the Mews" or elsewhere; soliciting either freedom and renewed favour, or a fair trial and punishment; gets at length committal to the Tower, trial by Court Martial,—dismissal from the service.[2] A fate like that of several others in a similar case to his.—Poor Alured! But what could be done with him? He had Republican Anabaptist notions; he had discontents, enthusiasms, which might even ripen into tendencies to correspond with Charles Stuart. Who knows if putting him in a stone waistcoat, and general strait-waistcoat of a mild form, was not the mercifullest course that could be taken with him?

He must stand here as the representative to us of one of the fatallest elements in the new Lord Protector's position: the Republican discontents and tendencies to plot, fermenting in his own Army. Of which we shall perhaps find elsewhere room to say another word. Republican Overton, Milton's friend, whom we have known at Hull and elsewhere; Okey, the fierce dragoon Colonel, and zealous Anabaptist; Alured whom we see here; Ludlow sitting sulky in Ireland: all these are already summoned up, or about being summoned, to give account of themselves. Honourable, brave and faithful men: it is, as Oliver often says, the saddest thought of his heart that he must have old friends like them for enemies! But he cannot help it; they will have it so. They must go their way, he his.

Much need of vigilance in this Protector! Directly on the back of these Republican commotions, come out Royalist ones; with which, however, the Protector is less straitened to deal. Lord Deputy Fleetwood has not yet received his Letter at Dublin, when here in London emerges a Royalist Plot; the first of any gravity; known in the old Books and State-Trials as *Vowel and Gerard's Plot* or *Somerset Fox's Plot.* Plot for assassinating the Protector as usual. Easy to do it, as

* Thurloe, ii. 286.

[1] Vol. i. p. 47. *et seq.*

[2] Whitlocke, pp. 499, 510; Thurloe, ii. 294, 313, 414; Burton's Diary (London, 1828), iii. 46; Commons Journals, vii. 678.

he goes to Hampton Court on a Saturday,—Saturday the 20th of May, for example. Provide thirty stout men; and do it then. Gerard, a young Royalist Gentleman, connected with Royalist Colonels afterwards Earls of Macclesfield,—he will provide Five-and-twenty; some Major Henshaw, Colonel Finch, or I know not who, shall bring the other Five. "Vowel a Schoolmaster at Islington, who taught many young gentlemen," strong for Church and King, cannot act in the way of shooting; busies himself consulting, and providing arms. "Billingsley the Butcher in Smithfield," he, aided by Vowel, could easily "seize the Troopers' horses grazing in Islington fields;" while others of us unawares fall upon the soldiers at the Mews? Easy then to proclaim King Charles in the City; after which Prince Rupert arriving with "Ten-thousand Irish, English and French," and all the Royalists rising,—the King should have his own again, and we were all made men; and Oliver once well killed, the Commonwealth itself were as good as dead! Saturday the 20th of May; then, say our Paris expresses, then!—

Alas, in the very birthtime of the hour, "five of the Conspirators are seized in their beds;" Gerard, Vowel, all the leaders are seized; Somerset Fox confesses for his life; whosoever is guilty can be seized; and the Plot is like water spilt upon the ground![1] A High Court of Justice must decide upon it; and with Gerard and Vowel it will probably go hard.

LETTER CLXXXI.

REFERS to a small private or civic matter: the Vicarage of Christ-Church, Newgate Street, the patronage of which belongs to "the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of London as Governors of the Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew" ever since Henry the Eighth's time.[2] The former incumbent, it would seem, had been removed by the Council of State; some Presbyterian probably, who was not without cause offensive to them. If now the Electors and the State could both agree on Mr. Turner,—it would "silence" several questions, thinks the Lord Protector. Whether they did agree? Who "Mr. Turner," of such "repute for piety and learning," was? These are questions.

To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Rymer, Knight, Lord Mayor of London: These.

MY LORD MAYOR, 'Whitehall,' 5th July, 1654.

It is not my custom now, nor shall be, without some special cause moving, to interpose anything to the hindrance of any in the free course of their presenting persons in the Public Ministry.

But, well considering how much it concerns the public peace, and what an opportunity may be had of promoting the interest of the Gospel, if some eminent and fit person of a pious and peaceable spirit and conversation were placed in Christ-Church,—and though I am not ignorant what interest the State may justly challenge to supply the place, which by an Order of State is become void, notwithstanding any resignation that is made:

[1] See Appendix, No. 14.
[2] Elmes's Topographical Dictionary of London, *in voce*.

Yet forasmuch as your Lordship and the rest of the Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital are about to present thereunto a person of known nobility and integrity before you, namely Mr. Turner, I am contented, if you think good so to improve the present opportunity as to present him to the place, 'and thus' to have all other questions silenced; —which will not alone be the fruit thereof; but I believe also the true good of the Parish therein concerned will be thereby much farthered. I rest,

Your assured friend,
OLIVER P.

'P.S.' I can assure you few men of his time in England have a better repute for piety and learning than Mr. Turner.*

I am apt to think the Mr. Turner in question may have been Jerom Turner, of whom there is record in Wood:[1] a Somersetshire man, distinguished among the Puritans; who takes refuge in Southampton, and preaches with zeal, learning, piety and general approbation during the Wars there. He afterwards removed "to Neitherbury, a great country Parish in Dorsetshire," and continued there, "doing good in his zealous way." If this were he, the Election did not take effect according to Oliver's program;—perhaps Jerom himself declined it? He died, still at Neitherbury, next year; hardly yet past middle age. "He had a strong memory, which he maintained good to the last by temperance," says old Antony: "He was well skilled in Greek and Hebrew, was a fluent preacher, but too much addicted to Calvinism,"—which is to be regretted. "*Pastor vigilantissimus, doctrinâ et pietate insignis:*" so has his Medical Man characterised him; one "Dr. Loss of Dorchester," who kept a Note-book in those days. *Requiescat, requiescant.*

The High Court of Justice has sat upon Vowel and Gerard; found them both guilty of High Treason: they lie under sentence of death, while this Letter is a-writing; are executed five days hence, 10th July, 1654; and make an edifying end.[2] Vowel was hanged at Charing Cross in the morning; strong for Church and King. The poor young Gerard, being of gentle blood and a soldier, petitioned to have beheading; and had it, the same evening, in the Tower. So ends Plot First. Other Royalists, Plotters or suspect of Plotting,—Ashburnham, who rode with poor Charles First to the Isle of Wight on a past occasion; Sir Richard Willis, who, I think, will be useful to Oliver by and by,—these and a list of others[3] were imprisoned; were questioned, dismissed; and the Assassin Project is rather cowed down for a while.

Writs for the New Parliament are out, and much electioneering interest over England: but there is still an anecdote connected with this poor Gerard and the 10th of July, detailed at great length in the old Books, which requires to be mentioned here. About an hour after

* Lansdowne MSS. 1236, fol. 104. The Signature alone of the Letter is Oliver's; but he has added the Postscript in his own hand.

[1] Athenæ, iii. 404.

[2] State Trials (London, 1810), v. 516-39.

[3] Newspapers, 1-8 June, 1654 (in Cromwelliana, p. 143).

Gerard, there died, in the same place, by the same judicial axe, a Portuguese Nobleman, Don Pantaleon Sa, whose story, before this tragic end of it, was already somewhat twisted up with Gerard's. To wit, on the 23rd of November last this same young Major Gerard was walking in the crowd of Exeter 'Change, when Don Pantaleon, Brother of the Portuguese Ambassador, chanced also to be. Some jostling of words, followed by drawing of rapiers, took place between them; wherein as Don Pantaleon had rather the worse, he hurried home to the Portuguese Embassy; armed some twenty of his followers, in headpieces, breastpieces, with sword and pistol, and returned to seek revenge. Gerard was gone; but another man, whom they took for him, these rash Portugals slew there; and had to be repressed, after much other riot, and laid in custody, by the watch or soldiery. Assize-trial, in consequence, for Don Pantaleon; clear Trial in the "Upper Bench Court," jury half foreigners; and rigorous sentence of death;—much to Don Pantaleon's amazement, who pleaded and got his Brother to plead the rights of Ambassadors, all manner of rights and considerations; all to no purpose. The Lord Protector would not and could not step between a murderer and the Law: poor Don Pantaleon perished on the same block with Gerard; two Tragedies, once already in contact, had their fifth-act together. Don Pantaleon's Brother, all sorrow and solicitation being fruitless, signed the Portuguese Treaty that very day, and instantly departed for his own country, with such thoughts as we may figure.[1]

SPEECH II.

BUT now the new Parliament has got itself elected; not without much interest:—the first Election there has been in England for fourteen years past. Parliament of Four-hundred, thirty Scotch, thirty Irish; freely chosen according to the Instrument, according to the Bill that was in progress when the Rump disappeared. What it will say to these late inarticulate births of Providence, and high transactions? Something edifying, one may hope.

Open Malignants, as we know, could not vote or be voted for, to this Parliament; only active Puritans or quiet Neutrals, who had clear property to the value of 200*l.* Probably as fair a Representative as, by the rude method of counting heads, could well be got in England. The bulk of it, I suppose, consists of constitutional Presbyterians and use-and-wont Neutrals; it well represents the arithmetical account of heads in England: whether the real divine and human value of thinking-souls in England,—that is a much deeper question; upon which the Protector and this First Parliament of his may much disagree. It is the question of questions, nevertheless; and he that can answer it best will come best off in the long-run. It was not a successful Parliament this, as we shall find. The Lord Protector and it differed widely in certain fundamental notions they had!—

We recognise old faces, in fair proportion, among those Four-hundred;—many new withal, who never become known to us. Learned Bulstrode, now safe home from perils in Hyperborean countries, is

[1] Whitlocke, pp. 550, 537.

here; elected for several places, the truly valuable man. Old-Speaker Lenthall sits, old Major-General Skippon, old Sir William Masham, old Sir Francis Rouse. My Lord Herbert (Earl of Worcester's son) is here; Owen, Doctor of Divinity, for Oxford University;—a certain not entirely useless Guibon Goddard, for the Town of Lynn, to whom we owe some Notes of the procedure. Leading Officers and high Official persons have been extensively elected; several of them twice and thrice: Fleetwood, Lambert, the Claypoles, Dunches, both the young Cromwells; Montague for his County, Ashley Cooper for his. On the other hand, my Lord Fairfax is here; nay Bradshaw, Haselrig, Robert Wallop, Wildman, and Republicans are here. Old Sir Harry Vane: not young Sir Harry, who sits meditative in the North. Of Scotch members we mention only Laird Swinton, and the Earl of Hartfell; of the Irish, Lord Broghill and Commissary-General Reynolds, whom we once saw fighting well in that country.[1]—And now hear the authentic Bulstrode; and then the Protector himself.

"*September 3d*, 1654.—The Lord's day, yet the day of the Parliament's meeting. The Members met in the afternoon at sermon, in the Abbey Church at Westminster: after sermon they attended the Protector in the Painted Chamber; who made a Speech to them of the cause of their summons," Speech unreported; "after which, they went to the House, and adjourned to the next morning.

"*Monday, September 4th.*—The Protector rode in state from Whitehall to the Abbey Church in Westminster. Some hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers went before him bare; with the Life-Guard; and next before the coach, his pages and laqueys richly clothed. On the one side of his coach went Strickland, one of his Council, and Captain of his Guard, with the Master of the Ceremonies; both on foot. On the other side went Howard,[2] Captain of the Life-guard. In the coach with him were his son Henry, and Lambert; both sat bare. After him came Claypole, Master of the Horse; with a gallant led horse richly trapped. Next came the Commissioners of the Great Seal," Lisle, Widdrington, and I: "Commissioners of the Treasury, and divers of the Council in coaches; last the ordinary Guards.

"He alighting at the Abbey Church door," and entering, "the Officers of the Army and the Gentlemen went first; next them four maces; then the Commissioners of the Seal, Whitlocke carrying the purse; after, Lambert carrying the Sword bare: the rest followed. His Highness was seated over against the Pulpit; the Members of the Parliament on both sides.

"After the sermon, which was preached by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, his Highness went, in the same equipage, to the Painted Chamber. Where he took seat in a chair of state set upon steps," raised chair with a canopy over it, under which his Highness sat covered, "and the Members upon benches round about sat all bare. All being silent, his Highness," rising, "put off his hat, and made a large and subtle speech to them."[3]

Here is a Report of the Speech, "taken by one who stood very near,"

[1] Letter LXXII. vol. i. p. 242.
[2] Colonel Charles, ancestor of the Earl of Carlisle.
[3] Whitlocke, p. 582.

and "published[1] to prevent mistakes." As we, again, stand at some distance,—two centuries with their chasms and ruins,—our hearing is nothing like so good! To help a little, I have, with reluctance, admitted from the latest of the Commentators a few annotations; and intercalated them the best I could; suppressing very many. Let us listen well; and again we shall understand somewhat.

GENTLEMEN,

You are met here on the greatest occasion that, I believe, England ever saw; having upon your shoulders the Interests of Three great Nations with the territories belonging to them;—and truly, I believe I may say it without any hyperbole, you have upon your shoulders the Interest of all the Christian People in the world. And the expectation is, that I should let you know, as far as I have cognisance of it, the occasion of your assembling together at this time.

It hath been very well hinted to you this day,[2] that you come hither to settle the Interests above mentioned: for your work here, in the issue and consequences of it *will* extend so far, 'even to all Christian people.' In the way and manner of my speaking to you, I shall study plainness; and to speak to you what is truth, and what is upon my heart, and what will in some measure reach to these great concernments.

After so many changings and turnings, which this Nation hath laboured under,—to have such a day of hope as this is, and such a door of hope opened by God to us, truly I believe, some months since, would have been beyond all our thoughts!—I confess it would have been worthy of such a meeting as this is, To have remembered[3] that which was the rise 'of,' and gave the first beginning to all these Troubles which have been upon this Nation: and to have given you a series of the Transactions,—not of men, but of the Providence of God, all along unto our late changes: as also the ground of our first undertaking to oppose that usurpation and tyranny[4] which was upon us, both in civils and spirituals; and the several grounds particularly applicable to the several changes that have been. But I have two or three reasons which divert me from such a way of proceeding at this time.

If I should have gone in that way, 'then' that which lies upon my heart 'as to these things,'—which is 'so' written there that if I would blot it out I could not,—would 'itself' have spent this day: the providences and dispensations of God have been so stupendous. As David said in the like case, *Psalm* xl. 5, "Many, O Lord my God, are thy wonderful works which thou hast done, and thy thoughts which are to us-ward: they cannot be reckoned up in order unto thee: if I would declare and speak of them, they are more than can be numbered."—Truly, another reason, unexpected by me, you had to-day in the Sermon:[5] you had much recapitulation of Providence; much allusion to a

[1] By G. Sawbridge, at the *Bible* on Ludgate Hill, London, 1654.
[2] in the Sermon we have just heard.
[3] commemorated.
[4] Of Charles, Wentworth, Laud and Company.
[5] This Sermon of Goodwin's is not in the collected Edition of his Works; not among the King's Pamphlets; not in the Bodleian Library. We gather what the subject was, from this Speech, and know nothing of it otherwise.

state and dispensation in respect of discipline and correction, of mercies and deliverances, 'to a state and dispensation similar to ours,'—to, in truth, the only parallel of God's dealing with us that I know in the world, which was largely and wisely held forth to you this day: To Israel's bringing out of Egypt through a wilderness by many signs and wonders, towards a Place of Rest,—I say *towards* it[1]. And that having been so well remonstrated to you this day, is another argument why I shall not trouble you with a recapitulation of those things;—though they are things which I hope will never be forgotten, because written in better Books than those of paper;—written, I am persuaded, in the heart of every good man!

'But' a third reason was this: What I judge to be the end of your meeting, the great end, which was likewise remembered to you this day;[2] to wit, Healing and Settling. The remembering of Transactions too particularly, perhaps instead of healing,—at least in the hearts of many of you,—might set the wound fresh a-bleeding. 'And' I must profess this unto you, whatever thoughts pass upon me: That if this day, if this meeting, prove *not* healing, what shall we do? But, as I said before, I trust it is in the minds of you all, and much more in the mind of God, to cause healing. It must be first in His mind:—and He being pleased to put it into yours, this will be a Day indeed, and such a Day as generations to come will bless you for!—I say, for this and the other reasons, I have forborne to make a particular remembrance and enumeration of things, and of the manner of the Lord's bringing us through so many changes and turnings as have passed upon us.

Howbeit, I think it will be more than necessary to let you know, at least so well as I may, in what condition this Nation, or rather these Nations were, when the present Government[3] was undertaken. And for order's sake: It's very natural to consider what our condition was, in Civils; 'and then also' in Spirituals.

What was our condition? Every man's hand almost was against his brother;—at least his heart 'was;' little regarding anything that should cement, and might have a tendency in it to cause us to grow into one. All the dispensations of God; His terrible ones, when He met us in the way of His judgment[4] in a Ten-years Civil War; and His merciful ones: they did not, they did not work upon us![5] 'No.' But we had our humours and interests;—and indeed I fear our humours went for more with us than even our interests. Certainly, as it falls out in such cases, our passions were more than our judgments.—Was not everything almost grown arbitrary? Who of us knew where or how to have right 'done him,' without some obstruction or other intervening? Indeed we were almost grown arbitrary in everything.

What was the face that was upon our affairs as to the Interest of the Nation? As to the Authority in the Nation; to the Magistracy; to the Ranks and Orders of men,—whereby England hath been known for hundreds of years? [*The Levellers!*]. A nobleman, a gentleman, a

[1] not yet at it; *nota bene.*
[2] in the Sermon.
[3] Protectorate.
[4] punishment for our sins.
[5] Reiteration of the word is not an uncommon mode of emphasis with Oliver.

eoman ; 'the distinction of these :' that is a good interest of the Nation, and a great one ! The 'natural' Magistracy of the Nation, was it not almost trampled under foot, under despite and contempt, by men of Levelling principles ? I beseech you, for the orders of men and ranks of men, did not that Levelling principle tend to the reducing of all to an equality ? Did it 'consciously" think to do so ; or did it 'only unconsciously' practice towards that for property and interest ? 'At all events,' what was the purport of it but to make the Tenant as liberal a fortune as the landlord ? Which, I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long ! The men of that principle, after they had served their own turns, would *then* have cried up property and interest fast enough !—This instance is instead of many. And that the thing did 'and might well' extend far, is manifest ; because it was a pleasing voice to all Poor Men, and truly not unwelcome to all Bad Men. [*Far extended classes, these two both.*] To my thinking, this is a consideration which, in your endeavours after settlement, you will be so well minded of, that I might have spared it here : but let that pass.—

'Now as to spirituals.' Indeed in Spiritual things the case was more sad and deplorable 'still ;'—and that was told to you this day eminently. The prodigious blasphemies ; contempt of God and Christ, denying of Him, contempt of Him and His ordinances, and of the Scriptures : a spirit visibly acting [1] those things foretold by Peter and Jude ; yea those things spoken of by Paul to Timothy ! Paul declaring some things to be worse than the Antichristian state (of which he had spoken in the *First to Timothy*, Chapter fourth, verses first and second, 'under the title of the Latter times'), tells us what should be the lot and portion of the *Last* Times. He says (*Second to Timothy*, Chapter third, verses second, third, fourth), "In the Last Days perillous times shall come ; men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful," and so on. But in speaking of the Antichristian state, he told us (*First to Timothy*, Chapter fourth, verses first and second), that "in the *latter* days" that state shall come in ; 'not the *last* days but the latter,'—wherein "there shall be a departing from the faith, and a giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy," and so on. This is only his description of the *latter* times, or those of Antichrist ; and we are given to understand that there are *last* times coming, which will be worse ! [2] And surely it may be feared, these are *our* times. For when

[1] a general temper visibly bringing out in practice.

[2] There is no express mention of Antichrist either here or elsewhere in the Text of *Timothy* at all ; but, I conclude, a full conviction on the part of Cromwell and all sound Commentators that Antichrist is indubitably shadowed forth there. Antichrist means, with them and him, the Pope ; to whom Laud, &c., with his "four surplices at Allhallowtide" and other clothweb and cobweb furniture, are of kindred. "We have got rid of Antichrist," he seems to intimate, "we have got pretty well done with Antichrist : and are we now coming to something *worse* ? To the Levellers, namely ! The *Latter* times are over, then ; and we are coming now into the *Last* times ?" It is on this contrast of comparative and superlative, *Latter* and *Last*, that Oliver's logic seems to ground itself : Paul says nothing of Antichrist, nor anything directly of the one time being worse or better than the other ; only the one time is "latter," the other is "last." This paragraph is not important ; but to gain any meaning from it whatever, some small changes have been necessary. I do not encumber the reader with *double* samples of what at best is grown obsolete to him : such as wish to see the original unadulterated unintelligibility, will find it, in clear print, p. 321, vol. xx. of *Parliamentary History*, and satisfy themselves whether I have read well or ill.

men forget all rules of Law and Nature, and break all the bonds that fallen man hath on him ; 'obscuring' the remainder of the image of God in their nature, which they cannot blot out, and yet shall endeavour to blot out, "having a form of godliness without the power,"—'surely' these are sad tokens of the last times !

And indeed the character wherewith this spirit and principle is described in that place 'of Scripture,' is so legible and visible, that he who runs may read it to be amongst us. For by such "the grace of God is turned into wantonness," and Christ and the Spirit of God made a cloak for all villany and spurious apprehensions. [*Threatening to go a strange course, those Antinomian, Levelling, day-dreaming Delusionists of ours!*] And though nobody will own these things publicly as to practice, the things being so abominable and odious ; yet 'the consideration' how this principle extends itself, and whence it had its rise, makes me to think of a Second sort of Men, 'tending in the same direction ;' who, it's true, as I said, will not practice nor own these things, yet can tell the Magistrate "That he hath nothing to do with men holding such notions : These, 'forsooth,' are matters of conscience and opinion : they are matters of Religion ; what hath the Magistrate to do with these things? He is to look to the outward man, not to the inward,"—'and so forth.' And truly it so happens that though these things do break out visibly to all, yet the principle wherewith these things are carried on so forbids the Magistrate to meddle with them, that it hath hitherto kept the offenders from punishment.[1]

Such considerations, and pretensions to "liberty of conscience," 'what are they leading us towards !' Liberty of Conscience, and Liberty of the Subject,—two as glorious things to be contended for, as any that God hath given us ; yet both these abused for the patronising of villanies ! Insomuch that it hath been an ordinary thing to say, and in dispute to affirm, "That the restraining of such pernicious notions was not in the Magistrate's power ; he had nothing to do with it. Not so much as the printing of a Bible in the Nation for the use of the People, 'was competent to the Magistrate,' lest it should be imposed upon the consciences of men,"—for "they would receive the same traditionally and implicitly from the Magistrate, if it were thus received !" The afore-mentioned abominations did thus swell to this height among us.

'So likewise' the axe was laid to the root of the Ministry.[2] It was Antichristian, it was Babylonish, 'said they.' It suffered under such a judgment, that the truth is, as the extremity was great according to the former system,[3] I wish it prove not as great according to this. The former extremity 'we suffered under' was, That no man, though he had never so good a testimony, though he had received gifts from Christ, might preach, unless ordained. So now 'I think we are at the other

[1] The latest of the Commentators says : "This drossy paragraph has not much Political Philosophy in it, according to our modern established Litany of 'toleration,' 'freedom of opinion,' 'no man responsible for what opinions he may form,' &c., &c. ; but it has some honest human sagacity in it, of a much more perennial and valuable character. Worth looking back upon, worth looking up towards,—as the blue skies and stars might be, if through the great deep element of 'temporary London Fog' there were any chance of seeing them !—Strange exhalations have risen upon us, and the Fog is very deep : nevertheless very indubitably the stars still *are*."

[2] Preaching Clergy.

[3] "on that hand" *in orig.* He alludes to the Presbyterian system.

extremity, when ' many affirm, That he who is ordained hath a nullity, or Antichristianism, stamped 'thereby' upon his calling; so that he ought not to preach, or not be heard.—I wish it may not be too justly said, That there was severity and sharpness 'in our old system!' Yea, too much of an imposing spirit in matters of conscience; a spirit Unchristian enough in any times, most unfit for these 'times;'—denying liberty 'of conscience' to men who have earned it with their blood; who have earned civil liberty, and religious also, for those [*Stifled murmurs from the Presbyterian Sect.*] who would thus impose upon them!—

We may reckon, among these our Spiritual evils, an evil that hath more refinedness in it, more colour for it, and hath deceived more people of integrity than the rest have done;—for few have been catched by the former mistakes except such as have apostatised from their holy profession, such as being corrupt in their consciences have been forsaken by God, and left to such noisome opinions. But, I say, there is another error of more refined sort; 'which' many honest people whose hearts are sincere, many of them belonging to God, 'have fallen into:' and that is the mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy—

[Yes, your Highness!—But will his Highness and the old Parliament be pleased here to pause a little, till a faithful Editor take the great liberty of explaining somewhat to the modern part of the audience? Here is a Note saved from destruction; not without difficulty. To his Highness and the old Parliament it will be inaudible; to them, standing very impassive,—serene, immovable in the fixedness of the old Eternities,—it will be no hardship to wait a little! And to us who still live and listen, it may have its uses.

"The common mode of treating Universal History," says our latest impatient Commentator, "not yet entirely fallen obsolete in this country, though it has been abandoned with much ridicule everywhere else for half a century now, was to group the Aggregate Transactions of the Human Species into Four Monarchies: the Assyrian Monarchy of Nebuchadnezzar and Company; the Persian of Cyrus and ditto; the Greek of Alexander; and lastly the Roman. These I think were they, but am no great authority on the subject. Under the dregs of this last, or Roman Empire which is maintained yet by express name in Germany, *Das heilige Römische Reich*, we poor moderns still live. But now say Major-General Harrison and a number of men, founding on Bible Prophecies, Now shall be a Fifth Monarchy,—by far the blessedest and the only real one, the Monarchy of Jesus Christ, his Saints reigning for him here on Earth,—if not he himself, which is probable or possible,—for a thousand years, &c. &c.— —O Heavens, there are tears for human destiny; and immortal Hope itself is beautiful because it is steeped in Sorrow, and foolish Desire lies vanquished under its feet! They who merely laugh at Harrison take but a small portion of his meaning with them. Thou, with some tear for the valiant Harrison, if with any thought of him at all, tend thou also valiantly, in thy day and generation, whither he was tending; and know that, in far wider and diviner figure than that of Harrison, the Prophecy is very sure. that it

shall be sure while one brave man survives among the dim bewildered populations of this world. Good shall reign on this Earth : has *not* the Most High said it ? To approve Harrison, to justify Harrison, will avail little for thee ; go and *do likewise*. Go and do better, thou that disapprovest him. Spend thou thy life for the Eternal ; we will call thee also brave, and remember thee for awhile ! "

So much for " that mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy : " and now his Highness, tragically audible across the Centuries, continues again :]

--Fifth Monarchy. A thing pretending more spirituality than anything else. A notion I hope we all honour, and wait, and hope for 'the fulfilment of :' That Jesus Christ *will* have a time to set up His Reign in our hearts ; by subduing those corruptions and lusts and evils that are there ; which now reign more in the world than, I hope, in due time they shall do. And when more fullness of the spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity, and bring in everlasting righteousness, then will the approach of that glory be. [*Most true ;—and not till then !*] The carnal divisions and contentions among Christians, so common, are not the symptoms of that Kingdom !—But for men, on this principle, to betitle themselves, that they are the only men to rule kingdoms, govern nations, and give laws to people, and determine of property and liberty and everything else,—upon such a pretension as this is :—truly they had need 'to' give clear manifestations of God's presence with them, before wise men will receive or submit to their conclusions ! Nevertheless, as many of these men have good meanings, which I hope in my soul they have, it will be the wisdom of all knowing and experienced Christians to do as Jude saith. 'Jude,' when he reckoned up those horrible things, done upon pretences, and haply by some upon mistakes : " Of some," says he, " have compassion, making a difference ; others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire."[1] I fear they will give too often opportunity for this exercise ! But I hope the same will be for their good. If men do but 'so much as' pretend for justice and righteousness, and be of peaceable spirits, and will manifest this, let them be the subjects of the Magistrate's encouragement. And if the Magistrate, by punishing visible miscarriages, save them by that discipline, God having ordained him for that end,—I hope it will evidence *love* and not hatred, 'so' to punish where there is cause. [*Hear !*]

Indeed this is that which doth most declare the danger[2] of that spirit. For if these were but notions,—I mean these instances I have given you of dangerous doctrines both in Civil things and Spiritual ; if, I say, they were but notions, they were best let alone. Notions will hurt none but those that have them. But when they come so such practices as telling us, 'for instance,' That Liberty and Property are not the badges of the Kingdom of Christ ; when they tell us, not that we are to regulate Law, but that Law is to be abrogated, indeed subverted ; and perhaps wish to bring in the Judaical Law.—

[Latest commentator *loquitur* : "This, as we observed, was the cry that

[1] Jude, 22, 23. A passage his Highness frequently refers to.

[2] This fact, that they come so often to " visible miscarriages," these Fifth-Monarchists and Speculative Levellers, who " have good meanings."

Westminster raised when the Little Parliament set about reforming Chancery. What countenance this of the Mosaic Law might have had from Harrison and his minority, one does not know. Probably they did find the Mosaic Law, in some of its enactments, more cognate to Eternal Justice and 'the mind of God' than Westminster-Hall Law was; and so might reproachfully or admonitorily appeal to it on occasion, as they had the clearest title and call to do: but the clamour itself, as significant of any practical intention, on the part of that Parliament, or of any considerable Sect in England, to bring in the Mosaic Law, is very clearly a long-wigged one, rising from the Chancery regions, and is descriptive of nothing but of the humour that prevailed there. His Highness alludes to it in passing; and from him it was hardly worth even that allusion."]

—Judaical Law; instead of our known laws settled among us: this is worthy of every Magistrate's consideration. Especially where every stone is turned to bring in confusion. I think, I say, this will be worthy of the Magistrate's consideration. [*Shall he step beyond his province, then, your Highness? And interfere with freedom of opinion?—"I think, I say, it will be worth his while to consider about it!"*]

Whilst these things were in the midst of us; and whilst the Nation was rent and torn in spirit and principle from one end to the other, after this sort and manner I have now told you; family against family, husband against wife, parents against children; and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but, "Overturn, overturn, overturn!" (a Scripture phrase very much abused, and applied to justify unpeaceable practices by all men of discontented spirits),—the common Enemy sleeps not: our adversaries in civil and religious respects did take advantage of these distractions and divisions, and did practise accordingly in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland. We know very well that Emissaries of the Jesuists never came in such swarms as they have done since those things[1] were set on foot. And I tell you that divers Gentlemen here can bear witness with me How that they, 'the Jesuits,' have had a Consistory abroad which rules all the affairs of things ["*Affairs of things:*" *rough and ready!*] in England, from an Archbishop down to the other dependents upon him. And they had fixed in England,—of which we are able to produce the particular Instruments in most of the limits of their Cathedrals 'or pretended Dioceses,'—an Episcopal Power [*Regular Episcopacy of their own!*], with Archdeacons, &c. And had persons authorised to exercise and distribute those things [*I begin to love that rough and ready method, in comparison with some others!*]; who pervert and deceive the people. And all this, while we were in that sad, and as I said deplorable condition.

And in the mean time all endeavours possible were used to hinder the work 'of God' in Ireland, and the progress of the work of God in Scotland; by continual intelligences and correspondences, both at home and abroad, from hence into Ireland, and from hence into Scotland.[2] Persons were stirred up, from our divisions and discomposure of affairs,

[1] Speculations of the Levellers, Fifth-Monarchists, &c., &c.
[2] Middleton-Glencairn Revolts, and what not.

to do all they could to ferment the War in both these places. To add yet to our misery, whilst we were in this condition, we were in a 'foreign' War. Deeply engaged in War with the Portuguese;[1] whereby our Trade ceased: the evil consequences by that War were manifest and very considerable. And not only this, but we had a War with Holland; consuming our treasure; occasioning a vast burden upon the people. A War that cost this Nation full as much as the 'whole' Taxes came unto; the Navy being a Hundred-and-sixty Ships, which cost this Nation above 100,000*l.* a-month; besides the contingencies, which would make it 120,000*l.* That very one War (*sic*) did engage us to so great a charge. —At the same time also we were in a War with France. [*A Bickering and Skirmishing, and Liability to War;*[2]*— Mazarin, as yet, thinking our side the weaker.*] The advantages that were taken of the discontents and divisions among ourselves did also ferment that War, and at least hinder us of an honourable peace; every man being confident we could not hold out long. And surely they did not calculate amiss, if the Lord had not been exceedingly gracious to us! I say, at the same time we had a War with France. [*Yes, your Highness said so,—and we admit it!*] And besides the suffering in respect to the Trade of the Nation, it's most evident that the Purse of the Nation could not have been able much longer to bear it,—by reason of the advantages taken by other States to improve their own, and spoil our Manufacture of Cloth, and hinder the vent thereof; which is the great staple commodity of this Nation. [*And has continued to be!*] Such was our condition: spoiled in our Trade, and we at this vast expense; thus dissettled at home, and having these engagements abroad.

Things being so,—and I am persuaded it is not hard to convince every person here they were so,—what a heap of confusions were upon these poor Nations! And either things must have been left to sink into the miseries these premises would suppose, or else a remedy must be applied. [*Apparently!*] A remedy hath been applied: that hath been this Government;[3] a thing I shall say little unto. The thing is open and visible to be seen and read by all men; and therefore let it speak for itself. [*Even so, your Highness; there is a silence prouder and nobler than any speech one is used to hear.*] Only let me say this,—because I can speak it with comfort and confidence before a Greater than you all: That in the intention of it, as to the approving of our hearts to God, let men judge as they please, it was calculated 'with our best wisdom' for the interest of the People. For the interest of the People alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest. And if that be not true [*With animation!*], I shall be bold to say again, Let it speak for itself. Truly I may,—I hope, humbly before God, and modestly before you,—say somewhat on the behalf of the Government. [*Recite a little what it "speaks for itself," after all?*] Not that I would discourse of the particular heads of it, but acquaint you a little with the effects it has

1 Who protected Rupert in his quasi-piracies, and did require chastisement from us.

2 See Appendix, No. 14.

3 He means, and his hearers understand him to mean, "*Form* of Government" mainly; but he diverges now and then into our modern acceptation of the word "Government,"—Administration or Supreme Authority.

had: and this not for ostentation's sake, but to the end I may at this time deal faithfully with you; and acquaint you with the state of things, and what proceedings have been entered into by[1] this Government, and what the state of our affairs is. This is the main end of my putting you to this trouble.

The Government hath had some things in desire; and it hath done some things actually. It hath desired to reform the Laws. I say to reform them [*Hear!*]:—and for that end it hath called together Persons, without offence be it spoken, of as great ability and as great interest as are in these Nations,[2] to consider how the Laws might be made plain and short, and less chargeable to the People; how to lessen expense, for the good of the Nation. And those things are in preparation, and Bills prepared; which in due time, I make no question, will be tendered to you. 'In the meanwhile' there hath been care taken to put the administration of the Laws into the hands of just men [*Matthew Hale, for instance.*]; men of the most known integrity and ability. The Chancery hath been reformed—

[FROM THE MODERNS: "Only to a very small extent and in a very temporary manner, your Highness! His Highness returns upon the Law, on subsequent occasions, and finds the reform of it still a very pressing matter. Difficult to sweep the intricate foul chimneys of Law his Highness found it,—as we after two centuries of new soot and accumulation now acknowledge on all hands, with a sort of silent despair, a silent wonder each one of us to himself, 'What, in God's name, is to become of all that?'"]

—hath been reformed; I hope, to the satisfaction of all good men: and as for the things, 'or causes,' depending there, which made the burden and work of the honourable Persons intrusted in those services too heavy for their ability, it[3] hath referred many of them to those places where Englishmen love to have their rights tried, the Courts of Law at Westminster.

This Government hath, 'farther,' endeavoured to put a stop to that heady way (likewise touched of 'in our Sermon' this day) of every man making himself a Minister and Preacher. [*Commission of Triers; Yea!*] It hath endeavoured to settle a method for the approving and sanctioning of men of piety and ability to discharge that work. And I think I may say it hath committed the business to the trust of Persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgments, of as known ability, piety, and integrity, as any, I believe, this Nation hath. And I believe also that, in that care they have taken, they have laboured to approve themselves to Christ, to the Nation and to their own consciences. And indeed I think, if there be anything of quarrel against them,—though I am not here to justify the proceedings of any,—it is that they 'in fact,' go upon such a character as the Scripture warrants: To put men into that great Employment, and to approve men for it, who are men that have "received gifts from Him that ascended up on high, and gave

[1] "been upon" *in orig.*
[2] Ordinance for the Reform of Chancery: *supra*, p. 522.
[3] The Government.

gifts" for the work of the Ministry, and for the edifying of the Body of Christ. The Government hath also taken care, we hope, for the expulsion [*Commission of Expurgation, too.*] of all those who may be judged any way unfit for this work; who are scandalous, and the common scorn and contempt of that function.

One thing more this Government hath done: it hath been instrumental to call a free Parliament;—which, blessed be God, we see here this day! I say, a free Parliament. [*Mark the iteration!*] And that it may continue so, I hope is in the heart and spirit of every good man in England,—save such discontented persons as I have formerly mentioned. It's that which as I have desired above my live, so I shall desire to keep it above my life. [*Verily?*]

I did before mention to you the plunges we were in with respect to Foreign States; by the War with Portugal, France, the Dutch, the Danes, and the little assurance we had from any of our neighbours round about. I perhaps forgot, but indeed it was a caution upon my mind, and I desire now it may be so understood, That if any good hath been done, it was the Lord, not we His poor instruments.—

[Pity if this pass entirely for "cant," my esteemed modern friends! It is not cant, nor ought to be. O Higginbotham, there is a *Selbstödtung*, a killing of Self, as my friend Novalis calls it, which is, was, and forever will be, "the beginning of all morality," of all real work and worth for man under this Sun.]

—I did instance the Wars; which did exhaust your treasure; and put you into such a condition that you must have sunk therein, if it had continued but a few months longer: this I can affirm, if strong probability may be a fit ground. And now you have, though it be not the first in time,—Peace with Swedeland; an honourable peace; through the endeavours of an honourable Person here present as the instrument. [*Whitlocke seen blushing!*] I say you have an honourable peace with a Kingdom which, not many years since, was much a friend to France, and lately perhaps inclinable enough to the Spaniard. And I believe you expect not much good from any of your Catholic neighbours [*No; we are not exactly their darlings!*]; nor yet that they would be very willing you should have a good understanding with your Protestant friends. Yet, thanks be to God, that peace is concluded; and as I said before, it is an honourable Peace.

You have a Peace with the Danes,—a State that lay contiguous to that part of this Island [*Your Montroses, Middletons came always, with their Mosstroopers and Harpy hosts, out of the Danish quarter.*] which hath given us the most trouble. And certainly if your enemies abroad be able to annoy you, it is likely they will take their advantage (where it best lies) to give you trouble from that country. But you have a Peace there, and an honourable one. Satisfaction to your Merchants' ships; not only to their content, but to their rejoicing.[1] I believe you will easily know it so,—"an honourable peace." You have the Sound open;

[1] "Danish claims settled," as was already said somewhere, "on the 31st of July;" Dutch and English Commissioners did it, in Goldsmiths' Hall: met on the 27th of June; if the business were not done when August began, they were then to be "shut up without fire, candle, meat or drink,"—and to do it out very speedily! They allowed our Merchants 98,000*l.* for damages against the Danes. (Godwin, iv. 49, —who cites Dumont, *Traité* 24).

which used to be obstructed. That which was and is the strength of this Nation, the Shipping, will now be supplied thence. And, whereas you were glad to have anything of that kind [1] at secondhand, you have now all manner of commerce there, and at as much freedom as the Dutch themselves, 'who used to be the carriers and venders of it to us;' and at the same rates and tolls;—and I think, by that Peace, the said rates now fixed upon cannot be raised to you 'in future.'

You have a Peace with the Dutch: a Peace unto which I shall say little, seeing it is so well known in the benefit and consequences thereof. And I think it was as desirable, and as acceptable to the spirit of this Nation, as any one thing that lay before us. And, as I believe nothing so much gratified our enemies as to see us at odds 'with that Commonwealth;' so I persuade myself nothing is of more terror or trouble to them than to see us thus reconciled. 'Truly' as a Peace with the Protestant States hath much security in it, so it hath as much of honour and of assurance to the Protestant Interest abroad; without which no assistance can be given thereunto. I wish it may be written upon our hearts to be zealous for that Interest! For if ever it were like to come under a condition of suffering, it is now. In all the Emperor's Patrimonial Territories, the endeavour is to drive the Protestant part of the people out, as fast as is possible; and they are necessitated to run to Protestant States to seek their bread. And by this conjunction of Interests, I hope, you will be in a more fit capacity to help them. And it begets some reviving of their spirits, that you will help them as opportunity shall serve. [*We will!*]

You have a Peace likewise with the Crown of Portugal; which Peace, though it hung long in hand, yet is lately concluded. It is a Peace which, your Merchants make us believe, is of good concernment to their trade; the rate of insurance to that Country having been higher, and so the profit which could bear such rate,[2] than to other places. And one thing hath been obtained in this treaty, which never 'before' was, since the Inquisition was set up there: That our people which trade thither have Liberty of Conscience,—'liberty to worship in Chapels of their own.'

Indeed Peace is, as you were well told today, desirable with all men, as far as it may be had with conscience and honour! We are upon a Treaty with France. And we may say this, That if God give us honour in the eyes of the Nations about us, we have reason to bless Him for it, and so to own it. And I dare say that there is not a Nation in Europe but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you.

I am sorry I am thus tedious: but I did judge that it was somewhat necessary to acquaint you with these things. And things being so,—I hope you will not be unwilling to hear a little again of the Sharp as well as of the Sweet! And I should not be faithful to you, nor to the interest of these Nations which you and I serve, if I did not let you know *all*.

As I said before, when this Government was undertaken, we were in the midst of those 'domestic' divisions and animosities and scatterings;

[1] Baltic Produce, namely.
[2] "their assurance being greater, and so their profit in trade thither," *in orig.*

engaged also with those 'foreign' enemies round about us, at such a vast charge,—120,000*l.* a-month for the very Fleet. Which sum was the very utmost penny of your Assessments. Ay; and then all your treasure was exhausted and spent when this Government was undertaken: all *accidental* ways of bringing in treasure 'were,' to a very inconsiderable sum, consumed;—the 'forfeited' Lands sold, the sums on hand spent; Rents, Fee-farms, Delinquents' Lands, King's, Queen's, Bishops', Dean-and-Chapters' Lands, sold. These were *spent* when this Government was undertaken. I think it's my duty to let you know so much. And that's the reason why the Taxes do yet lie so heavy upon the People;—of which we have abated 30,000*l.* a-month for the next three months. Truly I thought it my duty to let you know, That, though God hath dealt thus 'bountifully' with you,[1] yet these are but entrances and doors of hope. Whereby, through the blessing of God, you *may* enter into rest and peace. But you are not yet entered! [*Looking up, with a mournful toss of the head, I think.*—"*Ah, no, your Highness; not yet!*"]

You were told, today, of a People brought out of Egypt towards the Land of Canaan; but through unbelief, murmuring, repining, and other temptations and sins wherewith God was provoked, they were fain to come back again, and linger many years in the Wilderness before they came to the Place of Rest. *We* are thus far, through the mercy of God. We have cause to take notice of it, That we are not brought into misery, 'not totally wrecked;' but 'have,' as I said before, a door of hope open. And I may say this to you: If the Lord's blessing and His presence go along with the management of affairs at this Meeting, you will be enabled to put the topstone to the work, and make the Nation happy. But this must be by knowing the true state of affairs! [*Hear!*] You are yet, like the People under Circumcision, but raw.[2] Your Peaces are but newly made. And it's a maxim not to be despised, "Though peace be made, yet it's interest that keeps peace;"—and I hope you will not trust such peace except so far as you see interest upon it. 'But all settlement grows stronger by mere continuance.' And therefore I wish that you may go forward, and not backward; and 'in brief' that you may have the blessing of God upon your endeavours! It's one of the great ends of calling this Parliament, that the Ship of the Commonwealth may be brought into a safe harbour; which, I assure you, it will not be, without your counsel and advice.

You have great works upon your hands. You have Ireland to look unto. There is not much done to the Planting thereof, though some things leading and preparing for it are. It is a great business to settle the Government of that Nation upon fit terms, such as will bear that work[3] through.—You have had laid before you some considerations, intimating your peace with several foreign States. But yet you have not made peace with *all*. And if they should see we do not manage our affairs with that wisdom which becomes us,—truly we may sink under disadvantages, for all that's done. [*Truly, your Highness!*] And our

1 regard to our Successes and Treaties, &c. enumerated above.

2 See in *Joshua*, v. 2-8, the whole Jewish Nation circumcised at once. So, too, your Settlements of Discord are yet but indifferently cicatrised.

3 Of planting Ireland with persons that will plough and pray, instead of quarrel and blarney!

enemies will have their eyes open, and be revived, if they see animosities amongst us; which indeed will be their great advantage.

I do therefore persuade you to a sweet, gracious and holy understanding of one another, and of your business. [*Alas!*] Concerning which you had so good counsel this day; which as it rejoiced my heart to hear, so I hope the Lord will imprint it upon your spirits,—wherein you shall have my Prayers. [*Prayers, your Highness?—If this be not "cant," what a noble thing is it, O reader! Worth thinking of, for a moment.*]

Having said this, and perhaps omitted many other material things through the frailty of my memory, I shall exercise plainness and freeness with you; and say, That I have not spoken these things as one who assumes to himself dominion over you; but as one who doth resolve to be a fellow-servant with you to the interest of these great affairs, and of the People of these Nations. I shall trouble you no longer; but desire you to repair to your House, and to exercise your own liberty in the choice of a Speaker, that so you may lose no time in carrying on your work.

At this Speech, say the old Newspapers, "all generally seemed abundantly to rejoice, by extraordinary expressions and hums at the conclusion,"—Hum-m-m![1] "His Highness withdrew into the Old House of Lords, and the Members of Parliament into the Parliament House. His Highness, so soon as the Parliament were gone to their House, went back to Whitehall, privately in his barge, by water."

This Report of Speech Second, "taken by one that stood near," and "published to prevent mistakes," may be considered as exact enough in respect of matter, but in manner and style it is probably not so close to the Original Deliverance as the foregoing Speech was. He "who stood near" on this occasion seems to have had some conceit in his abilities as a Reporter; has pared off excrescences, peculiarities,—somewhat desirous to present the Portrait of his Highness without the warts. He, or his Parliamentary-History Editor and he, have, for one thing, very arbitrarily divided the Discourse into little fractional paragraphs; which a good deal obstruct the sense here and there; and have accordingly been disregarded in our Transcript. Our changes, which, as before, have been insignificant, are indicated wherever they seem to have importance or physiognomic character,—indicated too often perhaps for the reader's convenience. As to the meaning, I have not anywhere remained in doubt, after due study. The rough Speech when read faithfully becomes transparent, every word of it; credible, calculated to produce conviction, every word of it;—and that I suppose is or should be, as our impatient Commentator says, "the definition of a *good Speech*. Other 'good speeches,'" continues he, "ought to be spoken in Bedlam;—unless, indeed, you will concede them Drury Lane, and admittance one shilling. Spoken in other localities than these, without belief on the speaker's part, or hope or chance of producing belief on the hearer's

* Old Pamphlet cited above: reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 318-33.

[1] Cromwelliana, p. 147; see also Guibon Goddard, Member for Lynn (in *Burton*, i. Introd p. xviii.)

—Ye Heavens, as if the good-speeching individual were some frightful Wood-and-leather Man, made at Nürnberg, and tenanted by a Devil; set to *increase* the Sum of Human madness, instead of lessening it—!" —But we here cut short our impatient Commentator.—The Reporter of Cromwell, we may say for ourselves, like the painter of him, has not to suppress the warts, the natural rugged physiognomy of the man; which only very poor tastes would exchange for any other. He has to wash the natural face *clean*, however; that men may see *it*, and not the opaque mass of mere soot and featureless confusions which, in two Centuries of considerable Stupidity in regard to that matter, have settled there.

SPEECH III

THIS First Protectorate Parliament, we said, was not successful. It chose, judiciously enough, old Lenthall for Speaker; appointed, judiciously enough, a Day of general Fasting:—but took, directly after that, into constitutional debate about Sanctioning the Form of Government (which nobody was specially asking it to "sanction"); about Parliament and Single Person; powers of Single Person and of Parliament; Cöordination, Subordination; and other bottomless subjects;—in which getting always the deeper the more it puddled in them, inquiry or intimation of inquiry rose not obscurely in the distance, Whether this Government should *be* by a Parliament and Single Person? These things the honourable gentlemen, with true industry, debated in Grand Committee, "from eight in the morning till eight at night, with an hour for refreshment about noon," debates waxing ever hotter, question ever more abstruse,—through Friday, Saturday, Monday; ready, if Heaven spared them, to debate it farther for unlimited days. Constitutional Presbyterian persons, Use-and-wont Neuters; not without a spicing of sour Republicans, as Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott, to keep the batch in leaven.

His Highness naturally perceived that this would never do, not this; —sent therefore to the Lord Mayor, late on Monday night I think, to look after the peace of the City; to Speaker Lenthall, that he must bring his people to the Painted Chamber before going farther: and early on Tuesday morning, poor Mr. Guibon Goddard, Member for Lynn, just about to proceed again, from the Eastern parts, towards his sublime constitutional day's-work, is overwhelmed by rumours, "That the Parliament is dissolved; that, for certain, the Council of State, and a Council of War, had sat together all the Sabbath-day before, and had then contrived this Dissolution!"

"Notwithstanding," continues Guibon, "I was resolved to go to Westminster to satisfy myself of the truth; and to take my share of what I should see or learn there. Going by water to Westminster, I was told that the Parliament-doors were locked up, and guarded with soldiers, and that the Barges were to attend the Protector to the Painted Chamber. As I went, I saw two Barges at the Privy Stairs." River and City in considerable emotion. "Being come to the Hall, I was confirmed in what I had heard. Nevertheless I did purpose not to take things merely upon trust; but would receive an actual repulse, to confirm my

faith. Accordingly, I attempted up the Parliament stairs; but a guard of Soldiers was there, who told me, 'There was no passage that way; the House was locked up, and command given to give no admittance to any;—if I were a Member, I might go into the Painted Chamber, where the Protector would presently be.' The Mace had been taken away by Commissary-General Whalley. The Speaker and all the Members were walking up and down the Hall, the Court of Requests, and the Painted Chamber; expecting the Protector's coming. The passages there likewise were guarded with soldiers."[1]

No doubt about it, therefore, my honourable friend! Dissolution, or something, is not far. Between nine and ten, the Protector arrived, with due escort of Officers, halberts, Lifeguards; took his place, covered, under "the state" as before, we all sitting bareheaded on our benches as before; and with fit salutation spake to us;—as follows. "Speech of an hour and a half long;" taken in characters by the former individual who "stood near;" audible still to modern men. Tuesday morning 12th September, 1654; a week and a day since the last Speech here.

In this remarkable Speech, the occasion of which and the Speaker of which are very extraordinary, an assiduous reader, or "modern hearer," will find Historical indications, significant shadowings-forth both of the Protectorate and the Protector; which, considering whence they come, he will not fail to regard as documentary in those matters. Nay perhaps, here for the first time, if he read with real industry, there may begin to paint itself for him, on the void Dryasdust abyss, hitherto called History of Oliver, some dim adumbration of How this business of Assuming the Protectorate may actually have been. It was, many years ago, in reading these Speeches, with a feeling that they must have been credible when spoken, and with a strenuous endeavour to find what their meaning was, and try and believe it, that to the present Editor the Commonwealth, and Puritan Rebellion generally, first began to be conceivable. Such was his experience.

But certainly the Lord Protector's place, that September Tuesday, 1654, is not a bed of roses! His painful asseverations, appeals and assurances have made the Modern part of his audience look, more than once, with questioning eyes. On this point, take from a certain Commentator sometimes above cited from, and far oftener suppressed, the following rough words:

"'Divers persons who do know whether I lie in that,' says the Lord Protector. What a position for a hero, to be reduced continually to say He does not lie!—Consider well, nevertheless, What else could Oliver do? To get on with this new Parliament was clearly his one chance of governing peaceably. To wrap himself up in stern pride, and refuse to give any explanation: would that have been the wise plan of dealing with them? Or the stately and not-so-wise-plan? Alas, the *wise* plan, when all lay yet as an experiment, with so dread issues in it to yourself and the whole world, was not very discoverable. Perhaps not quite reconcilable with the *stately* plan, even if it had been discovered!"

And again, with regard to the scheme of the Protectorship, which his

[1] Ayscough MSS., printed in Burton's *Diary*, i., Introd. p. xxxiii.

Highness says was done by "the Gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government," after divers days consulting, and without the least privity of his: "You never guessed what they were doing, your Highness? Alas, his Highness guessed it,—and yet must not say, or think, he guessed it. There is something sad in a brave man's being reduced to explain himself from a barrel-head in this manner! Yet what, on the whole, will he do? Coriolanus curled his lip, and scowled proudly enough on the sweet voices: but Coriolanus had likewise to go over to the Volscians; Coriolanus had not the slightest chance to govern by a free Parliament in Rome! Oliver was not prepared for these extremities; if less would serve. Perhaps in Oliver there is something of better than 'silent pride?' Oliver will have to explain himself before God Most High, ere long;—and it will not stead him there, that he went wrong because his pride, his 'personal dignity,' his &c. &c. were concerned.——Who would govern men! 'Oh, it were better to be a poor fisherman,' exclaimed Danton, 'than to meddle with governing of men!' 'I would rather keep a flock of sheep!' said Oliver. And who but a Flunkey would not, if his real trade lay in keeping sheep?"—

On the whole, concludes our Commentator: "As good an explanation as the case admits of,—from a barrel-head, or 'raised platform under a state.' Where so much that is true cannot be said; and yet nothing that is false shall be said,—under penalties forgotten in our Time! With regard to those asseverations and reiterated appeals, note this also: An oath was an oath then; not a solemn piece of blasphemous cant, as too often since. No *contemporary* that I have met with, who had any opportunity to judge, disbelieved Oliver in these protestations; though many believed that he was unconsciously deceiving himself. Which, of course, we too, where needful, must ever remember that he was liable to do; nay, if you will, that he was continually doing. But to this Commentator, at this stage in the development of things, 'Apology' seems not the word for Oliver Cromwell;—not that, but a far other word! The Modern part of his Highness's audience can listen now, I think, across the Time-gulfs, in a different mood;—with candour, with human brotherhood, with reverence and grateful love. Such as the noble never claim in vain from those that have any nobleness. This of tasking a great soul continually to prove to us that he was not a liar, is too unwashed a way of welcoming a Great Man! Scrubby Apprentices of tender years, to them it might seem suitable;—still more readily to Apes by the Dead Sea!" Let us have done with it, my friend; and listen to the Speech itself, of date, Painted Chamber, 12th September, 1654, the best we can!

GENTLEMEN,

It is not long since I met you in this place, upon an occasion which gave me much more content and comfort than this doth. That which I have now to say to you will need no preamble, to let me into my discourse: for the occasion of this meeting is plain enough. I could have wished with all my heart there had been no cause for it.

At our former meeting I did acquaint you what was the first rise of this

Government, which hath called you hither, and by the authority of which you have come hither. Among other things which I then told you of, I said, You were a Free Parliament. And 'truly' so you are,—whilst you own the Government and Authority which called you hither. But certainly that word 'Free Parliament' implied a reciprocity,[1] or it implied nothing at all! Indeed there was a reciprocity implied and expressed; and I think your actions and carriages ought to be suitable! But I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my Office. Which I have not been apt to do. I have been of this mind, I have been always of this mind, since I first entered upon my Office, if God will not bear it up, let it sink! [*Yea!*] But if a duty be incumbent upon me to bear my testimony unto it (which in modesty I have hitherto forborne), I am in some measure necessitated thereunto. And therefore that will be the prologue to my discourse.

I called not myself to this place. I say again, I called not myself to this place! Of that God is witness:—and I have many witnesses who, I do believe, could lay down their lives bearing witness to the truth of that. Namely, that I called not myself to this place! [*His Highness is growing emphatic.*] And being in it, I bear not witness to myself 'or my office;' but God and the People of these Nations have also borne testimony to it 'and me.' *If* my calling be from God, and my testimony from the People,—God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. [*Do you mark that, and the air and manner of it, my honourable friends!*] I should be false to the trust that God hath placed in me, and to the interest of the People of these Nations, if I did.

"That I called not myself to this place," is my first assertion. "That I bear not witness to myself, but have many witnesses," is my second. These two things I shall take the liberty to speak more fully to you of.—To make plain and clear what I have here asserted, I must take liberty to look 'a little' back.

I was by birth a Gentleman; living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the Nation: To serve in Parliament, 'and others;' and,—not to be overtedious,—I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man, in those services, to God and His People's Interest, and to the Commonwealth; having, when time was, a competent acceptation in the hearts of men, and some evidences thereof. I resolve, not to recite the times and occasions and opportunities, which have been appointed me by God to serve Him in; nor the presence and blessings of God therein bearing testimony to me. [*Well said, and well forborne to be said!*]

Having had some occasions to see, together with my brethren and countrymen, a happy period put to our sharp Wars and contests with the then common enemy, I hoped, in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit and benefit, together with my brethren, of our hard labours and hazards: the enjoyment, to wit, of Peace and Liberty, and the privileges of a Christian and a man, in some equality with others, according as it should please the Lord to dispense unto me. And when, I say, God had put an end to our Wars, or at least brought them to a very hopeful issue,

[1] "reciprocation" *in orig.*

very near an end,—after Worcester fight,—I came up to London to pay my service and duty to the Parliament which then sat; hoping that all minds would have been disposed to answer what seemed to be the mind of God, namely, To give peace and rest to His People, and especially to those who had bled more than others in the carrying on of the Military affairs,—I was much disappointed of my expectation. For the issue did not prove so. [*Suppressed murmurs from Bradshaw and Company.*] Whatever may be boasted or misrepresented, it was not so, not so!

I can say, in the simplicity of my soul, I love not, I love not,—I declined it in my former Speech,[1]—I say, I love not to rake into sores, or to discover nakednesses! The thing I drive at is this: I say to you, I hoped to have had leave, 'for my own part,' to retire to a private life. I begged to be dismissed of my charge; I begged it again and again; —and God be Judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter! [*Groans from Dryasdust, scarcely audible, in the deep silence.*] That I lie not in matter of fact, is known to very many ["*Hum-m-m!*" *Look of "Yea!" from the Military Party.*]: but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as labouring to represent to you what was not upon my heart, I say the Lord be Judge.[2] Let uncharitable men, who measure others by themselves, judge as they please. As to the matter of fact, I say, It is true. As to the ingenuity and integrity of my heart in that desire,—I do appeal as before upon the truth of that also!——But I could not obtain 'what I desired,' what my soul longed for. And the plain truth is, I did afterwards apprehend some were of opinion (such the difference of their judgment from mine), That it could not well be.[3]

I confess I am in some strait to say what I could say, and what is true, of what then followed. I pressed the Parliament, as a Member, To period themselves;—once and again, and again, and ten, nay twenty times over. I told them,—for I knew it better than any one man in the Parliament could know it; because of my manner of life, which had led me everywhere up and down the Nation,[4] thereby giving me to see and know the temper and spirits of all men, and of the best of men,—that the Nation loathed their sitting. [*Haselrig, Scott and others looking very grim.*] I knew it. And, so far as I could discern, when they *were* dissolved, there was not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general and visible repining at it! [*How astonishing there should not have been!*] You are not a few here present who can assert this as well as myself.

And that there was high cause for their dissolution, is most evident: not only in regard there was a just fear of that Parliament's perpetuating themselves, but because it 'actually' was their design. 'Yes:' had not their heels been trod upon by importunities from abroad even to threats. I believe there never would have been 'any' thoughts of rising, or of going out of that Room, to the world's end. I myself was sounded, and, by no mean persons [*O Sir Harry Vane!*], tempted; and proposals were made me to that very end: That the Parliament[5] might be

1 *Antea*, Speech I. p. 491.
2 He: Believe *you* about that as you see good.
3 That I could not be spared from my post.
4 While soldiering, &c.; the Original has, "which was to run up and down the Nation."
5 "it" *in orig.*

thus perpetuated; that the vacant places might be supplied by new elections;—and so continue from generation to generation.

I have declined, I have declined very much, to open these things to you. [*What noble man would not, your Highness?*] But, having proceeded thus far, I must tell you 'this also:' That poor men, under this arbitrary power, were driven, like flocks of sheep, by forty in a morning; to the confiscation of goods and estates; without any man being able to give a reason why two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling![1] I tell you the truth. And my soul, and many persons' whom I see in this place, were exceedingly grieved at these things; and knew not which way to help them, except by our mournings, and giving our negatives when occasion served.—I have given you but a taste of miscarriages 'that then were.' I am confident you have had opportunities to hear much more of them; for nothing was more obvious. It's true this will be said, That there was a remedy endeavoured: To put an end to this Perpetual Parliament, by giving us a future Representative. How that was gotten, by what importunities that was obtained, and how unwillingly yielded unto, is well known.

'But' what *was* this remedy? It was a seeming willingness to give us Successive Parliaments. And what was 'the nature of' that Succession? It was, That when one Parliament had left its seat, another was to sit down immediately in the room thereof, without any caution to avoid what was the real danger, namely, Perpetuating of the same 'men in' Parliaments. Which is a sore, now, that will ever be running, so long as men are ambitious and troublesome,—if a remedy be not found.

Nay, at best what will such a remedy amount to? It is a conversion of a Parliament that would have been and was Perpetual, to a Legislative Power Always Sitting! [*Which, however, consists of different men, your Highness!*] And so the liberties and interests and lives of people *not* judged by any certain known Laws and Power, but by an arbitrary Power; which is incident and necessary to Parliaments [*So!*]. By an arbitrary Power, I say:[2] to make men's estates liable to confiscation, and their persons to imprisonment,—sometimes 'even' by laws made after the fact committed; often by the Parliament's assuming to itself to give judgment both in capital and criminal things, which in former times was not known to exercise such a judicature.[3] This, I suppose, was the case 'then before us.' And, in my opinion, the remedy was fitted to the disease! Especially coming in the rear of a Parliament

[1] *Antea*, Vol. ii. p. 474.

[2] Such as the Long Parliament did continually exert.

[3] Intricate paragrapns, this and the foregoing; treating of a subject complex in itself, and very delicate to handle before such an audience. His Highness's logic perhaps hobbles somewhat: but this strain of argument, which to us has fallen so dim and obsolete, was very familiar to the audience he was now addressing,—the staple indeed of what their debates for the last three days had been (Burton, i. *Introd.* pp. 25-33; Whitlocke, p. 587, &c.). "Perpetuating of the same men in Parliament," that clearly is intolerable, says the first Paragraph. But not only so, says the second Paragraph, "a Legislative Assembly always sitting," though it consist of new men, is likewise intolerable: any Parliament, as the Long Parliament has too fatally taught us, if left to itself, is, by its nature, arbitrary, of unlimited power, liable to grow tyrannous;—ought therefore only to sit at due intervals, and to have other Powers (Protectorate, for example) ready to check it on occasion. All this the ancient audience understands very well; and the modern needs only to understand that they understood it.

which had so exercised its power and authority as that Parliament had done but immediately before.

Truly I confess,—upon these grounds, and with the satisfaction of divers other persons who saw nothing could be had otherwise,—that Parliament was dissolved [*Not a doubt of it!*]: and we, desiring to see if a few might have been called together for some short time who might put the Nation into some way of certain settlement,—did call those Gentlemen [*The Little Parliament; we remember them!*] out of the several parts of the Nation. And as I have appealed to God before you already,[1]—though it be a tender thing to make appeals to God, yet in such exigences as these I trust it will not offend His Majesty; especially to make them before Persons that know God, and know what conscience is, and what it is to "lie before the Lord!" I say, As a principal end in calling that Assembly was the settlement of the Nation, so a chief end to myself was to lay down the Power which was in my hands. [*Hum-m-m!*] I say to you again, in the Presence of that God who hath blessed, and been with me in all my adversities and successes: That was, as to myself, my greatest end! [*Your Highness—?—And "God" with you ancients is not a fabulous polite Hearsay, but a tremendous all-irradiating Fact of Facts, not to be "lied before" without consequences?*] A desire perhaps, I am afraid, sinful enough, To be quit of the Power God had most clearly by His Providence [2] put into my hands, before He called me to lay it down; before those honest ends of our fighting were attained and settled.—I say, the Authority I had in my hand being so boundless as it was,—for, by Act of Parliament, I was General of all the Forces in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland; in which unlimited condition I did not desire to live a day,—we called that Meeting, for the ends before expressed.

What the event and issue of that Meeting was, we may sadly remember. It hath much teaching in it,[3] and I hope will make us all wiser for the future! But, 'in short,' that Meeting not succeeding, as I already said unto you, and giving such a disappointment to our hopes, I shall not now make any repetition thereof: only the result was, That they came and brought to me a Parchment, signed by very much the major part of them; expressing their re-delivery and resignation of the power and authority that had been committed them back again into my hands. And I can say it, in the presence of divers persons here, who do know whether I lie in that [*Hum-m-m!*], That I did not know one tittle of that Resignation 'of theirs,' till they all came and brought it, and delivered it into my hands. Of this also there are in this presence many witnesses. [*Yes, many are convinced of it,—some not.*] I received this Resignation; having formerly used my endeavours and persuasions to keep them together. Observing their differences, I had thought it my duty to give advice to them, that so I might prevail with them for union. But it had the effect I told you; and I had my disappointment.

When this proved so, we were exceedingly to seek how to settle things for the future. My 'own' Power was again, by this resignation,

1 "I know, and I hope I may say it," follows *in orig.*,—deleted here, for light's sake, though characteristic.

2 "most providentially" *in orig.*: has not the modern meaning; means only as in the Text.

3 Warning us not to quarrel, and get into insoluble theories, as they did.

'become' as boundless and unlimited as before; all things being subjected to arbitrariness; and myself, 'the only constituted authority that was left,' a person having power over the three Nations, without bound or limit set;—and all Government, upon the matter being dissolved; all *civil* administration at an end[1]—as will presently appear. [*"A grave situation: but who brought us to it?" murmur my Lord Bradshaw and others.*]

The gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government[2] did consult divers days together (men of known integrity and ability), How to frame somewhat that might give us settlement. They did consult;—and that I was not privy to their councils they know it. [*Alas!*] —When they had finished their model in some measure, or made a good preparation of it, they became communicative. [*Hum-m-m!*] They told me that except I would undertake the Government, they thought things would hardly come to a composure or settlement, but blood and confusion would break in upon us. [*A plain truth they told.*] I refused it again and again; not complimentingly,—as they know, and as God knows! I confess, after many arguments, they urging on me, "That I did not hereby receive anything which put me into a *higher* capacity than before; but that it *limited* me; that it bound my hands to act nothing without the consent of a Council, until the Parliament, and then limited 'me' by the Parliament, as the Act of Government expresseth,"—I did accept it. I might repeat again to you, if it were needful, but I think it hardly is: I was arbitrary in power; having the Armies in the three Nations under my command;—and truly not very ill beloved by them, nor very ill beloved by the People. By the good People. And I believe I should have been more beloved if they had known the truth, as things *were*, before God and in themselves, and also before divers of those Gentlemen whom I but now mentioned unto you. [*His Highness is rallying; getting out of the Unutterable into the Utterable!*] I did, at the entreaty of divers Persons of Honour and Quality, at the entreaty of very many of the chief Officers of the Army then present,—'at their entreaty' and at their request, I did accept of the place and title of PROTECTOR: and was, in the presence of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, the Soldiery, divers Gentlemen, Citizens, and divers other people and persons of quality, and so forth,—accompanied to Westminster Hall; where I took the Oath to this Government. [*Indisputably: draw your own inferences from it!*] This was not done in a corner: it was open and public!—This Government hath been exercised by a Council;[3] with a desire to be faithful in all things:—and among all other trusts, to be faithful in *calling this Parliament.*

And thus I have given you a very bare and lean Discourse;[4] which truly I have been necessitated to 'do,'—and contracted in 'the doing of,' because of the unexpectedness of the occasion, and because I would not quite weary you nor myself. But this is a narrative that discovers to you the series of Providences and of Transactions leading me into the

[1] *Civil* Office-bearers feeling their commission to be ended.
[2] Plan or model of Government.
[3] According to the "Instrument" or Program of it.
[4] Narration

condition wherein I now stand. The next thing I promised 'to demonstrate to' you, wherein, I hope, I shall be briefer—Though I am sure the occasion does require plainness and freedom!—'But as to this first thing,'[1] That I brought not myself into this condition: surely in my own apprehension I did not! And whether I did not, the things being true which I have told you, I shall submit to your judgment. And there shall I leave it. Let God do what He pleaseth.

The other thing, I say, that I am to speak of to you is, "That I have not 'borne,' and do not bear, witness to myself." I am far from alluding to Him that said so![2] Yet truth, concerning a member of His, He will own, though men do not.—But I think, if I mistake not, I have a cloud of witnesses. I think so; let men be as froward as they will. [*My honourable friends!*] I have witness Within,—Without,—and Above! But I shall speak of my witnesses Without; having fully spoken of the Witness who is Above, and 'who is' in my own conscience, before. Under the other head[3] I spoke of these; because that subject had more obscurity in it, and I in some sort needed appeals;—and, I trust, might lawfully make them (as lawfully as take an oath), where the things were not so apt to be made evident 'otherwise.' [*In such circumstances, Yea!*]—I shall enumerate my witnesses as well as I can.

When I had consented to accept of the Government, there was some Solemnity to be performed. And that was accompanied by some persons of considerableness in all respects: there were the persons before mentioned to you;[4] these accompanied me, at the time of my entering upon this Government, to Westminster Hall to receive my Oath. There was an express[5] consent on the part of these and other interested persons. And 'there was also' an implied consent of many; showing their good liking and approbation thereof. And, Gentlemen, I do not think you are altogether strangers to it in your countries. Some did not nauseate it; very many did approve it.

I had the approbation of the Officers of the Army, in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland. I say, of the Officers: I had that by their 'express' Remonstrances,[6] and under signature. But there went along with that express consent of theirs, an implied consent also 'of a body' of persons who had 'had' somewhat to do in the world; who had been instrumental, by God, to fight down the Enemies of God and of His People in the three Nations. [*The Soldiery of the Commonwealth.*

[1] This paragraph is characteristic. One of Oliver's *warts*. His Highness, in haste to be through, is for breaking off into the "next thing," with hope of greater "brevity;" but then suddenly bethinks him that he has not yet quite completely winded off the "*first* thing," and so returns to that. The paragraph, stark nonsense in the original (where they that are patient of such can read it, *Parliamentary History*, xx, 357), indicates, on intense inspection, that this is the purport of it. A glimpse afforded us, through one of Oliver's confused regurgitations, and incondite *mis*utterances of speech, into the real inner man of him. Of which there will be other instances as we proceed.

[2] "Then answered Jesus, and said unto them, — — If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true. There is another that beareth witness of me." *John*, v., 31, 32.

[3] "upon the other account" *in orig.*

[4] "before expressed" *in orig.*

[5] "explicit" and "implicit" in the original; but we must say "express" and "implied,"—the word "implicit" having got itself tacked to "faith" (*implicit-faith*), and become thereby hopelessly degraded from any independent meaning.

[6] Means "Public Letters of Adherence."

Persons of "some considerableness," these too!] And truly, until my hands were bound, and I 'was' limited (to my own great satisfaction, as many can bear me witness); while I had in my hands so great a power and arbitrariness,—the Soldiery were a very considerable part of these Nations, especially all Government being dissolved. I say, when all Government was thus dissolved, and nothing to keep things in order but the Sword! And yet they,—which many Histories will not parallel, —even they were desirous that things might come to a consistency; and arbitrariness be taken away; and the Government be put into 'the hands of' a person limited and bounded, as in the Act of Settlement, whom they distrusted the least, and loved not the worst. [*Hear!*] This was another evidence 'of consent, implied if not express.'

I would not forget the honourable and civil entertainment, with the approbation I found in the great City of London;[1]—which the City knows whether I directly or indirectly sought. And truly I do not think it folly to remember this. For it was very great and high; and very public; and 'included' as numerous a body of those that are known by names and titles—the several Corporations and Societies of citizens in this City,—as hath at any time been seen in England. And not without some appearance of satisfaction also.—And I had not this witness only. I have had from the greatest County in England, and from many Cities and Boroughs and Counties, express approbations. 'Express approbations' not of men gathered here and there, but from the County General-Assizes;—the Grand Jury, in name of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Yeomen and Inhabitants of that County, giving very great thanks to me for undertaking this heavy burden at such a time; and giving very great approbation and encouragement to me to go through with it.[2] These are plain; I have them to show. And by these, in some measure, it will appear "I do not bear witness to myself."

This is not all. The Judges,—truly I had almost forgotten it [*Another little window into his Highness!*],—the Judges, thinking that there had now come a dissolution to all Government, met and consulted; and did declare one to another, That they could not administer justice to the satisfaction of their consciences, until they had received Commissions from me. And they did receive Commissions from me; and by virtue of those Commissions they have acted:—and all Justices of the Peace that have acted have acted by virtue of like Commissions. Which was a little more than an implied approbation! And I believe all the Justice administered in the Nation hath been by this authority. Which also I lay before you; desiring you to think, Whether all those persons now mentioned must not come to you for an Act of Oblivion and General Pardon, for having acted under and testified to this Government, if it be disowned by you!—

And I have two or three witnesses more,—equivalent to all these I have yet mentioned, if I be not mistaken, and greatly mistaken! If I

[1] Dinner, with all manner of gala, in the common Royal Style: 8 February, 1653-4. (Whitlocke, 2d edition, p. 581.)

[2] "Humble Petition and Representations of the Grand Jury at the Assizes held at York, March, 1653 (1654) in the name of," &c. &c.: Newspapers; *Perfect Diurnal*, April 3-10, 1654 (King's Pamphlets, large 4to, no. 82, sec. 12), and others.—Similar recognition "by the Mayor," &c. &c., "of the ancient City of York" (ibid).

should say, All *you* that are here are my witnesses,—I should say no untruth! I know that you are the same persons here that you were in your countries[1]—But I will reserve this for a little; this will be the *issue*, 'the general outcome and climax,' of my Proof. [*Another little window:—almost a half-soliloquy; you see the Speech getting ready in the Interior of his Highness.*] I say I have two or three witnesses, of still more weight than all I have counted and reckoned yet. All the People in England are my witnesses; and many in Ireland and Scotland! All the Sheriffs in England are my witnesses: and all that have come in upon a Process issued out by Sheriffs are my witnesses. [*My honourable friends, how did* YOU *come in?*] Yea, the returns of the Elections to the Clerk of the Crown,—not a thing to be blown away by breath,—the Returns on behalf of the Inhabitants in the Counties, Cities and Boroughs, all are my witnesses of approbation to the Condition and Place I stand in.

And I shall now make *you* my last witnesses! [*Here comes it, "the issue of my Proof!"*] And shall ask you, Whether you came not hither by my Writs directed to the several Sheriffs 'of Counties,' and through the Sheriffs to the other Officers of Cities and Liberties? To which 'Writs' the People gave obedience; having also had the Act of Government communicated to them,—to which end great numbers of copies 'thereof' were sent down to be communicated to them. And the Government[2] 'was' also required to be distinctly read unto the People at the place of election, to avoid surprises, 'or misleadings of them through their ignorance;'—where also they signed the Indenture,[3] with proviso, "That the Persons so chosen should *not* have power to alter the Government as now settled in one Single Person and a Parliament!" [*My honourable friends—?*]—And thus I have made good my second Assertion, "That I bear not witness to myself;" but that the good People of England, and you all are my witnesses.

Yea, surely!—And 'now' this being so,—though I told you in my last Speech "that you were a Free Parliament," yet I thought it was understood withall that I was the Protector, and the Authority that called you! That I was in possession of the Government by a good right from God and men! And I believe if the learnedest men in this Nation were called to shew a precedent, equally clear, of a Government so many ways approved of, they would not in all their search find it.—I did not in any other Speech take upon me to justify the 'Act of' Government in every particular; and I told you the reason, which was plain: The Act of Government was public, and had long been published, 'in order' that it might be under the most serious inspection of all that pleased to peruse it.

This is what I had to say at present for approving[4] myself to God and my conscience in my actions throughout this undertaking; and for giving cause of approving myself to every one of your consciences in the sight of God.—And if the fact be so, why should we sport with it?

[1] Where you had to acknowledge me before election, he means, but does not yet see good to say. [2] Act or Instrument of Government. [3] Writ of Return.
[4] "By what I have said, I have approved," &c. *in orig.*: but rhetorical charity required the change.

With a business so serious! May not this character, this stamp [*Stamp put upon a man by the Most High and His providences.*] bear equal poise with any Hereditary Interest that could furnish, or hath furnished, in the Common Law or elsewhere, matter of dispute and trial of learning? In the like of which many have exercised more wit, and spilt more blood, than I hope ever to live to see or hear of again in this Nation! [*Red and White Roses, for example; Henry of Bolingbroke and the last "Protector."*]—I say, I do not know why I may not balance this Providence, in the sight of God, with *any* Hereditary Interest [*Nor do I!*]; as a thing *less* subject to those cracks and flaws which that 'other' is commonly incident unto; and disputing of which has cost more blood in former times in this Nation than we have leisure to speak of now!—

Now, if this be thus, and I am deriving a title from God and men upon such accounts as these are—Although some men be froward, yet that *your* judgments who are Persons sent from all parts of the Nation under the notion of *approving* this Government—[*His Highness, bursting with meaning, completes neither of these sentences; but pours himself, like an irregular torrent, through other orifices and openings.*]—For you to disown or not to own it: for you to act with Parliamentary Authority especially in the disowning of it; contrary to the very fundamental things, yea against the very root itself of this Establishment; to sit, and not own the Authority by which you sit,——is that which I believe astonisheth more men than myself; and doth as dangerously disappoint and discompose the Nation as any thing 'that' could have been invented by the greatest enemy to our peace and welfare, or 'that' could well have happened. [*Sorrow, anger, and reproach on his Highness's countenance; the voice risen somewhat into* ALT, *and rolling with a kind of rough music in the tones of it!*]

It is true, as there are some things in the Establishment which are fundamental, so there are others which are not, but are circumstantial. Of these no question but I shall easily agree to vary, to leave out, 'according' as I shall be convinced by reason. But some things are Fundamentals! About which I shall deal plainly with you: These may *not* be parted with; but will, I trust, be delivered over to posterity, as the fruits of our blood and travail. The Government by a Single Person and a Parliament is a Fundamental! It is the *esse*, it is constitutive. And as for the Person,—though I may seem to plead for myself, yet I do not: no, nor can any reasonable man say it. If the things throughout this Speech be true, I plead for this Nation, and for all honest men therein who have borne their testimony as aforesaid, and not for myself! And if things should do otherwise than well (which I would not fear), and the Common Enemy and discontented persons take advantage of these distractions, the issue will be put up before God: let Him own it, or let Him disown it, as He pleases!—

In every Government there must be Somewhat Fundamental [*Will speak now of Fundamentals.*], Somewhat like a *Magna Charta*, which should be standing, be unalterable. Where there is a stipulation on one side, and that fully accepted, as appears by what hath been said,—surely

a return[1] ought to be; else what does that stipulation signify? If I have, upon the terms aforesaid, undertaken this great Trust, and exercised it; and by it called *you*,—surely it ought 'by you' to be owned. —That Parliaments should not make themselves perpetual is a Fundamental. [*Yea, all know it: taught by the example of the Rump!*] Of what assurance is a *Law* to prevent so great an evil, if it lie in the same Legislature to *un*law it again? [*Must have a single Person to check your Parliament.*] Is such a Law like to be lasting? It will be a rope of sand; will give it no security; for the same men may unbuild what they have built.

'Again,' is not Liberty of Conscience in Religion a Fundamental? So long as there is Liberty of Conscience for the Supreme Magistrate to exercise his conscience in erecting what Form of Church-Government he is satisfied he should set up ["HE *is to decide on the Form of Church-Government, then?" The Moderns, especially the Voluntary Principle, stare.*],—why should he not give the like liberty to others? Liberty of Conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it, ought to give it; having 'himself' liberty to settle what he likes for the Public. ["*Where then are the limits of Dissent?" An abstruse question, my Voluntary friends; especially with a Gospel really* BELIEVED!] Indeed that hath been one of the vanities of our Contest. Every Sect saith: "Oh, give me liberty!" But give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to anybody else. Where is our ingenuousness? 'Liberty of Conscience'—truly that is a thing ought to be very reciprocal! The Magistrate hath *his* supremacy; he may settle Religion, 'that is, Church-Government,' according to his conscience. And 'as for the People'—I may say it to you, I can say it: All the money of this Nation would not have tempted men to fight upon such an account as they have here been engaged in, if they had not had hopes of Liberty 'of Conscience' better than Episcopacy granted them, or than would have been afforded by a Scots Presbytery,—or an English either, if it had made such steps, and been as sharp and rigid, as it threatened when first set up![2] This, I say, is a Fundamental. It ought to be so. It is for us and the generations to come. And if there be an absoluteness in the Imposer [*As you seem to argue.*], without fitting allowances and exceptions from the rule ["*Fitting:" that is a wide word!*],—we shall have the People driven into wildernesses. As they were, when those poor and afflicted people, who forsook their estates and inheritances here, where they lived plentifully and comfortably, were necessitated, for enjoyment of their Liberty, to go into a waste howling wilderness in New England;—where they have, for Liberty's sake, stript themselves of all their comfort; embracing rather loss of friends and want than be so ensnared and in bondage. [*Yea!*]

Another 'Fundamental' which I had forgotten is the Militia. That is judged a Fundamental if anything be so. That *it* should be well and equally placed is very necessary. For, put the absolute power of the Militia into 'the hands of' one 'Person,'—without a check, what doth

[1] reciprocal engagement.

[2] Liberty of Conscience must not be refused to a People who have fought and conquered "upon such an account" as ours was! For more of Oliver's notions concerning the Magistrate's power in Church-matters, see his Letter to the Scotch Clergy, *antea*, vol. ii.

it serve? 'On the other hand,' I pray you, what check is there upon your Perpetual Parliaments, if the Government be wholly stript of this of the Militia? 'This as we now have it' is[1] equally placed, and men's desires were to have it so;—namely in one Person, and in the Parliament 'along with him' while the Parliament sits. What signified a provision against perpetuating of Parliaments, if this power of the Militia be solely in *them*? Think, Whether, without some check, the Parliament have it not in their power to alter the Frame of Government altogether—into Aristocracy, Democracy, into Anarchy, into anything, if this 'of the Militia' be fully in them! Yea, into all confusion; and that without remedy! If this one thing be placed in one 'party,' that one, be it Parliament, be it Supreme Governor, hath power to make what he pleases of all the rest. ["*Hum-m-m!*" *from the old Parliament.*]—Therefore if you would have a balance at all; if you agree that some Fundamentals must stand, as worthy to be delivered over to Posterity,—truly I think it is not unreasonably urged that 'this power of' the Militia should be disposed as we have it in the Act of Government;—should be placed so equally that no one party neither in Parliament nor out of Parliament have the power of ordering it. 'Well;'—the Council are the Trustees of the Commonwealth, in all *intervals* of Parliament; and have as absolute a negative upon the Supreme Officer in the said intervals, as the Parliament hath while it is sitting. [*So that we are safe—or safish, your Highness? No one party has power of the Militia at any time.*] The power of the Militia cannot be made use of; not a man can be raised, nor a penny charged upon the People, nothing can be done, without consent of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, without consent of the Council. Give me leave to say, There is very little power, none but what is coördinate, 'placed' in the Supreme Officer;—and yet enough in him in that particular. He is bound in strictness by the Parliament, and out of Parliament by the Council, who do as absolutely bind him as the Parliament while sitting doth.—

As for that of Money—I told you some things were Circumstantials [*Comes to the Circumstantials.*]; as, for example, this is: That we should have 200,000*l.* to defray Civil Offices,—to pay the Judges and other Officers; to defray the charges of the Council in sending their embassies, in keeping intelligence, and doing what is necessary; and to support the Governor in Chief:[2] All this is, by the Instrument, supposed and intended. But it is not of the *esse* so much; nor 'is it' limited 'so strictly' as 'even' the number of Soldiers is,—20,000 Foot and 10,000 Horse. [*Guard even afar off against any sinking below the minimum in that!*] Yet if the spirits of men were composed, 5,000 Horse and 10,000 Foot might serve. These things are 'Circumstantial,' are between the Chief Officer and the Parliament, to be moderated, 'regulated,' as occasion shall offer.

Of this sort there are many circumstantial things, which are not like the laws of the Medes and Persians. But the things which shall be necessary to deliver over to Posterity, these should be unalterable. Else every succeeding Parliament will be disputing to alter the Government:

[1] "it is" *in oria.*

[2] Instrument of Government. Art. 27 (Somers Tracts, vi. 294).

and we shall be as often brought into confusion as we have Parliaments, and so make our remedy our disease. The Lord's Providence, evil 'effects' appearing, and good appearing, and better judgment 'in ourselves,' will give occasion for ordering of things to the best interest of the People. Those things, 'Circumstantial things,' are the matter of consideration between you and me.

I have indeed almost tired myself. What I have farther to say is this [*Does not yet say it*]—I would it had not been needful for me to call you hither to expostulate these things with you, and in such a manner as this! But Necessity hath no law. Feigned necessities, imaginary necessities,—'certainly these' are the greatest cozenage that men can put upon the Providence of God, and make pretences to break known rules by. 'Yes;' but it is *as* legal, 'contrary to God's free Grace,' as carnal, and as stupid [*A tone of anger*], to think that there are no Necessities which are manifest 'and real,' because necessities may be abused or feigned! And truly that were my case,[1] if I should so think 'here;' and I hope none of you so think. I have to say [*Says it now*]: The wilful throwing away of this Government, such as it is, so owned by God, so approved by men, so witnessed to (in the Fundamentals of it) as was mentioned above, 'were a thing which,'—and in reference 'not to *my* good, but' to the good of these Nations and of Posterity,—I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave and buried with infamy, than I can give my consent unto! [*Never!—Do you catch the tone of that voice, reverberating, like thunder, from the roof of the Painted Chamber, over the heads of Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott and Company; the aspect of that face, with its lion-mouthed, and mournful eyes,—kindled now and radiant all of it, with sorrow, with rebuke, and wrathful defiance?—Bradshaw and Company look on it unblanched: but will be careful not to provoke such a one. There lie penalties in him!*]

You have been called hither to save a Nation,—Nations. You had the best People, indeed, of the Christian world put into your trust, when you came hither. You had the affairs of these Nations delivered over to you in peace and quiet; you were, and we all are, put into an undisturbed possession, nobody making title to us. Through the blessing of God, our enemies were hopeless and scattered. We had peace at home; peace with almost all our Neighbours round about,—apt 'otherwise' to take advantages where God did administer them. 'These things we had few days ago when you came hither. And now?'—To have our peace and interest, whereof those were our hopes the other day, thus shaken, and put under such a confusion; and ourselves [*Chiefly "I"*] rendered hereby almost the scorn and contempt of those strangers [*Dutch Ambassadors and the like*] who are amongst us to negotiate their masters' affairs! To give *them* opportunity to see our nakedness as they do: "A people that have been unhinged this twelve-years day,[2] and are unhinged still,"—as if scattering, division, and confusion came upon us like things we desired: '*these*,' which are the greatest plagues that God ordinarily lays upon Nations for sins!

I would be loath to say these are matters of our desire. But if not

[1] To be le , and carnal and stupid.

[2] An old phrase; "day' emp tic.

[3] Politely oblique for "your desire."

then why not matters of our *care*,—as wisely as by our utmost endeavours we might, to *avoid* them! Nay if, by such actings as these 'now' are, these poor Nations shall be thrown into heaps and confusion, through blood, and ruin, and trouble[1]—And upon the saddest account that ever was, if breaking 'and confusion' should come upon us;—all because we would not settle when we could, when God put it into our hands! Your affairs now almost settled everywhere: and to have all recoil upon us; and ourselves 'to be' shaken in our affections, loosened from all known and public interests:—as I said before, who shall answer for these things to God?

Who can answer for these things to God, or to men? 'To men'—to the People who sent you hither; who looked for refreshment from you; who looked for nothing but peace and quietness, and rest and settlement? When we come to give an account to them, we shall have it to say, "Oh, we quarrelled for the *Liberty of England;* we contested, and 'went to confusion,' for that!"—'Now,' Wherein, I pray you, for the "Liberty of England?" I appeal to the Lord, that the desires and endeavours we have had——Nay the things will speak for themselves. The "Liberty of England," the Liberty of the People; the avoiding of tyrannous impositions either upon men as men, or Christians as Christians, —is made so safe by this Act of Settlement, that it will speak for itself. And when it shall appear to the world what 'really' hath been said and done by all of us, and what our real transactions were—For God can discover; no Privilege [*What! Not even Privilege of Parliament?*] will hinder the Lord from discovering! No Privilege, or condition of man can hide from the Lord; He can and will make all manifest, if He see it for His glory![2]—And when these 'things, as I say,' shall be manifested: and the People will come and ask, "Gentlemen, what condition is this we are in? We hoped for light: and behold darkness, obscure darkness! We hoped for rest after ten-years Civil War, but are plunged into deep confusion again!"—Ay; we know these consequences will come upon us, if God Almighty shall not find out some way to prevent them.

I had a thought within myself, That it would not have been dishonest nor dishonourable, nor against true Liberty, no not 'the Liberty' of Parliaments, 'if,' when a Parliament was so chosen 'as you have been,' in pursuance of this Instrument of Government, and in conformity to it, and with such an approbation and consent to it,—some Owning of your Call and of the Authority which brought you hither, had been required before your entrance into the House. [*Deep silence in the audience.*] This was declined, and hath not been done, because I am persuaded scarce any man could doubt you came with contrary minds. And I have reason to believe the people that sent you least of all doubted thereof. And therefore I must deal plainly with you: What I forbore upon a just confidence at first, you necessitate me unto now! [*Paleness on some faces.*] Seeing the Authority which called you is so little valued, and so much slighted,—till some such Assurance be given and made known, that the

1 "what shall we then say?" his Highness means, but does not complete the sentence,—as is sometimes his habit.

2 "Privilege" of Parliament, in those days, strenuously forbids *reporting;* but it will not serve in the case referred to!

Fundamental Interest shall be settled and approved according to the proviso in the 'Writ of' Return, and such a consent testified as will make it appear that the same is accepted, I HAVE CAUSED A STOP TO BE PUT TO YOUR ENTRANCE INTO THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE. [*You understand that, my honourable friends?*]

I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the death, that there is cause for this! But there is cause; and if things be not satisfied which are reasonably demanded, I, for my part, will do that which becomes *me*, seeking my counsel from God. There is therefore Somewhat [*A bit of written Parchment!*] to be offered to you; which, I hope, will answer, being understood with the qualifications I have told you,—'namely, of' reforming as to Circumstantials, and agreeing in the Substance and Fundamentals 'that is to say,' in the Form of Government now settled, which is expressly stipulated in your Indentures "not to be altered." The making of your minds known in that by giving your assent and subscription to it, is the means that will let you in, to act those things as a Parliament which are for the good of the People. And this thing [*The Parchment!*], 'when once it is' shown to you and signed as aforesaid, doth determine the controversy; and may give a happy progress and issue to this Parliament. [*Honourable gentlemen look in one another's faces,—find general blank.*]

The place where you may come thus and sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in the Lobby without the Parliament Door. [*My honourable friends, you know the way, don't you?*]——

The 'Instrument of' Government doth declare that you have a legislative power without a negative from me. As the Instrument doth express it, you may make any Laws; and if I give not my consent, within twenty days, to the passing of your Laws, they are *ipso facto* Laws, whether I consent or no,—if not contrary to the 'Frame of' Government. You have an absolute Legislative Power in all things that can possibly concern the good and interest of the public; and I think you may make these Nations happy by this Settlement. And I, for my part, shall be willing to be bound more than I am, in anything concerning which I can become convinced that it may be for the good of the People, or tend to the preservation of the Cause and Interest so long contended for.*

Go your ways, my honourable friends, and sign, so many of you as God hath made free thereunto! The place, I tell you, is in the Lobby without the Parliament Door. The "Thing," as you will find there, is a bit of Parchment with these words engrossed on it: "*I do hereby freely promise, and engage myself, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenor of the Indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament) propose, or give my consent, to alter the Government as it is settled in a Single Person and a Parliament.*"[1] Sign that, or go home again to your countries.

Let honourable gentlemen therefore consider what they will do!—"About a Hundred signed directly, within an hour." Guibon Goddard

* Old Pamphlet, brother to the foregoing; reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 349-69.
1 Whitlocke, p. 587.

and all the Norfolk Members (except one, who was among the direct Hundred) went and "had dinner together," to talk the matter over;—mostly thought it would be better to sign: and did sign, all but some two. The number who have signed this first day, we hear, is a Hundred-and-twenty, a Hundred-and-thirty, nay a Hundred-and-forty.[1] Blank faces of honourable gentlemen begin to take meaning again,—some mild, some grim. To-morrow being Fastday, there is an adjournment. The recusants are treated "with all tenderness;" most of them come in by degrees: "Three-hundred before the month ends."

Deep Republicans, Bradshaw, Haselrig, Thomas Scott and the like, would not come in; still less would shallow noisy ones, as Major Wildman;—went home to their countries again, their blank faces settling into permanent grim. My Lord Protector molested no man for his recusancy; did indeed take that absence as a comparative favour from the parties. Harrison and other suspect persons are a little looked after: the Parliament resumes its function as if little had happened. With a singular acquiescence on the part of the Public, write our correspondents, Dutch and other. The Public, which I have known rebel against crowned Kings for twitching the tippet of a Parliament, permits this Lord Protector to smite it on the cheek, and say, "Have a care, wilt thou!" Perhaps this Lord Protector is believed to mean better than the King did? There is a difference in the objects of men, as the Public understands;—a difference in the men too for rebelling against! At any rate, here is singular submission everywhere; and my Lord Protector getting ready a powerful Sea-Armament, neither his Parliament nor any other creature can yet guess for what.[2]

Goddard's report of this Parliament is distinct enough; brief, and not without some points of interest; "the misfortune is," says one Commentator, "he does not give us *names*." Alas, a much greater misfortune is, the Parliament itself is hardly worth naming! It did not prove a successful Parliament;—it held on by mere Constitution-building; and effected, so to speak, nothing. Respectable Pedant persons; never doubting but the Ancient sacred Sheepskins would serve for the New Time, which also has its sacredness; thinking, full surely, constitutional logic was the thing England now needed of them! Their History shall remain blank to the end of the world. I have read their Debates, and counsel no other man to do it. Wholly upon the "Institution of Government," modelling, new-modelling of that: endless anxious spider-webs of constitutional logic; vigilant checks, constitutional jealousies, &c. &c. To be forgotten by all creatures.

They had a Committee of Godly Ministers sitting in the Jerusalem Chamber; a kind of miniature Assembly of Divines; intent upon "Scandalous Ministers and Schoolmasters," upon tender consciences, and the like objects: but there were only Twenty in this Assembly; they could hardly ever get fairly under way at all;—and have left in English History no trace that I could see of their existence, except a very reasonable Petition, noted in the Record, That the Parliament would be pleased to advance them a little money towards the purchase of fire and

[1] Goddard, Whitlocke, Letter in *Thurloe*.
[2] Dutch Ambassadors, French, &c., in *Thurloe* ii. 606 612, 638 (15th, 18th Sept; 9th Oct.)

candle,—in these cold dark months. The Parliament, I hope, allowed them coals and a few tallow-lights; but neither they nor it could accomplish anything towards the Settling of a Godly Ministry in England: my Lord Protector and *his* Commissions will have to settle that too; an object dear to all good men. The Parliament spent its time in constitutional jangling, in vigilant contrivance of balances, checks, and that species of entities. With difficulty could, at rare intervals, a hasty stingy vote, not for the indispensable Supplies, but for some promise of them, be wrung. An unprofitable Parliament.

For the rest, they had Biddle the Socinian before them; a poor Gloucester Schoolmaster once, now a very conspicuous Heresiarch, apparently of mild but entirely obstinate manners,—poor devil: him they put into the Gatehouse; him and various others of that kidney. Especially "Theauro John, who laid about him with a drawn sword at the door of the Parliament House one day,"[1]—a man clearly needing to be confined. "Theauro John:" his name had originally been John Davy, if I recollect; but the spirit, in some preternatural hour, revealed to him that it ought to be as above. Poor Davy: his labours, life-adventures, financial arrangements, painful biography in general, are all unknown to us; till on this "Saturday, 30th December, 1654, he very clearly knocks loud at the door of the Parliament House," as much as to say, "What is this *you* are upon?" and "lays about him with a drawn sword;"—after which all again becomes unknown. Seemingly a kind of Quaker. Does the reader know James Nayler, and the devout women worshipping him? George Fox, in his suit of leather, independent of mankind, looks down into the soft Vale of Belvoir, native "Vale of Bever:" Do not the whispering winds and green fields, do not the still smoke-pillars from these poor cottages under the eternal firmaments, say in one's heart, "George, wilt thou not help us from the wrath to come?" George finds in the Vale of Bever "a very tender people." In fact, most singular Quakerisms, frightful Socinianisms and other portents are springing up rife in England.

Oliver objected, now and always, to any very harsh punishment of Biddle and Company, much as he abhorred their doctrines. Why burn, or brand, or otherwise torment them, poor souls? They, wandering as we all do seeking for a door of hope into the Eternities, have, being tempted of the Devil as we all likewise are, *missed* the door of hope; and gone tumbling into dangerous gulfs,—dangerous, but not yet beyond the mercy of God. Do not burn them. They meant, some of them, *well*; bear visibly to me the scars of stern true battle against the Enemy of Man. Do not burn them;—lock them up, that they may not mislead others. On frugal wholesome diet in Pendennis Castle, or Elizabeth Castle in Jersey, or here in the Clink Prison at London, they will not cost you much, and may arrive at some composure. Branding and burning is an ugly business;—as little of that as you can.

Friday, 29th September, 1654. His Highness, say the old Lumber-Books, went into Hyde Park; made a small picnic dinner under the trees, with Secretary Thurloe, attended by a few servants;—was, in fact, making a small pleasure-excursion, having in mind to try a fine

[1] Whitlocke, p. 680. See Goddard (in Burton, i. Introd. cxxvi.).

new team of horses, which the Earl or Duke of Oldenburg had lately sent him. Dinner done, his Highness himself determined to drive,—two in hand I think, with a postilion driving other two. The horses, beautiful animals, tasting of the whip, became unruly; galloped, would not be checked, but took to plunging; plunged the postilion down; plunged or shook his Highness down, "dragging him by the foot for some time," so that "a pistol went off in his pocket," to the amazement of men. Whereupon? Whereupon—his Highness got up again, little the worse: was let blood; and went about his affairs much as usual![1] Small anecdote that figures, larger than life, in all the Books and Biographies. I have known men thrown from their horses on occasion, and less noise made about it, my erudite friend! But the essential point was, his Highness wore a pistol.—Yes, his Highness is prepared to defend himself; has men, and also truculent-flunkeys, and devils and devil's-servants of various kinds, to defend himself against;—and wears pistols, and what other furniture outward and inward may be necessary for the object. Such of you as have an eye that way can take notice of it!—

Thursday, 16*th November*, 1654. On the other hand, what a glimpse into the interior domesticities of the Protector Household, have we in the following brief Note! Amid the darkness and buzzard dimness, one light-beam, clear, radiant, mournfully beautiful, like the gleam of a sudden star, disclosing for a moment many things to us! On Friday, Secretary Thurloe writes incidentally: "My Lord Protector's Mother, of Ninety-four years old, died last night. A little before her death she gave my Lord her blessing, in these words: 'The Lord cause His face to shine upon you; and comfort you in all your adversities; and enable you to do great things for the glory of your Most High God, and to be a relief unto His People. My dear Son, I leave my heart with thee. A good night!'"[2]—and therewith sank into her long sleep. Even so. Words of ours are but idle. Thou brave one, Mother of a Hero, farewell!—Ninety-four years old: the royalties of Whitehall, says Ludlow very credibly, were of small moment to her: "at the sound of a musket she would often be afraid her Son was shot; and could not be satisfied unless she saw him once a day at least."[3] She, old, weak, wearied one, she cannot help him with his refractory Pedant Parliaments, with his Anabaptist plotters, Royalist assassins, and world-wide confusions; but she bids him, Be strong, be comforted in God. And so Good night! And in the still Eternities and divine Silences—Well, *are* they not divine?—

December 26th, 1654. The refractory Parliament and other dim confusions still going on, we mark as a public event of some significance, the sailing of his Highness's Sea-Armament. It has long been getting ready on the Southern Coast; sea-forces, land-forces;—sails from Portsmouth on Christmas morrow, as above marked.[4]—None yet able to divine whither bound; not even the Generals, Venables and Penn, till they reach a certain latitude. Many are much interested to divine! Our Brussels Correspondent writes long since, "The Lord Protector's

[1] Thurloe, i. 652, 3; Ludlow, ii. 508.
[2] Thurloe to Pell, 17 Nov. 1654: in Vaughan's *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1839), i. 81.
[3] Ludlow, ii. 488.
[4] Penn's Narrative, in *Thurloe*, iv. 28

Government makes England more formidable and considerable to all Nations than ever it has been in my days." [1]

LETTERS CLXXXII., CLXXXIII.

HERE are two small Letters, harmlessly reminding us of far interests and of near;—otherwise yielding no new light; but capable of being read without commentary. Read them; and let us hasten to dissolve the poor Constitutioning Parliament, which ought not to linger on these pages, or on any page.

LETTER CLXXXII.

To Richard Bennet, Esq., Governor of Virginia: These.

SIR, Whitehall, 12th January, 1654.

Whereas the differences between the Lord Baltimore and the Inhabitants of Virginia, concerning the Bounds by them respectively claimed, are depending before our Council, and yet undetermined; and whereas we are credibly informed, you have notwithstanding gone into his Plantation in Maryland, and countenanced some people there in opposing the Lord Baltimore's Officers; whereby, and with other forces from Virginia, you have much disturbed that Colony and People, to the endangering of tumults and much bloodshed there, if not timely prevented:

We therefore, at the request of the Lord Baltimore, and 'of' divers other Persons of Quality here, who are engaged by great adventures in his interest, do, for preventing of disturbances or tumults there, will and require you, and all others deriving authority from you, To forbear disturbing the Lord Baltimore, or his Officers or People in Maryland; and to permit all things to remain as they were before any disturbance or alteration made by you, or by any other upon pretence of authority from you, till the said Differences above mentioned be determined by us here, and we give farther order therein.

We rest,
Your loving friend,
OLIVER P.*

Commissioners, it would appear, went out to settle the business; got it, we have no doubt, with due difficulty, settled. See Letter CLXXXIX.,—26th September, 1655, "To the Commissioners of Maryland."

LETTER CLXXXIII.

HERE again, while the Pedant Parliament keeps arguing and constitutioning, are discontents in the Army that threaten to develop themselves. Dangerous fermentings of Fifth-Monarchy and other bad ingredients, in the Army and out of it; encouraged by the Parliamentary height of temperature. Charles Stuart, on the word of a Christian King, is extensively bestirring himself. Royalist preparations, provisions of arms; Anabaptist Petitions; abroad and at home very dangerous designs on foot: but we have our eye upon them.

[1] Thurloe, i. 160 (11 March 1653-4).

* Thurloe, i. 724. The signature only is Oliver's; signature, and sense. Thurloe has jotted on the back of this: "A duplicate also hereof was writ, signed by his Highness."

The Scotch Army seems, at present, the questionablest. "The pay of the men is thirty weeks in arrear," for one thing; the Anabaptist humour needs not that addition! Colonel Alured, we saw, had to be dismissed the Service, last year; Overton and others were questioned, and not dismissed. But now some desperate scheme has risen among the Forces in Scotland, of deposing General Monk, of making Republican Overton Commander,—and so marching off, all but the indispensable Garrison-troops, south into England, *there* to seek pay and other redress.[1] This Parliament, now in its Fourth Month, supplies no money; nothing but constitutional debatings. My Lord Protector had need be watchful! He again, in this December, summons Overton from Scotland; again questions him;—sees good, this time, to commit him to the Tower,[2] and end his military services. The Army, in Scotland and elsewhere, with no settlement yet to its vague fermenting humours, and not even money to pay its arrears, is dangerous enough.

Of Adjutant-General Allen whom this letter concerns, it may be proper to say that Ludlow in mentioning him has mistaken his man. The reader recollects, a good while ago, Three Troopers, notable at the moment, who appeared once before the Long Parliament, with a Petition from the Army in the year Forty-seven? Their names were Allen, Sexby, Sheppard: Ludlow will have it, the Trooper Allen was this Adjutant-General Allen,[3] which is a mistake of Ludlow's. Trooper Sexby we did once see as Captain Sexby, after Preston Fight; and shall again, in sad circumstances see: but of Trooper Allen there is no farther vestige any where but this imaginary one; of Trooper Sheppard not even an imaginary vestige. They have vanished, these two; and Adjutant-General Allen, vindicating his identity, such as it is, enters here on his own footing. A resolute devout man, whom we have seen before; the same who was deep in the Prayer-Meeting at Windsor years ago,[4] this is his third, and we hope his last appearance on the stage of things.

Allen has been in Ireland, since that Prayer-Meeting; in Ireland and elsewhere, resolutely fighting, earnestly praying, as from of old; has had many darkenings of mind; expects, for almost a year past, "little good from the Governments of this world," one or the other. He has honoured, and still would fain honour, "the Person now in chief place," having seen in him much "uprightheartedness to the Lord;" must confess, however, "the late Change hath more stumbled me than any ever did;"—and on the whole knows not what he will resolve upon.[5] We find he has resolved on quitting Ireland, for one thing; has come over to "his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's in Devonshire;"—and, to all appearance, is not building established-churches there! "Captain Unton Crook," of whom we shall hear afterwards, is an active man, son

[1] *Postea*, Speech IV.: and Thurloe, iii. 110, &c.
[2] 16 January, 1654-5 (Overton's Letter, *Thurloe*, iii. 110).
[3] Ludlow, i. 189: "Edward Sexby," "William Allen;" but in the name of the third Trooper which is not "Philips" but *Sheppard*, he is mistaken; and as to "Adjutant-General Allen" and the impossibility of his identity with this William Allen, see Antea, vol. i. p. 198.
[4] *Antea*, vol. i., p. 188.
[5] Two intercepted Letters of Allen's (Thurloe, ii. 214, 15), "Dublin, 6 April, 1654."

of a learned Lawyer ;[1] very zealous for the Protector's interest ;—zealous for his own and his Father's promotion, growls Ludlow. Desborow, who fitted out the late mysterious Sea-Armament on the Southern Coast (not too judiciously, I doubt), is Commander-in-chief in those parts.

'*For Captain Unton Crook at Exeter : These.*'

SIR, Whitehall, 20th January, 1654.

Being informed by a Letter of yours and General Desborow, also by a Letter from the High Sheriff of Devon, that Adjutant-General Allen doth very ill offices by multiplying dissatisfaction in the minds of men to the present Government, I desire you and the High Sheriff to make diligent inquiry after him, and try to make out what can be made in this kind, and to give me speedy notice thereof. Not doubting of your care herein, I rest,

Your loving friend,
OLIVER P.

If he be gone out of the Country, learn whither he has gone, and send me word by next post.*

Allen was gone out of the Country ; he was seized by Crook "in his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's house," on the 31st of January, 1654-5 ; his papers searched, and himself ordered to be and continue prisoner, at a place agreed upon,—Sand in Somersetshire,—"under his note of hand." So much we learn from the imbroglios of *Thurloe ;*[2] where also are authentic Depositions concerning Allen, "by Captains John Copleston and the said Unton Crook ;" and two Letters of Allen's own,—one to the Protector ; and one to "Colonel Daniel Axtel," the Regicide Axtel, "Dr. Philip Carteret, or either of them," enclosing that other Letter, and leaving it to them to present it or not, he himself thinking earnestly that they should. Both of these Letters, as well as Unton Crook's to the Protector, and the authentic Deposition of Copleston and Crook against Allen, are dated February 7th, 1654-5.

The witnesses depose,[3] That he has bragged to one "Sir John Davis baronet," of an interview he had with the Protector not long since,—wherein he, Allen, told the Protector a bit of his mind ; and left him in a kind of huff, and even at a nonplus ; and so came off to the West Country in a triumphant manner. Farther he talks questionable things of Ireland, of discontents there, and in laud of Lieutenant-General Ludlow ; says, There is plenty of discontent in Ireland ; he himself means to be there in February, but will first go to London again. The Country rings with rumour of his questionable speeches. He goes to "meetings" about Bristol, whither many persons convene,—for Anabaptist or other purposes. Such meetings are often on week-days. Questionabler still, he rides thither "with a vizard or mask over his face ;" 'with glasses over his eyes"—barnacles, so to speak ! Nay, questionablest of all, riding, "on Friday, the 5th of last month," month of

[1] Made Sergeant Crook in 1655 (Heath, p. 693).

* Lansdowne MSS. 1236, fol. 102. Superscription torn off ;—only the Signature is in Olivér's hand ? Address supplied here by inference. [2] iii. 143 ; see pp. 140, 1. [3] Ibid. iii. 140.

January, 1654-5, "to a meeting at Luppit, near Honiton, Devon," there rode also (but not I think to the same place!) a Mr. Hugh Courtenay, once a flaming Royalist Officer in Ireland, and still a flaming zealot to the lost Cause; who spake nothing all that afternoon but mere treason, of Anabaptists that would rise in London, of &c., &c. Allen, as we say, on the last morning of January, was awoke from sleep in his Father-in-law, Mr. Huish's, by the entrance of two armed troopers; who informed him that Captain Crook and the High Sheriff were below, and that he would have to put on his clothes, and come down.

Allen's Letter to the Lord Protector, from Sand in Somersetshire, we rather reluctantly withhold, for want of room. A stubborn, sad, stingily respectful piece of writing: Wife and baby terribly ill off at Sand; desires to be resigned to the Lord, "before whom both of us shall ere long nakedly appear;"—petitions that at least he might be allowed "to attend ordinances;" which surely would be reasonable! Are there not good horses that require to be ridden with a dextrous bridle-hand,—delicate, and yet hard and strong? Clearly a strenuous Anabaptist, this Allen; a rugged, true-hearted, not easily governable man; given to Fifth-Monarchy and other notions, though with a strong head to control them. Fancy him duly cashiered from the Army, duly admonished and dismissed into private life. Then add the Colonel Overtons and Colonel Alureds, and General Ludlows and Major-General Harrisons, and also the Charles Stuarts and Christian Kings;—and reflect once more what kind of task this of my Lord Protector's is, and whether he needs refractory Pedant Parliaments to worsen it for him!

SPEECH IV.

FINDING this Parliament was equal to nothing in the Spiritual way but tormenting of poor Heretics, receiving Petitions for a small advance towards coal and candle; and nothing in the Temporal, but constitutional air-fabrics and vigilant checkings and balancings,—under which operations such precious fruits at home and abroad were ripening,—Oliver's esteem for this Parliament gradually sank to a marked degree. Check, check,—like maladroit ship-carpenters hammering, adzing, sawing at the Ship of the State, instead of diligently caulking and paying it; idly gauging and computing, nay recklessly tearing up and remodelling;—when the poor Ship could hardly keep the water as yet, and the Pirates and Sea-Krakens were gathering round! All which most dangerous, not to say half-frantic operations, the Lord Protector discerning well, and swallowing in silence as his hest was,—had for a good while kept his eye upon the Almanac, with more and more impatience for the arrival of the Third of February. That will be the first deliverance of the poor labouring Commonwealth, when at the end of Five Months we send these Parliament philosophers home to their countries again. Five Months by the Instrument they have to sit;—O fly, lazy Time; it is yet but Four Months and——Somebody suggested, Is not the Soldier-month counted by Four Weeks? Eight-and-twenty days are a Soldier's Month: they have, in a sense, already sat five months, these vigilant Honourable Gentlemen!

Oliver Protector, on Monday morning, 22d January, 1654-5, surprises the Constitutioning Parliament with a message to attend him in the Painted Chamber, and leave "Settling of the Government" for a while. They have yet voted no Supplies; nor meant to vote any. They thought themselves very safe till February 3d, at soonest. But my Lord Protector, from his high place, speaks, and dissolves.

Speech Fourth, "printed by Henry Hills, printer to his Highness the Lord Protector," is the only one of these Speeches, concerning the reporting, printing or publishing of which there is any visible charge or notice taken by the Government of the time. It is ordered in this instance, by the Council of State, That nobody except Henry Hills or those appointed by him shall presume to print or reprint the present Speech, or any part of it. Perhaps an official precaution considered needful; perhaps also only a matter of copyright; for the Order is so worded as not to indicate which. At all events, there is no trace of the Report having been anywhere interfered with; which seems altogether a spontaneous one; probably the product of Rushworth or some such artist.[1]

The Speech, if read with due intensity, can be understood; and what is equally important, be believed; nay, be found to contain in it a manful, great and valiant meaning,—in tone and manner very resolute, yet very conciliatory; intrinsically not ignoble but noble. For the rest, it is, as usual, sufficiently incondite in phrase and conception; the hasty outpouring of a mind which is full of such meanings. Somewhat difficult to read. Practical Heroes, unfortunately, as we once said, do not speak in blank-verse; their trade does not altogether admit of that! Useless to look here for a Greek Temple with its porticoes and entablatures, and *styles*. But the Alp Mountain, with its chasms and cataracts and shaggy pine-forests, and huge granite masses rooted in the Heart of the World: this too is worth looking at, to some. I can give the reader little help; but will advise him to try.

GENTLEMEN,

I perceive you are here as the House of Parliament, by your Speaker whom I see here, and by your faces which are in a great measure known to me. [*Doubtless we are here, your Highness!*]

When I first met you in this room, it was to my apprehension the hopefullest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to the considerations of this world. For I did look at, as wrapt up in you together with myself, the hopes and the happiness of,—though not of the greatest,—yet a very great 'People;' and the best People in the world. And truly and unfeignedly I thought 'it' so: as a People that have the highest and clearest profession amongst them of the greatest glory, namely Religion: as a People that have been, like other Nations, sometimes up and sometimes down in our honour in the world, but yet never so low but we might measure with other Nations:—and a People that have had a stamp upon them from God [*Hah!*]; God having, as it were, summed up all our former honour and glory in the things that *are* of glory to Nations, in an Epitome, within these Ten or Twelve years last past! So that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad.

[1] See Burton's *Diary*

And if I be not very much mistaken, we were arrived,—as I, and truly I believe as many others, did think,—at a very safe port; where we might sit down and contemplate the Dispensations of God, and our Mercies; and might know our Mercies not to have been like those of the Ancients,—who did make out their peace and prosperity, as they thought, by their own endeavours; who could not say, as we, That all ours were let down to us from God Himself! Whose appearances and providences amongst us are not to be outmatched by any Story. [*Deep silence; from the old Parliament and from us.*] Truly this was our condition. And I know nothing else we had to do, save as Israel was commanded in that most excellent Psalm of David: "The things which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their children; shewing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and His strength, and His wonderful works that He hath done. For he established a Testimony in Jacob, and appointed a Law in Israel; which He commanded our fathers that they should make known to their children; that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born, who should arise and declare them to *their* children: that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep His commandments."[1]

This I thought had been a song and a work worthy of England, whereunto you might happily have invited them,—had you had hearts unto it. [*Alas!*] You had this opportunity fairly delivered unto you. And if a history shall be written of these Times and Transactions, it will be said, it will not be denied, that these things that I have spoken are true! [*No response from the Moderns: mere silence, stupor, not without sadness.*] This talent was put into your hands. And I shall recur to that which I said at the first: I came with very great joy and contentment and comfort, the first time I met you in this place. But we and these Nations are, for the present, under some disappointment!—If I had proposed to have played the Orator,—which I never did affect, nor do, nor I hope shall [*Hear!*],—I doubt not but upon easy suppositions, which I am persuaded every one among you will grant, we did meet upon such hopes as these.

I met you a second time here: and I confess, at that meeting I had much abatement of my hopes; though not a total frustration. I confess that that which damped my hopes so soon was somewhat that did look like a parricide. It is obvious enough unto you that the 'then' management of affairs did savour of a Not owning of the Authority that called you hither. But God left us not without an expedient that gave a second possibility,—shall I say possibility? It seemed to me a probability of recovering out of that dissatisfied condition we were all then in, towards some mutuality of satisfaction. And, therefore, by that Recognition [*The Parchment we had to sign: Hum-m!*], suiting with the Indenture that returned you hither; to which afterwards was also added your own Declaration,[2] conformable to, and in acceptance of, that expedient:—thereby, 'I say,' you had, though with a little check, another opportunity renewed unto you to have made this Nation as

[1] Psalm lxxviii. 3-7.

[2] Commons Journals (vii. 368), 14 Sept. 1654.

happy as it could have been if every thing had smoothly run on from that first hour of your meeting. And indeed,—you will give me liberty of my thoughts and hopes,—I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged in as a soldier, That some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first, have made way for very great and happy successes:[1] and I did not at all despond but the stop put upon you, in like manner, would have made way for a blessing from God. That Interruption being, as I thought, necessary to divert you from violent and destructive proceedings; to give time for better deliberations;—whereby leaving the Government as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made those good and wholesome Laws which the People expected from you, and might have answered the Grievances, and settled those other things proper to you as a Parliament: for which you would have had thanks from all that entrusted you. [*Doubtful "Hum-m-m!" from the old Parliament.*]

What hath happened since that time I have not taken public notice of; as declining to intrench on Parliament privileges. For sure I am you will all bear me witness, That from your entering into the House upon the Recognition, to this day, you have had no manner of interruption or hindrance of mine in proceeding to what blessed issue the heart of a good man could propose to himself,—to this very day 'none.' You see you have me very much locked up, as to what you have transacted among yourselves, from that time to this. ["*None dare report us, or whisper what we do.*"] But some things I shall take liberty to speak of to you.

As I may not take notice what you have been doing; so I think I have a very great liberty to tell you That I do not know what you have been doing! ! [*With a certain tone; as one may hear!*] I do not know whether you have been alive or dead. I have not once heard from you all this time; I have not: and that you all know. If that be a fault that I have not, surely it hath not been mine!—If I have had any melancholy thoughts, and have sat down by them,—why might it not have been very lawful for me to think that I was a Person judged unconcerned in all these businesses? I can assure you I have not so reckoned myself! Nor did I reckon myself unconcerned in you. And so long as any just patience could support my expectation I would have waited to the uttermost to have received from you the issue of your consultations and resolutions.—I have been careful of your safety, and the safety of those that you represented, to whom I reckon myself a servant.—

But what messages have I disturbed you withal? What injury or indignity hath been done, or offered, either to your persons or to any privileges of Parliament, since you sat? I looked at myself as strictly obliged by my Oath, since your recognising the Government in the authority of which you were called hither and sat, To give you all possible security, and to keep you from any unparliamentary interruption. Think you I could not say more upon this subject, if I listed to expatiate thereupon? But because my actions plead for me, I shall say

[1] Characteristic sentence, and sentiment—not to be meddled with.

no more of this. [*Old Parliament dubiously rolls its eyes.*]—I say, I have been caring for *you*, for your quiet sitting; caring for your privileges, as I said before, that they might not be interrupted; have been seeking of God, from the great God a blessing upon you, and a blessing upon these Nations. I have been consulting if possibly I might, in any thing, promote, in any place, the real good of this Parliament, of the hopefulness of which I have said so much unto you. And I did think it to be my business rather to see the utmost issue, and what God would produce by you, than unseasonably to intermeddle with you.

But, as I said before, I have been caring for you, and for the peace and quiet of these Nations: indeed I have; and that I shall a little presently manifest unto you. And it leadeth me to let you know somewhat,—which, I fear, I fear, will be, through some interpretation, a little too justly put upon *you;* whilst you have been employed as you have been, and,—in all that time expressed in the Government, in that Government, I say in that Government,—have brought forth nothing that you yourselves say *can* be taken notice of without infringement of your privileges![1] I will tell you somewhat, which, if it be not news to you, I wish you had taken very serious consideration of. If it be news, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner. And yet if any man will ask me why I did it not, the reason is given already: Because I did make it my business to give you no interruption.

There be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees: There be some that choose,—a man may say so by way of allusion,—to thrive under the shadow of other trees. I will tell you what hath thriven,—I will not say what you have *cherished*, under your shadow; that were too hard. Instead of Peace and Settlement,—instead of mercy and truth being brought together, and righteousness and peace kissing each other, by 'your' reconciling the Honest People of these Nations, and settling the woful distempers that are amongst us · which had been glorious things and worthy of Christians to have proposed,— weeds and nettles, briars and thorns have thriven under your shadow! Dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction; together with real dangers to the whole,—have been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting, than in some years before! Foundations have also been laid for the future renewing of the Troubles of these Nations by all the enemies of them abroad and at home. Let not these words seem too sharp: for they are true as any mathematical demonstrations are, or can be. I say the enemies of the peace of these Nations abroad and at home, the discontented humours throughout these Nations,—which 'products' I think no man will grudge to call by that name, of briars and thorns,—*they* have nourished themselves under your shadow! [*Old Parliament looks still more uneasy.*]

And that I may clearly be understood: They have taken their opportunities from your sitting, and from the hopes they had, which with easy

[1] An embarrassed sentence; characteristic of His Highness. "You have done nothing noticeable upon this 'Somewhat' that I am about to speak of,—nor indeed, it seems, upon *any* Somewhat;—and *this* was one you may, without much 'interpretation,' be blamed for doing nothing upon." "Government" means *Instrument of Government:* "the time expressed" therein is *Five Months*,—now, by my way of calculating it, expired! Which may account for the embarrassed iteration of the phrase, on his Highness's part.

conjecture they might take up and conclude that there would be no Settlement; and they have framed their designs, preparing for the execution of them accordingly. Now whether,—which appertains not to me to judge of, on their behalf,—they had any occasion ministered for this, and from whence they had it, I list not to make any scrutiny or search. But I will say this: I think they had it not from me. I am sure they had not 'from me.' From whence they had, is not my business now to discourse: but *that* they had, is obvious to every man's sense. What preparations they have made, to be executed in such a season as they thought fit to take their opportunity from: that I know, not as men know things by conjecture, but by certain demonstrable knowledge. That they have been for some time past furnishing themselves with arms; nothing doubting but they should have a day for it; and verily believing that, whatsoever their former disappointments were, they should have more done for them by and from our own divisions, than they were able to do for themselves. I desire to be understood That, in all I have to say of this subject, you will take it that I have no reservation in my mind,—as I have not,—to mingle things of guess and suspicion with things of fact: but 'that' the things I am telling of are fact; things of evident demonstration.

These weeds, briars and thorns,—they have been preparing, and have brought their designs to some maturity, by the advantages given to them, as aforesaid, from your sitting and proceedings. ["*Hum-m-m!*"] But by the Waking Eye that watched over that Cause that God will bless, they have been, and yet are, disappointed. [*Yea!*] And having mentioned that Cause, I say, that slighted Cause,—let me speak a few words in behalf thereof; though it may seem too long a digression. Whosoever despiseth it, and will say, It is *non Causa pro Causa*, 'a Cause without Cause,'—the All-searching Eye before mentioned will find out that man; and will judge him, as one that regardeth not the works of God nor the operations of His hands! [*Moderns look astonished.*] For which God hath threatened that He will cast men down, and not build them up. That 'man who,' because he can dispute, will tell us he knew not when the Cause began, nor where it is; but modelleth it according to his own intellect; and submits not to the Appearances of God in the World; and therefore lifts up his heel against God, and mocketh at all His providences; laughing at the observations, made up not without reason and the Scriptures, and by the quickening and teaching Spirit which gives life to these other;—calling such observations "enthusiasms:" such men, I say, no wonder if they "stumble, and fall backwards, and be broken, and snared and taken,"[1] by the things of which they are so wilfully and maliciously ignorant! The Scriptures say, "The Rod has a voice, and He will make Himself known by the judgments which He executeth." And do we not think He will, and does, by the providences of mercy and kindness which He hath for His People and their just liberties; "whom He loves as the apple of His eye?" Doth He not by them manifest Himself? And is He not thereby also seen giving kingdoms for them, "giving men for them, and

1 Isaiah, xxviii. 13. A text that had made a great impression upon Oliver: see Letter to the General Assembly, vol. ii. p. 370.

people for their lives"—As it is in Isaiah Forty-third?[1] Is not this as fair a lecture and as clea speaking, as any thing our dark reason, left to the letter of the Scriptures, can collect from them? By this voice has God spoken very loud on behalf of His people, by judging their enemies in the late War, and restoring *them* a liberty to worship with the freedom of their estates and persons when they do so. And thus we have found the Cause of God by the works of God; which are the testimony of God. Upon which rock whosoever splits shall suffer shipwreck. But it is your glory,—and it is mine, if I have any in the world concerning the Interest of those that have an interest in a better world,—it is my glory that I know a Cause which yet we have *not* lost; but do hope we shall take a little pleasure rather to lose our lives than lose! [*Hah!*]—But you will excuse this long digression.——

I say unto you, Whilst you have been in the midst of these Transactions, that Party, that Cavalier Party,—I could wish some of them had thrust in here, to have heard what I say,—have been designing and preparing to put this Nation in blood again, with a witness. But because I am confident there are none of that sort here, therefore I shall say the less to that. Only this I must tell you: They have been making great preparations of arms; and I do believe it will be made evident to you that they have raked out many thousands of arms, even all that this City could afford, for divers months last past. But it will be said, "May we not arm ourselves for the defence of our houses? Will any body find fault for that?" Not for that. But the reason for *their* doing so hath been as explicit, and under as clea proof, as the fact of doing so. For which I hope, by the justice of the land, some will in the face of the Nation, answer it with their lives: and then the business will be pretty well out of doubt.—Banks of money have been framing, for these and other such like uses. Letters have been issued with Privy-seals, to as great Persons as most are in the Nation, for the advance of money,—which 'Letters' have been discovered to us by the Persons themselves. Commissions for regiments of horse and foot, and command of castles, have been likewise given from Charles Stuart, since your sitting. And what the general insolences of that Party have been, the Honest People have been sensible of, and can very well testify.

It hath not only been thus. But as in a quinsy or pleurisy, where the humour fixeth in one part, give it scope, all 'disease' will gather to that place, to the hazarding of the whole: and it is natural to do so till it destroy life in that person on whomsoever this befals. So likewise will *these* diseases take accidental causes of aggravation of their distemper. And this was that which I did assert, That they have taken accidental causes for the growing and increasing of those distempers,—as much as would have been in the natural body if timely remedy were not applied. And indeed things were come to that pass,—in respect of which I shall give you a particular account,—that no mortal physician, if the Great Physician had not stepped in, could have cured the distemper. Shall I lay this upon your account, or my own? I am sure I can lay it upon God's account: That if He had not stepped in, the disease had been mortal and destructive!

[1] Isaiah, xliii. 3, 4: Another prophecy of awful moment to his Highness: see Speech I. vol. ii. p. 502.

And what is all this? 'What are these new diseases that have gathered to this point?' Truly I must needs still say: "A company of men like briars and thorns; and worse, if worse can be. Of another sort than those before mentioned to you, These also have been and yet are endeavouring to put us into blood and into confusion; more desperate and dangerous confusion than England ever yet saw. [*Anabaptist Levellers!*] And I must say, as when Gideon commanded his son to fall upon Zeba and Zalmunna, and slay them, they thought it more noble to die by the hand of a man than of a stripling,—which shews there is some contentment in the hand by which a man falls: so it is some satisfaction if a Commonwealth must perish, that it perish by men, and not by the hands of persons differing little from beasts! That if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from rich men than from poor men, who, as Solomon says, "when they oppress, leave nothing behind them, but are as a sweeping rain." Now such as these also are grown up under your shadow. But it will be asked, What have they done? I hope, though they pretend "Commonwealth's Interest," they have had no encouragement from you; but have, as in the former case, rather taken it than that you have administered any cause unto them for so doing. 'Any cause' from delays, from hopes that this Parliament would not settle, from Pamphlets mentioning strange Votes and Resolves of yours; which I hope did abuse you! But thus you see that, whatever the grounds were, these have been the effects. And thus I have laid these things before you; and you and others will be easily able to judge how far you are concerned.

"What these men have done?" They also have laboured to pervert, where they could, and as they could, the Honest-meaning People of the Nation. They have laboured to engage some in the Army: and I doubt that not only they, but some others also, very well known to you, have helped to this work of debauching and dividing the army. They have, they have! [*Overton, Allen and Company, your Highness?*] I would be loath to say Who, Where, and How; much more loath to say they were any of your own number. But I can say: Endeavours have been 'made' to put the Army into a distemper, and to feed that which is the worst humour in the Army. Which though it was not a mastering humour, yet these took advantage from delay of the Settlement, and the practices before mentioned, and the stopping of the pay of the Army, to run us into Free-quarter, and to bring us into the inconveniences most to be feared and avoided.—What if I am able to make it appear in fact, That some amongst you have run into the City of London, to persuade to Petitions and Addresses to you for reversing your own Votes that you have passed? Whether these practices were in favour of your Liberties, or tended to beget hopes of Peace and Settlement from you; and whether debauching the Army in England, as is before expressed, and starving it, and putting it upon Free-quarter, and occasioning and necessitating the greatest part thereof in Scotland to march into England, leaving the remainder thereof to have their throats cut there; and kindling by the rest a fire in our own bosoms, were for the advantage of affairs here, let the world judge!

This I tell you also: That the correspondence held with the Interest

of the Cavaliers, by that Party of men called Levellers, who call themselves Commonwealth's-men, 'is in our hands.' Whose Declarations were framed to that purpose, and ready to be published at the time of their 'projected' common Rising; whereof, I 'say,' we are possessed; and for which we have the confession of themselves now in custody; who confess also they built their hopes upon the assurance they had of the Parliament's not agreeing to a Settlement:—whether these humours have not nourished themselves under your boughs, is the subject of my present discourse;—and I think I shall say not amiss, if I affirm it to be so. [*His Highness looks animated!*] And I must say it again, That that which hath been their advantage, thus to raise disturbance, hath been by the loss of those golden opportunities which God had put into your hands for Settlement. Judge you whether these things were thus, or not, when you first sat down. I am sure things were not thus! There was a very great peace and sedateness throughout these Nations; and great expectations of a happy Settlement. Which I remembered to you at the beginning in my Speech; and hoped that you would have entered on your business as you found it. ["*Hum-m! We had a Constitution to make!*"]

There was a Government 'already' in the possession of the People,—I say a Government in the possession of the People, for many months. It hath now been exercised near Fifteen Months; and if it were needful that I should tell you *how* it came into their possession, and how willingly they received it; how all Law and Justice were distributed from it, in every respect, as to life, liberty and estate; how it was owned by God, as being the dispensation of His providence after Twelve Years War; and sealed and witnessed unto by the People,—I should but repeat what I said in my last Speech unto you in this place: and therefore I forbear. When you were entered upon this Government: ravelling into it—You know I took no notice what you were doing—[*Nor will now, your Highness; let the Sentence drop!*]—If you had gone upon that foot of account, To have made such good and wholesome provisions for the Good of the People of these Nations 'as were wanted;' for the settling of such matters in things of Religion as would have upheld and given countenance to a a Godly Ministry, and yet 'as' would have given a just liberty to godly men of different judgments,—'to' men of the same faith with them that you call the Orthodox Ministry in England, as it is well known the Independents are, and many under the form of Baptism, who are sound in the faith, and though they may perhaps be different in judgment in some lesser matters, yet as true Christians both looking for salvation only by faith in the blood of Christ, men professing the fear of God, and having recourse to the name of God as to a strong tower—I say you might have had opportunity to have settled peace and quietness amongst all professing Godliness; and might have been instrumental, if not to have healed the breaches, yet to have kept the Godly of all judgments from running one upon another; and by keeping them from being overrun by a Common Enemy, 'have' rendered them and these Nations both secure, happy and well satisfied. [*And the Constitution? Hum-m-m!*]

Are these things done; or any things towards them? Is there not

yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy them unless they can press their finger upon their brethrens' consciences, to pinch them there. To do this was no part of the Contest we had with the Common Adversary. For 'indeed' Religion was not the thing at first contested for 'at all;'[1] but God brought it to that issue at last; and gave it unto us by way of redundancy; and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us. And wherein consisted this more than In obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the Bishops to all species of Protestants to worship God according to their own light and consciences? For want of which many of our brethren forsook their native countries to seek their bread from strangers, and to live in howling wildernesses [*Our poor brethren of New England!*]; and for which also many that remained here were imprisoned, and otherwise abused and made the scorn of the Nation. Those that were sound in the faith, how proper was it for them to labour for liberty, for a just liberty, that men might not be trampled upon for their consciences! Had not they 'themselves' laboured, but lately, under the weight of persecution? And was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed by the Bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands!—As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition; the contentious railers, evil-speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners; persons of loose conversation,—punishment from the Civil Magistrate ought to meet with these. Because, if they pretend conscience; yet walking disorderly and not according but contrary to the Gospel, and even to natural lights,—they are judged of all. And their sins being open, make them subjects of the Magistrate's sword, who ought not to bear it in vain.—The discipline of the Army *was* such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such practices as these.—

And therefore how happy would England have been, and you and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled upon such good accounts as these are, and to have discountenanced such practices as the other, and left men in disputable things free to their own consciences! Which was well provided for by the 'Instrument of' Government; and liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil. Judge you, Whether the contesting for things that were provided for by this Government hath been profitable expense of time, for the good of these Nations! By means whereof you may see you have wholly elapsed your time, and done just nothing!—I will say this to you, in behalf of the Long Parliament: That, had such an expedient as this Government been proposed to them; and could they have seen the Cause of God thus provided for; and been, by debates, enlightened in the grounds 'of it,' whereby the difficulties might have been cleared 'to them,' and the reason of the whole enforced, and the circumstances of time and persons, with the

[1] Power of the Militia was the point upon which the actual War began. A statement not false; yet truer in form than it is in essence.

temper and disposition of the People, and affairs both abroad and at home when it was undertaken might have been well weighed 'by them:' I think in my conscience,—well as they were thought to love their seats,—they would have proceeded in another manner than you have done! And *not* have exposed things to these difficulties and hazards they now are at; nor given occasion to leave the People so dissettled as they now are. Who, I dare say, in the soberest and most judicious part of them, did expect, not a questioning, but a doing of things in pursuance of the 'Instrument of' Government. And if I be misinformed, very many of you came up with this satisfaction; having had time enough to weigh and consider the same.

And when I say "such an expedient as this Government,"—wherein I dare assert there is a just Liberty to the People of God, and the just Rights of the People in these Nations provided for,—I can put the issue thereof upon the clearest reason; whatsoever any go about to suggest to the contrary. But this not being the time and place of such an averment, 'I forbear at present.' For satisfaction's sake herein, enough is said in a Book entituled '*A State of the Case of the Commonwealth*,' published in January 1653.[1] And for myself, I desire not to keep my place in this Government an hour longer than I may preserve England in its just rights, and may protect the People of God in such a just Liberty of their Consciences as I have already mentioned. And therefore if this Parliament have judged things to be otherwise than as I have stated them,—it had been huge friendliness between persons who had such a reciprocation in so great concernments to the public, for *them* to have convinced me in what particulars therein my error lay! Of which I had never yet had a word from you! But if, instead thereof, your time has been spent in setting up somewhat else, upon another bottom than this stands 'upon,'—it looks as if the laying grounds for a *quarrel* had rather been designed than to give the People *settlement*. If it be thus, it's *well* your labours have not arrived to any maturity at all! [*Old Parliament looks agitated;—agitated, yet constant!*]

This Government called you hither; the constitution thereof being limited so,—a Single Person and a Parliament. And this was thought most agreeable to the general sense of the Nation;—having had experience enough, by trial, of other conclusions; judging this most likely to avoid the extremes of Monarchy on the one hand, and of Democracy on the other;—and yet not to found *Dominium in Gratiâ* 'either.' [*Your Highness does not claim to be here as Kings do, By Grace, then? No!*] And if so, then certainly to make the Authority more than a mere notion, it was requisite that it should be as it is in this 'Frame of' Government; which puts it upon a true and equal balance. It has been already submitted to the judicious, true and honest People of this Nation, Whether the balance be not equal? And what their judgment is, is visible,—by submission to it; by acting upon it; by restraining their Trustees from meddling with it. And it neither asks nor needs any better ratification! [*Hear!*] But when Trustees in Parliament

[1] Read it he who wants satisfaction: "Printed by Thomas Newcombe, London, 1653-4":—"wrote with great spirit of language and subtility of argument," says the *Parliamentary History* (xx. 419).

shall, by experience, find any evil in any parts of this 'Frame of' Government, 'a question' referred by the Government itself to the consideration of the Protector and Parliament,—of which evil or evils Time itself will be the best discoverer:—how can it be reasonably imagined that a Person or Persons, coming in by election, and standing under such obligations, and so limited, and so necessitated by oath to govern for the People's good, and to make *their* love, under God, the best underpropping and only safe footing:—how can it, I say, be imagined that the present or succeeding Protectors will refuse to agree to alter any such thing in the Government as may be found to be for the good of the People? Or to recede from any thing which he might be convinced casts the balance too much to the Single Person? And although, for the present, the keeping up and having in his power the Militia seems the hardest 'condition,' yet if the power of the Militia should be yielded up at such a time as this, when there is as much need of it to keep this Cause (now most evidently impugned by all Enemies), as there was to *get* it 'for the sake of this Cause:'—what would become of us all! Or if it should not be equally placed in him and the Parliament, but yielded up *at any time*,—it determines his power either for doing the good he ought, or hindering Parliaments from perpetuating themselves; from imposing what Religion they please on the consciences of men, or what Government they please upon the Nation. Thereby subjecting us to dissettlement in every Parliament, and to the desperate consequences thereof. And if the Nation *shall* happen to fall into a blessed Peace, how easily and certainly will their charge be taken off, and their forces be disbanded! And then where will the danger be to have the Militia thus stated?—What if I should say: If there *be* a disproportion, or disequality as to the power, it is on the other hand!—

And if this be so, Wherein have you had cause to quarrel? What demonstrations have you held forth to settle me to your opinion? I would you had made me so happy as to have let me known your grounds! I have made a free and ingenuous confession of my faith to *you*. And I could have wished it had been in your hearts to have agreed that some friendly and cordial debates might have been toward mutual conviction. Was there none amongst you to move such a thing? No fitness to listen to it? No desire of a right understanding? If it be not folly in me to listen to Town-talk, such things *have* been proposed; and rejected, with stiffness and severity, once and again. Was it not likely to have been more advantageous to the good of this Nation? I will say this to you for myself; and to that I have my conscience as a thousand witnesses, and I have my comfort and contentment in it; and I have the witness 'too' of divers here, who I think truly 'would' scorn to own me in a lie: That I would not have been adverse to any alteration, of the good I might have been convinced. Although I could not have agreed to the taking it off the foundation on which it stands; namely, the acceptance and consent of the People. ["*Our sanction not needed, then!*"]

I will not presage what you have been about, or doing, in all this time. Nor do I love to make conjectures But I must tell you this:

That as I undertook this Government in the simplicity of my heart and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the Interest,—which in my conscience 'I think' is dear to many of you; though it is not always understood what God in His wisdom may hide from us, as to Peace and settlement:—so I can say that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honour or family, are, or have been, prevalent with me to this undertaking. For if you had, upon the old Government,[1] offered me this one, this one thing—I speak as thus advised, and before God; as having been to this day of this opinion; and this hath been my constant judgment, well known to many who hear me speak:—if, 'I say,' this one thing had been inserted, this one thing, That the Government should have been placed in my Family hereditarily, I would have rejected it![2] And I could have done no other according to my present conscience and light. I will tell you my reason;—though I cannot tell what God *will* do with me, nor with you, nor with the Nation for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us.

This hath been my principle; and I liked it, when this Government came first to be proposed to me, That it puts us off that hereditary way. Well looking that God hath declared what Government He delivered to the Jews; and 'that He' placed it upon such Persons as had been instrumental for the Conduct and Deliverance of His People. And considering that Promise in *Isaiah*, "That God would give Rulers as at the first, and Judges as at the beginning," I did not know but that God might 'now' begin,—and though, at present, with a most unworthy person; yet, as to the future, it might be after this manner; and I thought this might usher it in! [*A noble thought, your Highness!*] I am speaking as to my judgment against making Government hereditary. To have men chosen, for their love to God, and to Truth and Justice; and not to have it hereditary. For as it is in the *Ecclesiastes:* "Who knoweth whether he may beget a fool or a wise man?" Honest or not honest, whatever they be, they must come in, on that plan; because the Government is made a patrimony!—And this I perhaps do declare with too much earnestness; as being my own concernment;—and know not what place it may have in your hearts, and in those of the Good People in the Nation. But however it be, I have comfort in this my truth and plainness.

I have thus told you my thoughts; which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing He will not be mocked; and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that I am supported in my speaking;—especially when I do not form or frame things without the compass of integrity and honesty; 'so' that my own conscience gives me not the lie to what I say. And then in what I say, I can rejoice.

Now to speak a word or two to you. Of that, I must profess in the name of the same Lord, and wish there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you! I told you that I came with joy the first time; with some regret the second; yet now I speak with most regret of

[1] Means "the existing Instrument of Government" without modification of yours.

[2] The matter in debate, running very high at this juncture, in the Parliament, was with regard to the Single Person's being *hereditary*. Hence partly the Protector's emphasis here.

all! I look upon you as having among you many persons that I could lay down my life individually for. I could, through the grace of God, desire to lay down my life for you. So far am I from having an unkind or unchristian heart towards you in your particular capacities! I have this indeed as a work most incumbent upon me; 'this of speaking these things to you.' I consulted what might be my duty in such a day as this; casting up all considerations. I must confess, as I told you, that I did think occasionally, This Nation had suffered extremely in the respects mentioned; as also in the disappointment of their expectations of that justice which was due to them by your sitting thus long. 'Sitting thus long;' and what have you brought forth? I did not nor cannot comprehend what it is. I would be loath to call it a Fate; that were too paganish a word. But there has been Something in it that we had not in our expectations.

I did think also, for myself, That I am like to meet with difficulties; and that this Nation will not, as it is fit it should not, be deluded with *pretexts* of Necessity in that great business of raising of Money. And were it not that I can make some dilemmas upon which to resolve some things of my conscience, judgment and actions, I should sink at the very prospect of my encounters. Some of them are general, some are more special. [*Hear the "dilemmas."*] Supposing this Cause or this Business must be carried on, it is either of God or of man. If it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger. [*Hear!*] If I had not had a hope fixed in me that this Cause and this Business was of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, He will bear it up. [*Yea!*] If it be of man, it will tumble; as every thing that hath been of man since the world began hath done. And what are all our Histories, and other Traditions of Actions in former times, but God manifesting Himself, that He hath shaken and tumbled down, and trampled upon, every thing that He had not planted? [*Yes, your Highness: such is, was and forever will be, the History of Man, deeply as we poor Moderns have now forgotten it: and the Bible of every Nation is its Own History; if it have, or had any real Bible!*] And as this is, so 'let' the All-wise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and if it be an old Plotting and Contriving to bring things to this Issue, and that they are not the Births of Providence,—then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if He will do us good,—He is very able to bear us up! Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in his strength be able to encounter with them. And I bless God I have been inured to difficulties; and I never found God failing when I trusted in Him. I can laugh and sing, in my heart, when I speak of these things to you or elsewhere. And though some may think it is an hard thing To raise Money without Parliamentary Authority upon this Nation; yet I have another argument to the Good People of this Nation, if they would be safe, and yet have no better principle: Whether they prefer the having of their will though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of Necessity. That will excuse me. But I should wrong my native country to suppose this.

For I look at the People of these Nations as the blessing of the Lord:

and they are a People blessed by God. They have been so; and they will be so, by reason of that immortal seed which hath been, and is, among them: those Regenerated Ones in the land, of several judgments; who are all the Flock of Christ, and lambs of Christ. 'His,' though perhaps under many unruly passions, and troubles of spirit; whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others: yet they are not so to God; since to us He is a God of other patience; and He will own the least of Truth in the hearts of His People. And the People being the blessing of God, they will not be so angry but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms, when Necessity calls for Supplies. Had they not well been acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of Gospel Liberty.

But if any man shall object, "It is an easy thing to talk of Necessities when men create Necessities: would not the Lord Protector make himself great and his family great? Doth not he make these Necessities? And then he will come upon the People with his argument of Necessity!" —This were something hard indeed. But I have *not* yet known what it is to "make Necessities," whatsoever the thoughts or judgments of men are. And I say this, not only to this Assembly, but to the world, That the man liveth not who can come to me and charge me with having, in these great Revolutions, "made Necessities." I challenge even all that fear God. And as God hath said, "My glory I will not give unto another," let men take heed and be twice advised how they call His Revolutions, the things of God, and His working of things from one period to another,—how, I say, they call them Necessities of men's creation! For by so doing, they do vilify and lessen the works of God, and rob Him of His glory; which He hath said He will not give unto another, nor suffer to be taken from Him! We know what God did to Herod, when he was applauded and did not acknowledge God. And God knoweth what He will do with men, when they call His Revolutions human designs, and so detract from His glory. These issues and events have not been forecast; but 'were' sudden Providences in things: whereby carnal and worldly men are enraged; and under and at which, many, and I fear some good men, have murmured and repined, because disappointed of their mistaken fancies. But still all these things have been the wise disposings of the Almighty; though instruments have had their passions and frailties. And I think it is an honour to God to acknowledge the Necessities to have been of God's imposing, when truly they have been so, as indeed they have. Let us take our sin in our actions to ourselves; it's much more safe than to judge things so contingent, as if there was not a God that ruled the Earth!

We know the Lord hath poured this Nation from vessel to vessel, till He poured it into your lap, when you came first together. I am confident that it came so into your hands; and was not judged by you to be from counterfeited or feigned Necessity, but by Divine Providence and Dispensation. And this I speak with more earnestness, because I speak for God and not for men. I would have any man to come and tell of the Transactions that have been, and of those periods of time wherein God hath made these Revolutions; and find where he can fix a feigned Necessity! I could recite particulars, if either my strength would serve

one to speak, or yours to hear. If you would consider[1] the great Hand of God in His great Dispensations, you would find that there is scarce a man who fell off, at any period of time when God had any work to do, who can give God or His work at this day a good word.

"It was," say some, "the cunning of the Lord Protector,"—I take it to myself,—"it was the craft of such a man, and his plot, that hath brought it about!" And, as they say in other countries, "There are five or six cunning men in England that have skill; they do all these things." Oh, what blasphemy is this! Because men that are without God in the world, and walk not with Him, know not what it is to pray or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the Spirit of God, who speaks without a Written Word sometimes, yet according to it! God hath spoken heretofore in divers manners. Let Him speak as He pleaseth. Hath He not given us liberty, nay is it not our duty, To go to the Law and the Testimony? And there we shall find that there *have* been impressions, in extraordinary cases, as well without the Written Word as with it. And therefore there is no difference in the thing thus asserted from truths generally received,—except we will exclude the Spirit; without whose concurrence all other teachings are ineffectual. [*Yea, your Highness; the true God's-Voice of the Eternal, is in the heart of every Man;—there, wherever else it be.*] He doth speak to the hearts and consciences of men; and leadeth them to His Law and Testimony, and there 'also' He speaks to them; and so gives them double teachings. According to that of Job: "God speaketh once, yea twice;" and to that of David: "God hath spoken once, yea twice have I heard this." These men that live upon their *mumpsimus* and *sumpsimus* [*Bulstrode looks astonished*], their Masses and Service-Books, their dead and carnal worship,—no marvel if they be strangers to God, and to the works of God, and to spiritual dispensations. And because *they* say and believe thus, must we do so too? We, in this land, have been otherwise instructed; even by the Word, and Works, and Spirit of God.

To say that men bring forth these things when God doth them,—judge you if God will bear this? I wish that every sober heart, though he hath had temptations upon him of deserting this Cause of God, yet may take heed how he provokes and falls into the hands of the Living God by such blasphemies as these! According to the Tenth of the *Hebrews*: "If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sin." 'A terrible word.' It was spoken to the Jews who, having professed Christ, apostatised from Him. What then? Nothing but a fearful "falling into the hands of the Living God!"—They that shall attribute to this or that person the contrivances and production of those mighty things God hath wrought in the midst of us; and 'fancy' that they have not been the Revolutions of Christ himself, "upon whose shoulders the government is laid,"—they speak against God, and they fall under His hand without a Mediator. That is, if we deny the Spirit of Jesus Christ the glory of all His works in the world; by which He rules kingdoms, and doth administer, and is the rod of His strength,—we provoke the Mediator: and He may say:

[1] "if that you would revolve" *in orig.*

I will leave you to God, I will not intercede for you; let Him tear you to pieces! I will leave thee to fall into God's hands; thou deniest me my sovereignty and power committed to me; I will not intercede nor mediate for thee; thou fallest into the hands of the Living God!—Therefore whatsoever you may judge men for, howsoever you may say, "This is cunning, and politic, and subtle,"—take heed again, I say, how you judge of His Revolutions as the product of men's inventions!—I may be thought to press too much upon this theme. But I pray God it may stick upon your hearts and mine. The worldly-minded man knows nothing of this, but is a stranger to it; and thence his atheisms, and murmurings at instruments, yea repining at God Himself. And no wonder; considering the Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these thousand years, and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us!—

There is another Necessity, which you have put upon us, and we have not sought. I appeal to God, Angels and Men,—if I shall 'now' raise money according to the Article in the Government 'whether I am not compelled to do it!' Which 'Government' had power to call you hither; and did;—and instead of seasonably providing for the Army, you have laboured to overthrow the Government, and the Army is now upon Free-quarter! And you would never so much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it. Where is the fault? Has it not been as if you had a purpose to put this extremity upon us and the Nation? I hope, this was not in your minds. I am not willing to judge so:—but such is the state into which we are reduced. By the designs of some in the Army who are now in custody, it was designed to get as many of them as possible,—through discontent for want of money, the Army being in a barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon other specious pretences,—to march for England out of Scotland; and, in discontent to seize their General there [*General Monk*], a faithful and honest man, that so another [*Colonel Overton*] might head the Army. And all this opportunity taken from your delays. Whether this will be a thing of feigned Necessity? What could it signify, but "The Army are in discontent already; and we will make them live upon stones; we will make them cast off their governors and discipline?" What can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle myself, and put the fault upon your backs. Whether it hath been for the good of England, whilst men have been talking of this thing or the other [*Building Constitutions*], and pretending liberty and many good words,—whether it has been as it should have been? I am confident you cannot think it has. The Nation will not think so. And if the worst should be made of things, I know not what the Cornish men nor the Lincolnshire men may think, or other Counties; but I believe they will all think *they are not safe*. A temporary suspension of "caring for the greatest liberties and privileges" (if it were so, which is denied) would not have been of such damage as the not providing against Free-quarter hath run the Nation upon. And if it be my "liberty" to walk abroad in the fields, or to take a journey, yet it is not my wisdom to do so when my house is on fire!—

I have troubled you with a long Speech; and I believe it may not

have the same resentment[1] with all that it hath with some. But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God;—and conclude with this: That I think myself bound, as in my duty to God, and to the People of these Nations for their safety and good in every respect,—I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these Nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer. And therefore I do declare unto you, That I do dissolve this Parliament.*

So ends the First Protectorate Parliament; suddenly, very unsuccessfully. A most poor hidebound Pedant Parliament; which reckoned itself careful of the Liberties of England; and was careful only of the Sheepskin Formulas of these; very blind to the Realities of these! Regardless of the facts and clamorous necessities of the Present, this Parliament considered that its one duty was to tie up the hands of the Lord Protector well; to give him no supplies, no power; to make him and keep him the bound vassal and errand-man of this and succeeding Parliaments. This once well done, they thought all was done:—Oliver thought far otherwise. Their painful new-modelling and rebuilding of the Instrument of Government, with an eye to this sublime object, was pointing towards completion, little now but the key-stones to be let in:—when Oliver suddenly withdrew the centres! Constitutional arch and ashlar-stones, scaffolding, workmen, mortar-troughs and scaffold-poles sink in swift confusion; and disappear, regretted or remembered by no person,—not by this Editor for one.

By the arithmetical account of heads in England, the Lord Protector may surmise that he has lost his Enterprise. But by the real divine and human worth of thinking-souls in England, he still believes that he has it; by this, and by a higher mission too;—and "will take a little pleasure to lose his life" before he loses it! He is not here altogether to count heads, or to count costs, this Lord Protector; he is in the breach of battle; placed there, as he understands, by his Great Commander: whatsoever his difficulties be, he must fight them, cannot quit them; must fight there till he die. That is the law of his position, in the eye of God, and also of men. There is no return for him out of this Protectorship he has got into! Called to this post as I have been, placed in it as I am, "To quit it, is what I will be willing to be rolled into my grave, and buried with infamy, before I will consent unto!"—

PART IX.

THE MAJOR-GENERALS.

1655-1656.

CHRONOLOGICAL.

THE Plots and perils to the Commonwealth, which my Lord Protector spoke of to his honourable Members, were not an imagination, but a very tragic reality. Under the shadow of this Constitutioning Parlia-

[1] Means "sense excited by it."

* Old Pamphlet: reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 404-431.

ment, strange things had been ripening: without some other eye than the Parliament's, Constitution and Commonwealth in general had been by this time in a bad way! A universal rising of Royalists combined with Anabaptists is in a real state of progress. Dim meetings there have been of Royalist Gentlemen, on nocturnal moors, in this quarter and in that, "with cart-loads of arms,"—terrified at their own jingle, and rapidly dispersing again till the grand hour come. Anabaptist Levellers have had dim meetings, dim communications; will prefer Charles Stuart himself to the traitor Oliver, who has dared to attempt actual "governing" of men. Charles Stuart has come down to Middleburg, on the Dutch coast, to be in readiness; "Hyde is cock-sure."[1] From the dreary old *Thurloes*, and rubbish-continents, of Spy Letters, Intercepted Letters, Letters of Intelligence; where, scattered at huge intervals, the History of England for those years still lies entombed, it is manifest enough what a winter and spring this was in England. A Protector left without supplies, obliged to cut his Parliament adrift, and front the matter alone; England, from end to end of it, ripe for an explosion; for a universal blazing up of all the heterogeneous combustibilities it had; the Sacred Majesty waiting at Middleburg, and Hyde cock-sure!

Nevertheless it came all to nothing;—there being a Protector in it. The Protector, in defect of Parliaments, issued his own Ordinance, the best he could, for payment of old rates and taxes; which, as the necessity was evident, and the sum fixed upon was low, rather lower than had been expected, the country quietly complied with. Indispensable supply was obtained: and as for the Plots, the Protector had long had his eye on them, had long had his nooses round them;—the Protector strangled them everywhere at the moment suitablest for him, and lodged the ringleaders of them in the Tower. Let us, as usual, try to extricate a few small elucidative facts from the hideous old Pamphletary Imbroglio, where facts and figments, ten thousand facts of no importance to one fact of some, lie mingled, like the living with the dead, in noisome darkness all of them: once extricated, they may assist the reader's fancy a little. Of Oliver's own in reference to this period, too characteristic a period to be omitted, there is little or nothing left us: a few detached Letters, hardly two of them very significant of Oliver; which cannot avail us much, but shall be inserted at their due places.

February 12th. 1654-5. News came this afternoon that Major John Wildman, chief of the *frantic* Anabaptist Party, upon whom the Authorities have had their eye of late, has been seized at Exton near Marlborough, in Wilts; "by a party of Major Butler's horse." In his furnished lodging; "in a room up stairs;" his door stood open: stepping softly up, the troopers found him leaning on his elbow, dictating to his clerk "A Declaration of the free and well-affected People of England now in Arms" (or shortly to be in Arms) "against the Tyrant Oliver Cromwell:"[2] a forcible piece, which can still be read, but only as a fragment, the zealous Major never having had occasion to finish it. They carried him to Chepstow Castle; locked him up there: and the free and well-affected People of England never got to Arms against the

[1] Manning's Letter in *Thurloe*, iii. 384. [2] Whitlocke, p. 599; Cromwelliana, p. 151.

Tyrant, but were only in hopes of getting. Wildman was of the last Parliament; but could not sign the Recognition; went away in virtuous indignation, to act against the Tyrant by stratagem henceforth. He has been the centre of an extensive world of Plots this winter, as his wont from of old was: the mainspring of Royalist Anabaptistry, what we call the *frantic* form of Republicanism, which hopes to attain its object by assisting even Charles Stuart against the Tyrant Oliver. A stirring man; very flamy and very fuliginous: perhaps, since Freeborn John was sealed up in Jersey, the noisest man in England. The turning of the key on him in Chepstow will be a deliverance to us henceforth.

We take his capture as the termination of the Anabaptist-Royalist department of the Insurrection. Thurloe has now got all the threads of this Wildman business in his hand: the ringleaders are laid in prison, Harrison, Lord Grey of Groby and various others; kept there out of harm's way; dealt with in a rigorous, yet gentle, and what we must call great and manful manner. It is remarked of Oliver that none of this Party was ever brought to trial: his hope and wish was always that they might yet be reconciled to him. Colonel Sexby, once Captain Sexby, Trooper Sexby, our old acquaintance, one of Wildman's people, has escaped on this occasion: better for himself had he been captured now, and saved from still madder courses he got into.

Sunday March 11, 1654-5, in the City of Salisbury, about midnight, there occurs a thing worth noting. What may be called the general outcome of the Royalist department of the Insurrection. This too over England generally has, in all quarters where it shewed itself, found some "Major Butler" with due "troops of horse" to seize it, to trample it out, and lay the ringleaders under lock and key. Hardly anywhere could it get the length of fighting: too happy if it could but gallop and hide. In Yorkshire, there was some appearance, and a few shots fired; but to no effect: poor Sir Henry Slingsby, and a Lord Malevrer, and others were laid hold of here; of whom the Lord escaped by stratagem; and poor Sir Henry lies prisoner in Hull, where it will well behove him to keep quiet if he can! But on the Sunday night above mentioned, peaceful Salisbury is awakened from its slumbers by a real advent of Cavaliers. Sir Joseph Wagstaff, a "jolly knight" of those parts, once a Royalist Colonel; he with Squire or Colonel Penruddock, "a gentleman of fair fortune," Squire or Major Grove, also of some fortune, and about Two-hundred others, actually rendezvoused in arms about the big Steeple that Sunday night, and rang a loud alarm in those parts.

It was Assize-time; the Judges had arrived the day before. Wagstaff seizes the Judges in their beds, seizes the High Sheriff, and otherwise makes night hideous;—proposes on the morrow to hang the Judges, as a useful warning, which Mr. Hyde thinks it would have been; but is overruled by Penruddock and the rest. He orders the High Sheriff to proclaim King Charles; High Sheriff will not, not though you hang him; Town-crier will not, not even he though you hang him. The Insurrection does not speed in Salisbury, it would seem. The Insurrection quits Salisbury on Monday night, hearing that troopers are on foot; marches with all speed towards Cornwall, hoping for better luck there. Marches; but Captain Unton Crook, whom we once saw before

marches also in the rear of it; marches swiftly, fiercely; overtakes it at South Molton in Devonshire "on Wednesday about ten at night," and there in few minutes puts an end to it. "They fired out of windows on us," but could make nothing of it. We took Penruddock, Grove and long lists of others; Wagstaff unluckily escaped.[1] The unfortunate men were tried, at Exeter, by a regular assize and jury; were found guilty, some of High Treason, some of "Horse-stealing:" Penruddock and Grove, Stanch Royalists both and gallant men, were beheaded; several were hanged; a great many "sent to Barbadoes;" and this Royalist conflagration too, which should have blazed all over England, is entirely damped out, having amounted to smoke merely, whereby many eyes are bleared! Indeed so prompt and complete is the extinction, thankless people begin to say there had never been anything considerable to extinguish. Had they stood in the middle of it,—had they seen the nocturnal rendezvous at Marston Moor, seen what Shrewsbury, what Rufford Abbey, what North Wales in general, would have grown to on the morrow,—in that case, thinks the Lord Protector not without some indignation, they had known![2] Wagstaff has escaped, and Wilmot Earl of Rochester so-called; right glad to be beyond seas again; and will look twice at an Insurrection before they embark in it in time coming.

A terrible Protector this; no getting of him overset! He has the ringleaders all in his hand, in prison or still at large; as they love their estates and their life, let them be quiet. He can take your estate:—is there not proof enough to take your head, if he pleases? He dislikes shedding blood; but is very apt "to *barbadoes*" an unruly man,—has sent and sends us by hundreds to Barbadoes, so that we have made an active verb of it: "Barbadoes you."[3] Safest to let this Protector alone! Charles Stuart withdraws from Middleburg into the interior obscurities; and Mr. Hyde will not be so cock-sure another time. Mr. Hyde, much pondering how his secret could have been let out, finds that it is an underling of his, one Mr. Manning, a gentleman by birth, "fond of fine clothes," and in very straitened circumstances at present, who has been playing the traitor. Indisputably a traitor: wherefore the King in Council has him doomed to death; has him shot, in winter following, "in the Duke of Neuburg's territory."[4] Diligent Thurloe finds others to take his place.

May 28th, 1655. Desborow, who commands the Regular Troops in that insurrectionary Southwest region, is, by Commission bearing date this day, appointed *Major-General* of the Militia-forces likewise, and of all manner of Civic and military forces at the disposal of the Commonwealth in those parts. Major-General over six counties specified in this Document; with power somewhat enlarged, and not easy to specify,—power in fact to look after the peace of the Commonwealth there, and do what the Council of State shall order him.[5] He coerces Royalists; questions, commits to custody suspected persons; keeps down disturbance by such methods as, on the spot, he finds wisest. A scheme

[1] Crook's Letter, "South Molton, 15 March, 1654, two or three in the morning" (King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 637, sec. 15). State Trials, v. 767 *et seqq.*; Whitlocke, p. 601; Thurloe, iii. 365, 384, 391, 445; Cromwelliana, pp. 152-3.

[2] *Postea*, Speech V.

[3] Intercepted Letters, Thurloe, iii.

[4] Clarendon, iii. 752; Whitelocke, p. 618 (Dec. 1655); Ludlow, ii. 608.

[5] Thurloe, iii. 486.

found to answer well. The beginning of a universal Scheme of MAJOR-GENERALS, which develops itself into full maturity in the autumn of this year; the Lord Protector and his Council of State having well considered it in the interim, and found it the feasiblest; "if not *good*, yet best."

By this Scheme, which we may as well describe here as afterwards, All England is divided into Districts; Ten Districts, a Major-General for each; let him be a man most carefully chosen, a man of real wisdom, valour and veracity, a man fearing God and hating covetousness; for his powers are great. He looks for the Good of the Commonwealth, spiritual and temporal, as he finds wisest. Ejects, or aids in ejecting, scandalous ministers; summons disaffected, suspected persons before him; demands an account of them; sends them to prison, failing an account that satisfies him; and there is no appeal except to the Protector in Council. His force is the Militia of his Counties; horse and foot, levied and kept in readiness for the occasion; especially troops of horse. Involving, of course, new expense;—which we decide that the Plotting Royalists, who occasion it, shall pay. On all Royalist disaffected Persons the Major-General therefore, as his first duty, is to lay an *Income-tax of Ten per-cent;* let them pay it quietly, or it may be worse for them. They pay it very quietly. Strange as it may seem, the Country submits very quietly to this arrangement;—the Major-Generals being men carefully chosen. It is an arbitrary government! murmur many. Yes; arbitrary, but beneficial. These are powers unknown to the English Constitution, I believe; but they are very necessary for the Puritan English Nation at this time. With men of real wisdom, who do fear God and hate covetousness, when you can find such men, you may to some purpose entrust considerable powers!

It is in this way that Oliver Protector coerces the unruly elements of England; says to them: "Peace, ye! With the aid of Parliament and venerable Parchment, if so may be; without it, if so may not be,—I, called hither by a very good Authority, will hold you down. Quiet shall you, for your part, keep yourselves; or be 'barbadoesed,' and worse. Mark it; not while I live shall you have dominion, you nor the Master of you!"—Cock-matches, Horse-races and other loose Assemblages are, for limited times, forbidden; over England generally, or in Districts where it may be thought somewhat is a-brewing. Without cock-fighting we can do: but not without Peace, and the absence of Charles Stuart and his Copartneries. It is a Government of some arbitrariness.

And yet singular, observes my learned friend, how popular it seems to grow. These considerable infringements of the constitutional fabric, prohibition of cockfights, amercings of Royalists, taxing without consent in Parliament, seem not to awaken the indignation of England; rather almost the gratitude and confidence of England. Next year we have "Letters of great appearances of the Country at the Assizes; and how the Gentlemen of the greatest quality served on grand Juries; which is fit to be observed."[1]

We mention, but cannot dwell upon it, another trait belonging to those Spring Months of 1655: the quarrel my Lord Protec

[1] Whitlocke, p. 624 (April 1656.)

tor had in regard to his Ordinance for the Reform of Chancery. Ordinance passed merely by the Protector in Council; never confirmed by any Parliament; which nevertheless he insists upon having obeyed. How our learned Bulstrode, learned Widdrington, two of the Keepers of the Great Seal, durst not obey; and Lisle the other Keeper durst;—and Old-Speaker Lenthall, Master of the Rolls, "would be hanged at the Rolls Gate before he would obey." What profound consults there were among us: buzz in the Profession, in the public generally. And then how Oliver Protector, with delicate patient bridle-hand and yet with resolute spur, made us all obey, or else go out of that,—which latter step Bulstrode and Widdrington with a sublime conscientious feeling, preferred to take, the big heart saying to itself, "I have lost a thousand pounds a-year!" And Lenthall, for all his bragging, was not hanged at the Rolls Gate; but kept his skin whole, and his salary whole, and did as he was bidden. The buzz in the Profession, notwithstanding much abatement of fees, had to compose itself again.[1]—Bulstrode adds, some two months hence, "The Protector being good-natured, and sensible of his harsh proceeding against Whitlocke and Widdrington," made them Commissioners of the Treasury, which was a kind of compensation. There, with Montague and Sydenham, they had a moderately good time of it; but saw, not without a sigh, the Great Seal remain with Lisle who durst obey, and for colleague to him a certain well-known Nathaniel Fiennes, a shrewd man, Lord Say and Sele's son, —who knew nothing of that business, says Bulstrode, nay Lisle himself knew nothing of it till he learned it from *us*.[2] Console thyself, big heart. How seldom is sublime virtue rewarded in this world!

June 3d, 1655. This day come sad news out of Piedmont; confirmation of bad rumours there had been, which deeply affects all pious English hearts, and the Protector's most of all. It appears the Duke of Savoy had, not long since, decided on having certain poor Protestant subjects of his converted at last to the Catholic Religion. Poor Protestant people, who dwell in the obscure Valleys "of Lucerna, of Perosa and St. Martin," among the feeders of the Po, in the Savoy Alps: they are thought to be descendants of the old Waldenses; a pious inoffensive people; dear to the hearts and imaginations of all Protestant men. These, it would appear, the Duke of Savoy, in the past year, undertook to himself to get converted; for which object he sent friars to preach among them. The friars could convert nobody; one of the friars, on the contrary, was found assassinated,—signal to the rest that they had better take themselves away. The Duke thereupon sent other missionaries: six regiments, of Catholic soldiers; and an order to the People of the Valleys either to be converted straightway, or quit the country at once. They could not be converted all at once: neither could they quit the country well; the month was December; among the Alps; and it was their home for immemorial years! Six regiments, however, say they must; six Catholic regiments;—and three of them are Irish, made of the banished *Kurisees* we knew long since; whose humour, on such an occasion, we can guess at! It is admitted they behaved "with little ceremony;" it is not to be denied they behaved

[1] Whitlocke, pp. 602-8. [2] Ibid. p. 608.

with much bluster and violence ; ferocities, atrocities, to the conceivable amount, still stand in authentic black-on-white against them. The Protestants of the Valleys were violently driven out of house and home, not without slaughters and tortures by the road ;—had to seek shelter in French Dauphiné or where they could ; and, in mute or spoken supplication, appeal to all generous hearts of men. The saddest confirmation of the actual banishment, the actual violences done, arrives at Whitehall this day 3rd June, 1655.[1]

Pity is perennial : "Ye have *compassion* on one another,"—is it not notable, beautiful? In our days too, there are Polish Balls and such like : but the pity of the Lord Protector and Puritan England for these poor Protestants among the Alps is not to be measured by ours. The Lord Protector is melted into tears, and roused into sacred fire. This day the French Treaty, not unimportant to him, was to be signed: this day he refuses to sign it till the King and Cardinal undertake to assist him in getting right done in those poor Valleys.[2] He sends the poor exiles £2,000 from his own purse : appoints a Day of Humiliation and a general Collection over England for that object ;—has, in short, decided that he will bring help to these poor men ; that England and he will see them helped and righted. How Envoys were sent ; how blind Milton wrote Letters to all Protestant States, calling on them for co-operation ; how the French Cardinal was shy to meddle, and yet had to meddle, and compel the Duke of Savoy, much astonished at the business, to do justice and *not* what he liked with his own : all this, recorded in the unreadablest stagnant deluges of old Official Correspondence,[3] is very certain, and ought to be fished therefrom and made more apparent.

In all which, as we can well believe, it was felt that the Lord Protector had been the Captain of England, and had truly expressed the heart and done the will of England ;— in this, as in some other things. Milton's Sonnet and Six Latin Letters are still readable ; the Protector's Act otherwise remains mute hitherto. Small damage to the Protector, if no other suffer thereby ! Let it stand here as a symbol to us of his Foreign Policy in general ; which had this one object, testified in all manner of negotiations and endeavours, noticed by us and not noticed, To make England Queen of the Protestant world ; she, if there were no worthier Queen. To unite the Protestant world of struggling Light against the Papist world of potent darkness. To stand upon God's Gospel, as the actual intrinsic Fact of this Practical Earth ; and defy all potency of Devil's Gospels on the strength of that. Wherein, again, Puritan England felt gradually that this Oliver *was* her Captain ; and in heart could not but say, Long life to him ; as we now do.

Let us note one other small private trait of Oliver in these months ; and then hasten to the few Letters we have. Dull Bulstrode has jotted down : "The Protector feasted the Commissioners for Approbation of Ministers."[4] Means the Commission of Triers ;[5] whom he has to dinner with him in Whitehall. Old Sir Francis, Dr. Owen and the rest.

[1] Letter of the French Ambassador (in *Thurloe*, iii. 470).
[2] Thurloe, *ubi supra*.
[3] Thurloe (much of vol. iii.) ; Vaughan's Protectorate, &c.
[4] Whitlocke, April 1655.
[5] *Antea* p. 521.

"He sat at table with them; and cheerful and familiar in their company:" Hope you are getting on, my friends: how this is, and how that is? "By such kind of little caresses," adds Bulstrode, "he gained much upon many persons." Me, as a piece of nearly matchless law-learning and general wisdom, I doubt he never sufficiently respected; though he knew my fat qualities too, and was willing to use and recognise them!—

LETTERS CLXXXIV.—CLXXXIX.

SIX Letters of somewhat miscellaneous character: which we must take in mass, and with no word of Commentary that can be spared. Straggling, accidental lightbeams, accidently preserved to us, and still transiently illuminating this feature or that of the Protector and his business,—let them be welcome in the darkness for what they are.

LETTER CLXXXIV.

BESIDES the great Sea-Armament that sailed from Portsmouth last December, and went Westward, with sealed orders, which men begin to guess were for the Spanish West Indies,—the Protector had another Fleet fitted out under Blake, already famous as a Sea-General; which has been in the Mediterranean, during these late months; exacting reparation for damages, old or recent, done to the English Nation or to individuals of it, by the Duke of Florence or by others; keeping an eye on Spain too, and its Plate Fleets, apparently with still ulterior objects.

The Duke of Florence has handsomely done justice; the Dey of Tunis was not so well advised, and has repented of it. There are Letters, dated March last, though they do not come till June: "Letters that General Blake demanding at Tunis reparation for the losses of the English from Turkish Pirates, the Dey answered him with scorn, and bade him behold his Castles." Blake did behold them: "sailed into the Harbour within musket-shot of them: and though the shore was planted with great guns, he set upon the Turkish ships, fired nine of them," and brought the Dey to reason, we apprehend.[1]

To General Blake 'at Sea.'

SIR, Whitehall, 13th June, 1655.

I have received yours of the 25th of March, which gives account of the late Transactions between yourself and the Governors of Tunis, concerning the losses which the English have sustained by the piracies of that place; and 'of' the success it pleased God to give in the attempt you made upon their shipping, after their positive refusal to give you satisfaction upon your just demands. And as we have great cause to acknowledge the good hand of God towards us in this Action,—who, in all the circumstances thereof, as they have been represented by you, was pleased to appear very signally with you; so I think myself obliged to take notice of your courage and good conduct therein; and do esteem that you have done therein a very considerable service to this Commonwealth.

I hope you have received the former Despatches which were sent

[1] Whitlocke, p. 608 (8 June, 1655).

unto you by the way of Legorne, for your coming into Cadiz Bay with the Fleet; as also those which were sent by a Ketch immediately from hence; whereby you had also notice of three-months provisions then preparing to be sent,—which have since been sent away, under convoy of the Frigates the *Centurion* and *Dragon;* and 'I' hope they are safely arrived with you, they sailing from hence about the 28th of April.

With this come farther Instructions concerning your disposing of the Fleet for the future; whereunto we do refer you. Besides which, we, having taken into consideration the present Design we have in the West Indies, have judged it necessary, That not only the King of Spain's Fleets coming from hence be intercepted (which as well your former Instructions as those now sent unto you require and authorise you to do), but that we endeavour also, as much as in us lies, to hinder him from sending any relief or assistance thither. You are therefore, during your abode with the Fleet in those seas, to inform yourself, by the best means you can, concerning the going of the King of Spain's Fleet for the West Indies; and shall, according to such information as you can gain, use your best endeavours to intercept at sea, and fight with and take them, or otherwise to fire and sink them; as also any other of his ships which you shall understand to be bound for the West Indies with provisions of War; for the aid and assistance of his subjects there; carrying yourself towards other of his ships and people as you are directed by your general Instructions.

'I rest,

'Your loving friend,

'OLIVER P.'*

The Sea-Armament *was* for the West Indies, then: good news of it were welcome!

Here is a short Letter of Blake's to the Protector, dated just the day before; in cipher;—which the reader, having never perhaps seen another Letter of Blake's, will not be displeased with. Unimportant; but bringing the old Seas, with their Puritan Sea-kings, with their "Plate Fleets," and vanished populations and traffics, bodily before us for moments.

"George, 12th June, 1655.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—The secret Instructions sent by your Highness, referring me to a former Instruction, touching the Silver Fleet of Spain coming from America, I have received; and shall carefully observe the same. We had information at Cadiz that the Fleet was expected about a month or five weeks hence. We are now off Cape Mary's; intending to spread with our Fleet what we can, and to range this sea, according to the wind and the information we can get; plying likewise over towards Cape Sprat, it being their most likely and usual course. They of Cadiz are very distrustful to us; and there being four Galeons designed for the Mediterranean, and six for New Spain, it is doubtful how they may be employed.

"We shall use our best endeavours to put the Instructions in execution, as God shall afford an opportunity; desiring your Highness to rest

* Thurloe, iii. 547.

assured of our dilligence, and of the integrity of,—your most humble and faithful servant,

"ROBERT BLAKE."[1]

June 13th is Wednesday. On the morrow is universal Fast-Day, Humiliation and Prayer, and public Collection of Money for the Protestants of Piedmont. A day of much pious emotion in England; and of liberal contribution, which continued on the following days. "Clerks come to every man's house," says a disaffected witness; "come with their papers, and you are forced to contribute." The exact amount realised I never could very authentically learn. The Dutch Ambassador says 100,000*l.* The disaffected witness says, "London City itself gave half-a-million,"—or seemed as it would give. "The Ministers played their part to the full,"—the Ministers and the People and their Ruler. No French treaty signed or signable till this thing be managed. At length the French were obliged to manage it; 9th September of this same year the thing was got managed;[2]—and by and by was got improved and still better managed, the Protector continuing all his days to watch over it, and over other similar things as they occurred, and to insist on seeing justice done respecting them.

LETTER CLXXXV.

THE scheme of Major-Generals for England is not yet come to maturity; but it is coming: new occasional arrests and *barbadoes*ings continue, as the threads of old Plots are traced farther and farther. Monk keeps Scotland quiet; the hydra is for the present well under foot.

Meanwhile Henry Cromwell is despatched for Ireland, to see with his own eyes how matters stand there. A reverend godly Mr. Brewster, hardly known to us otherwise, is also proceeding thither; with whom the Lord Protector thinks good to salute his Son-in-law, Fleetwood, the Lord Deputy, Ireton's successor in Ireland. Henry Cromwell was there once before, on a somewhat similar mission, and acquitted himself well.[3] His title, this second time, is Major-General of the Army in Ireland. He is to command the forces in Ireland; one easily believes farther, he is to observe well and report faithfully how affairs are; and do his best to assist in rectifying them. Lord Deputy Fleetwood is by some thought to be of too lax temper for his place: he, with his Ludlows, Axtels and discontented Republicans, not to speak of other businesses, would need energy, if he have it not. Rumour has even risen that Henry Cromwell is now sent to supersede him; which, however, the Protector expressly contradicts.

The rumour nevertheless proved, if not true, yet prophetic of the truth. Henry Cromwell acquitted himself well this second time also; being, as we judge, a man of real insight, veracity and resolution; very fit for such a service. Many of his Letters, all creditable to him, are in *Thurloe:* "Petitions" from certain Irish parties come likewise to view there That *he* might be appointed Deputy: which Petitions are, for the present, carefully "suppressed," yet have in the end to be complied with;—they and the nature of the case, we suppose, require compliance.

[1] Thurloe, iii. 541. [2] See Ibid. iii. 549, 623, 745, &c. [3] March, 1653-4 (Thurloe, ii. 149).

Some fifteen months hence, Henry is appointed Lord Deputy ;[1] Fleetwood, in some handsome way, recalled. In which situation Henry continues till the end of the Protectorate, making really an honourable figure ; and then, the scene having altogether changed, retires from it into total obscurity, still in a very manful, simple and noble way.[2]

"My dear Biddy," in this Letter, is Bridget Fleetwood, whom we once saw as Bridget Ireton ;[3] who, for her religious and other worth, is "a joy to my heart." Of Mr. "Brewster," and the other reverend persons, Spiritual Fathers, held in such regard by the Lord Protector as is due to Spiritual Fatherhood, and pious nobleness of Intellect under whatever guise, I can say nothing : they are Spiritual Great-*Grandfathers* of ours, and we have had to forget them ! Some slight notices of Brewster, who I think was a Norfolk man, and more of Cradock, wh was Welsh,—zealous Preachers both,—are in the *Milton State-Papers :*[4] they prove the fervent zeal, faith and fearlessness of these worthies ;—not necessary to extract in this place. Cradock writes to Cromwell in 1652 that his heart overflows with prayers and praise to God for sending such a man ; that he has often stept aside to pray for him, in some thicket or ditch by the wayside, while travelling along, and thinking of him ;—which Dryasdust Nicols, the Editor of these *Milton State-Papers*, considers a very ludicrous proceeding. Godly "Mr. Tillinghurst," so noble a phenomenon to Oliver and Fleetwood, is to us fallen altogether silent ;—seemingly some Godly Preacher, of very modest nature ; who, in his old days, being brought once before the Lord Protector, cried it was a "shame" to trouble any Lord Protector, or Sovereign Person, with the like of him ! The venerable hoary man. And godly Mr. Troughton or "Throughton," too was there. O Tillinghurst, O Troughton, how much lies buried !

'*To the Lord Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland.*'

DEAR CHARLES, 'Whitehall,' 22d June, 1655.

I write not often : at once I desire thee to know I most dearly love thee ; and indeed my heart is plain to thee as thy heart can well desire : let nothing shake thee in this. The wretched jealousies that are amongst us, and the spirit of calumny turn all into gall and wormwood. My heart is for the People of God ; that the Lord knows, and will in due time manifest ; yet thence are my wounds ;—which, though it grieves me, yet through the grace of God doth not discourage me totally. Many good men are repining at everything ; though indeed very many good 'are' well satisfied, and satisfying daily. The will of the Lord will bring forth good in due time.

It's reported that you are to be sent for, and Harry to be Deputy ; which truly never entered into my heart. The Lord knows, my desire was for him and his Brother to have lived private lives in the country : and Harry knows this very well, and how difficultly I was persuaded to give him his commission for his present place. This I say as from a simple and sincere heart. The noise of my being crowned &c. are similar[5] malicious figments.

[1] 21 November, 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 632). [2] His Letter to Clarendon, in *Thurloe.*
[3] *Antea*, vol. i. p. 161. [4] pp. 85, 158, &c. [5] "like" *in orig.*

Use this Bearer, Mr. Brewster, kindly. Let him be near you: indeed he is a very able holy man; trust me you will find him so. He was a bosom-friend of Mr. Tillinghurst; ask him of him; you will thereby know Mr. Tillinghurst's spirit. This Gentleman brought him to me a little before he died, and Mr. Cradock;—Mr. Throughton, a godly minister being by, with 'Mr. Tillinghurst' himself, who cried "Shame!"

Dear Charles, my dear love to thee; 'and' to my dear Biddy, who is a joy to my heart, for what I hear of the Lord in her. Bid her be cheerful, and rejoice in the Lord once and again: if she knows the Covenant,[1] she cannot but do 'so.' For that Transaction is without *her;* sure and stedfast, between the Father and the Mediator in His blood: therefore, leaning upon the Son, or looking to Him, thirsting after Him, and embracing Him, we are His Seed;—and the Covenant is sure to all the Seed. The compact is for the Seed: God is bound in faithfulness to Christ, and in Him to us: the Covenant is without *us;* a Transaction between God and Christ.[2] Look up to *it.* God engageth in it to pardon us; to write His Law in our heart; to plant His fear 'so' that we shall never depart from Him. We, under all our sins and infirmities, can daily offer a perfect Christ; and thus we have peace and safety, and apprehension of love, from a Father in Covenant,—who cannot deny Himself. And truly in this is all my salvation; and this helps me to bear my great burdens.

If you have a mind to come over with your dear Wife, &c., take the best opportunity for the good of the Public and your own convenience. The Lord bless you all. Pray for me, that the Lord would direct, and keep me His servant. I bless the Lord I am not my own; but my condition to flesh and blood is very hard. Pray for me; I do for you all. Commend me to all friends.

I rest,
Your loving father,
OLIVER P.*

Courage, my brave Oliver! Thou hast but some three years more of it, and then the coils and puddles of this Earth, and of its poor unthankful doggery of a population, are all behind thee; and Carrion Heath, and Chancellor Hyde, and Charles Stuart the Christian King, can work their will; for thou hast done with it, thou art above it in the serene azure forevermore!—

Fleetwood, I observe, did come over: in January next we find the "Lord Deputy" busy here in London with Bulstrode, and others of the Treasury, on high matters of State.[3] He did not return to Ireland; got into Major-Generalings, into matters of State, on this side the Channel; and so ended his Deputyship;—dropping without violence, like fruit fully ripe; the management of Ireland having gradually all shifted into Henry Cromwell's hand in the interim.

[1] Covenant of Grace; much expounded, and insisted on, by Dr. Owen, among others; and ever a most fundamental point of God's Arrangement, according to the theory of Oliver.

[2] The reader who discerns no spiritual meaning in all this, shall try it again, if I may advise him.

* Thurloe, iii. 572

[3] Whitlocke, p. 622 (7 Jan. 1655-6).

LETTER CLXXXVI.

HERE, fluttering loose on the dim confines of Limbo and the Night-realm, is a small Note of Oliver's, issuing one knows not whence, but recognisable as his, which we must snatch and save. A private and thrice-private Note, for Secretary Thurloe; curiously disclosing to us, as one or two other traits elsewhere do, that, with all his natural courtesies, noble simplicities and affabilities, this Lord Protector knew on occasion the word-of-command too, and what the meaning of a Lord Protector, King, or Chief Magistrate in the Commonwealth of England was.

"Margery Beacham," Wife of William Beacham, Mariner, lives, the somnolent Editors do not apprise us where,—probably in London or some of the Out Ports; certainly in considerable indigence at present. Her poor Husband, in the course of "many services to the Commonwealth by sea and land," has quite lost the use of his right arm; has a poor "Pension of Forty shillings allowed him from Chatham;" has Margery, and one poor Boy Randolph, "tractable to learn," but who can get no schooling out of such an income. Wherefore, as seems but reasonable, Margery petitions his Highness that the said Randolph might be admitted "a Scholar of Sutton's Hospital, commonly called the Charterhouse," in London.[1]

His Highness, who knows the services of William Beacham, and even "a secret service" of his not mentioned in the Petition or Certificates, straightway decides that the Boy Beacham is clearly a case for Sutton's Bounty, and that the Commissioners of the same shall give it him. But now it seems the Chief Commissioner, whose name in this Note stands —— *Blank Blank*, is not so prompt in the thing; will consider it, will &c. Consider it? His Highness dockets the Petition, "We *refer* this to the Commissioners for Sutton's Hospital: 28th July, 1655;" and instructs Thurloe to inform Blank Blank that he had much better not consider it, but do it! Which there is no doubt Blank Blank now saw at once to be the real method of the business.

'To Mr. Secretary Thurloe.'

'Whitehall,' 28th July, 1655.

You receive from me, this 28th instant, a Petition from Margery Beacham, desiring the admission of her Son into the Charterhouse; whose Husband [2] was employed one day in an important secret service, which he did effectually, to our great benefit and the Commonwealth's.

I have wrote under it a common Reference to the Commissioners, but I mean a great deal more: That it shall be done, without their debate or consideration of the matter. And so do you privately hint to —— ——. I have not the particular shining bauble for crowds to gaze at or kneel to, but — To be short, I know how to deny Petitions; and, whatever I think proper, for outward form, to "refer" to any Officer or Office, I expect that such my compliance with custom shall be looked

1 Her Petition printed, without date, in Scatcherd, &c. *ubi infra.*
2 "who" in the hasty Original, as if Margery's self or Son were meant.

upon as an indication of my will and pleasure to have the thing *done*.

Thy true friend,
OLIVER P.*

LETTER CLXXXVII.

WE fear there is little chance of the Plate Fleet this year; bad rumours come from the West Indies too, of our grand Armament and Expedition thither. The Puritan Sea-king meanwhile keeps the waters; watches the coasts of Spain;—which, however, are growing formidable at present.

The "Person bound for Lisbon" is Mr. Meadows, one of Secretary Thurloe's Under-secretaries; concerning whom and whose business there will be farther speech by and by. Of the "Commissioners of the Admiralty" we name only Colonel Montague of Hinchinbrook, who is getting very deep in these matters, and may himself be Admiral one day.

To the General of the Feet, 'General Blake, at Sea,'

SIR, Whitehall, 30th July, 1655.

We have received yours of the 4th, as also that of the 6th instant, both at once; the latter signifying the great preparations which are making against you.

Some intelligence of that nature is also come to us from another hand. Which hath occasioned us to send away this Despatch unto you, immediately upon the receipt of yours, to let you know That we do not judge it safe for you, whilst things are in this condition, to send away any part of the Fleet, as you were directed by our Instructions of the 13th of June;[1] and therefore, notwithstanding those Orders, you are to keep the whole Fleet with you, until you have executed the Secret Instructions,[2] or find the opportunity is over for the doing thereof.

We think it likewise requisite that you keep with you the two Frigates which conveyed the victuals to you, as also the *Nantwich*, which was sent to you with a Person bound for Lisbon with our instructions to that King. And for the defects of the Fleet, the Commissioners of the Admiralty will take care thereof; and be you confident that nothing shall be omitted which can be done here for your supply and encouragement.

I beseech the Lord to be present with you. I rest,

Your very loving friend,
OLIVER P.†

* Scatcherd's History of Morley (Leeds, 1830), p. 332. Printed there, and in Annual Register (for 1758, p. 268), and elsewhere: without commentary, or indication Whence or How,—with several impertinent interpolations which are excluded here. In the *Annual Register* vague reference is made to a Book called *Collection of Letters* &c. "compiled by Leonard Howard, D.D.," who seems to be the first publisher of this Note; author, I suppose, of the impertinent interpolations, which vary in different copies, but being exactly indicated in all, are easily thrown out again as here. In Howard's Book (a disorganic Quarto, London 1753; one volume published, a second promised but nowhere discoverable), which is credibly described to me as "one of the most confused farragos ever printed," search for this Note has been made, twice, to no purpose; and with little hope of elucidation there, had the Note been found. By internal evidence a genuine Note; and legible as we have it.

[1] *Antea*, Letter CLXXXIV.

[2] Ibid. in Blake's Letter;—they concern the "Silver Fleet" most likely.

† Thurloe, iii. 688.

Copied "in Secretary Thurloe's hand;" who has added the following Note: "With this Letter was sent the intelligence of the twenty ships coming across the Straits, and of the thirty-one ships and eight fire-ships,—[*word lost*]—in Cadiz;"—dangerous ships and fire-ships, which belong all now to the vanished generations; and have sailed, one knows not whence, one knows not whither!

COMPLIMENT.

PRECISELY in those same summer days there has come a brilliant Swedish gentleman, as Extraordinary Ambassador to this Country from the King of Swedeland. A hot, high-tempered, clear-shining man; something fierce, metallic, in the lustre of him. Whose negotiations, festivities, impatiences, and sudden heats of temper, occupy our friend Bulstrode almost exclusively for a twelvemonth. We will say only, He has come hither to negotiate a still stricter league of amity between the two Countries; in which welcome enterprise the Lord Protector seems rather to complicate him by endeavouring to include the Dutch in it, the Prussians and Danes in it,—to make it in fact a general League, or basis for a League, of Protestants against the Power of Rome, and Antichristian Babylon at large; which in these days, under certain Austrian Kaisers, Spanish Kings, Italian Popes, whose names it may be interesting not to remember, is waxing very formidable. It was an object the Protector never ceased endeavouring after; though in this, as in other instances, with only partial, never with entire success.

Observe, however, as all Old London observes, on the night of Saturday, July 28th, 1655, the far-shining Procession by torch-light. Procession "from Tower-wharf to the late Sir Abraham Williams's in Westminster;" this brilliant Swedish Gentleman with numerous gilt coaches and innumerable outriders and onlookers, making his advent then and thus; Whitlocke, Montague, Strickland (for we love to be particular) officially escorting him. Observe next how he was nobly entertained three days in that Williams House, at the Protector's charges; and on the third day had his audience of the Protector; in a style of dignity worth noting by Bulstrode. Sir Oliver Fleming; "galleries full of ladies," "Lifeguards in their grey frock-coats with velvet welts;" lanes of gentlemen, seas of general public: conceive it all; truly dignified, decorous; scene "the Banqueting House of Whitehall, hung with arras;" and how at the upper end of the room the Lord Protector was seen standing "on a footpace and carpet, with a chair of state behind him;" and how the Ambassador saluted thrice as he advanced, thrice lifting his noble hat and feathers, as the Protector thrice lifted his; and then—Bulstrode shall give the rest:

"After a little pause, the Ambassador put off his hat, and began to speak, and then put it on again: and whensoever, in his speech, he named the King his master, or Sweden, or the Protector, or England, he moved his hat: especially if he mentioned anything of God, or the good of Christendom, he put off his hat very low; and the Protector still answered him in the like postures of civility. The Ambassador spake in the Swedish language; and after he had done, being but short,

his Secretary Berkman did interpret it in Latin to this effect"— —Conceivable, without repetition, to ingenious readers. A stately, far-shining speech, done into Latin; "being but short."

And now "after his Interpreter had done, the Protector stood still a pretty while; and, putting off his hat to the Ambassador, with a carriage full of gravity and state, he answered him in English to this effect:"

My Lord Ambassador, I have great reason to acknowledge, with thankfulness, the respects and good affection of the King your master towards this Commonwealth, and towards myself in particular. Whereof I shall always retain a very grateful memory; and shall be ready upon all occasions to manifest the high sense and value I have of his Majesty's friendship and alliance.

My Lord, you are welcome into England; and during your abode here, you shall find all due regard and respect to be given to your person, and to the business about which you come. I am very willing to enter into a "nearer and more strict alliance and friendship with the King of Swedeland," as that which, in my judgment, will tend much to the honour and commodity of both Nations, and to the general advantage to the Protestant Interest. I shall nominate some Persons to meet and treat with your Lordship, upon such particulars as you shall communicate to them.

After which, Letters were presented, *etceteras* were transacted, and then with a carriage full of gravity and state, they all withdrew to their ulterior employments, and the scene vanishes.[1]

LETTER CLXXXVIII.

It is too sad a truth, the Expedition to the West Indies has failed! Sea-General Penn, Land-General Venables have themselves come home, one after the other, with the disgraceful news; and are lodged in the Tower, a fortnight ago, for quitting their post without orders. Of all which we shall have some word to say anon. But take first these glimpses into other matters, foreign and domestic, on sea and land,—as the Oblivions have chanced to leave them visible for us. "Cascais Bay" is at the mouth of the Tagus: General Blake seems still king of the waters in those parts.

'*To General Blake at Sea.*'

Sir, Whitehall, 13th September, 1655.

We have received yours from Cascais Bay, of the 30th of August; and were very sensible of the wants of the Fleet as they were represented by your last before; and had given directions for three-months provisions,—which were all prepared, and sent from Portsmouth, some time since, under the convoy of the *Bristol* Frigate. But the Commissioners of the Admiralty have had Letters yesterday that they were forced back, by contrary winds, into Plymouth, and are there now attending for the first slack of wind, to go to sea again. And the Commissioners of the Admiralty are instructed[2] to quicken them by an express;

[1] Whitlocke, pp. 609, 10. [2] "commands of the Admiralty are required" *in orig.*

although it is become very doubtful whether those provisions can 'now' come in time for supplying of your wants.

And for what concerns the fighting of the Fleet of Spain, whereof your said Letter makes mention, we judge it of great consequence and much for the service of the Commonwealth that this Fleet were fought; as well in order to the executing your former Instructions, as for the preservation of our ships and interest in the West Indies: and our meaning was, by our former Order, and still is, That the Fleet which shall come for the guarding of the Plate Fleet, as we conceive this doth, should be attempted. But in respect we have not certain knowledge of the strength of the Spanish Fleet, nor of the condition of your Fleet, which may alter every day,—we think it reasonable, at this distance, not to oblige you by any positive order to engage; but must, as we do hereby, leave it to you, who are upon the place, and know the state of things, to handle the rein as you shall find your opportunity and the ability of the Fleet to be:—as we also do for your coming home, either for want of provisions or in respect of the season of the year, at such time as you shall judge it to be for the safety of the Fleet. And we trust the Lord will guide and be with you in the management of this thing.

Your very loving friend.

OLIVER P.

'P.S.' In case your return should be so soon as that you should not make use of the Provisions now sent you, or but little thereof, we desire you to cause them to be preserved; they may be applied to other uses.*

LETTER CLXXXIX.

'To the Commissioners of Maryland.'

SIRS, Whitehall, 26th September, 1655.

It seems to us by yours of the 29th of June, and by the relation we received by Colonel Bennet, that some mistake or scruple hath arisen concerning the sense of our Letters of the 12th January last,—as if, by our Letters, we had intimated that we would have a stop put to the proceedings of those Commissioners who were authorised to settle the Civil Government of Maryland. Which was not at all intended by us; nor so much as proposed to us by those who made addresses to us to obtain our said Letter: but our intention (as our said Letter doth plainly import) was only, To prevent and forbid any force or violence to be offered by either of the Plantations of Virginia or Maryland, from one to the other, upon the differences concerning their bounds; the said differences being then under the consideration of Ourself and Council here. Which, for your more full satisfaction, we have thought fit to signify to you; and rest,

Your loving friend,

'OLIVER P.'†

A very obscure American Transaction;—sufficiently lucid for our Cisatlantic purposes; nay shedding a kind of light or twilight into extensive dim regions of Oblivion on the other side of the Ocean. Bancroft, and the other American authorities, who have or have not noticed

* Thurloe, i. 724,—in cipher; and seemingly of Thurloe's composition. † Thurloe, iv. 55.

this Letter, will with great copiousness explain the business to the curious.

The Major-Generals are now all on foot, openly since the middle of August last;[1] and an Official Declaration published on the subject Ten military Major-Generals, Ten or finally Twelve, with militia-forces, horse and foot, at their beck; coercing Royalist Revolt, and other Anarchy; "decimating" it, that is, levying Ten per-cent upon the Income of it; summoning it, cross-questioning it,—peremptorily signifying to it that it will not be allowed here, that it had better cease in this Country. They have to deal with Quakers also, with Anabaptists, Scandalous Ministers, and other forms of Anarchy. The powers of these men are great: much need that they be just men and wise, men fearing God and hating covetousness;—all turns on that! They will be supportable, nay welcome and beneficial, if so. Insupportable enough, if not so:—as indeed what official person, or man under any form, except the form of a slave well-collared and driven by whips, is or ought to be supportable "if *not* so?" We subjoin a list of their names, as historically worthy, known or unknown to the reader, here.[2]

Soon after this Letter, "in the month of October, 1655," there was seen a strange sight at Bristol in the West. A Procession of Eight Persons; one, a man on horseback, riding single; the others, men and women, partly riding double, partly on foot, in the muddiest highway, in the wettest weather; singing, all but the single-rider, at whose bridle splash and walk two women: "Hosannah! Holy, holy! Lord God of Sabaoth!" and other things, "in a buzzing tone," which the impartial hearer could not make out. The single-rider is a rawboned male figure, "with lank hair reaching below his cheeks;" hat drawn close over his brows; "nose rising slightly in the middle;" of abstruse "down look," and large dangerous jaws strictly closed: he sings not; sits there covered, and is sung to by the others bare. Amid pouring deluges, and mud knee-deep; "so that the rain ran in at their necks, and they vented it at their hose and breeches:" a spectacle to the West of England and Posterity! Singing as above; answering no question except in song. From Bedminster to Ratcliffe Gate, along the streets, to the High Cross of Bristol: at the High Cross they are laid hold of by the Authorities;—turn out to be James Nayler and Company. James Nayler, "from Andersloe" or Ardsley "in Yorkshire," heretofore a Trooper under

[1] Order-Book of the Council of State; cited in Godwin (iv. 228),

[2] *General Desborow* has the Counties: Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall.
Colonel Kelsey: Kent and Surrey.
Colonel Goffe: Sussex, Hants, Berks.
Major-General Skippon: London.
Colonel Barkstead (Governor of the Tower): Middlesex and Westminster.
Lord-Deputy Fleetwood (who never returns to Ireland): Oxford, Bucks, Herts; Cambridge, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk,—for these four last he can appoint a substitute (*Colonel Haynes*).
General Whalley: Lincoln, Notts, Derby, Warwick, Leicester.
Major Boteler: Northampton, Bedford, Rutland, Huntingdon.
Colonel Berry (Richard Baxter's friend, once a Clerk in the Iron-works): Hereford, Salop, North Wales.
General (Sea-General) *Dawkins*: Monmouth and South Wales.
Colonel Worseley: Cheshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire.
The Lord Lambert: York, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland,—can appoint substitutes (*Colonel Robert Lilburn*, *Colonel Charles Howard*).

Lambert; now a Quaker and something more. Infatuated Nayler and Company; given up to Enthusiasm,—to Animal-Magnetism, to Chaos and Bedlam in one shape or other! Who will need to be coerced by the Major-Generals, I think;—to be forwarded to London, and there sifted and cross-questioned.[1] Is not the Spiritualism of England developing itself in strange forms? The Hydra, royalist and sansculottic, has many heads.

George Fox, some time before this, had made his way to the Protector himself; to represent to him the undeserved sufferings of Friends, —and what a faithful people they were, though sansculottic, or wearing suits sometimes merely of perennial leather. George's huge *Journal*, to our regret, has no dates; but his Interview with the Protector, once in these late months, is authentic, still visible to the mind. George, being seized in Leicestershire, "carried up to the Mews," and otherwise tribulated by subaltern authorities, contrived to make the Protector hear some direct voice of him, appoint some hour to see him. "It was on a morning:" George went; was admitted to the Protector's bedchamber, "where one Harvey, who had been a little among Friends," but had not proved entirely obedient,—The Harvey who will write us a very valuable little Pamphlet one day.[2]—was dressing him. "Peace be in this House!" George Fox "was moved to say." Peace, O George. "I exhorted him," writes George, "to keep in the Fear of God, whereby he might receive Wisdom from God," which would be a useful guidance for any Sovereign Person. In fact, I had "much discourse" with him; explaining what I and Friends had been led to think "concerning Christ and His Apostles" of old time, and His Priests and Ministers of new; concerning Life and concerning Death;—concerning this unfathomable Universe in general, and the Light in it that is from Above, and the Darkness in it that is from Below: to all which the Protector "carried himself with much moderation." Yes, George; this Protector has a sympathy with the Perennial; and feels it across the Temporary: no hulls, leathern or other, can entirely hide it from the sense of him. "As I spake, he several times said, 'That is very good,' and, 'That is true.'" —Other persons coming in, persons of quality so-called, I drew back; lingered; and then was for retiring: "he caught me by the hand," and with moist-beaming eyes, "said: 'Come again to my house! If thou and I were but an hour of the day together, we should be nearer one to the other. I wish no more harm to thee than I do to my own soul.'"— "Hearken to God's voice!" said George in conclusion: "Whosoever hearkens to *it*, his heart is not hardened;" *his* heart remains true, open to the Wisdoms, to the Noblenesses; with him it shall be well!— "Captain Drury" wished me to stay among the Lifeguard gentlemen, and dine with them; but I declined, not being free thereto.[3]

LETTERS CXC.—CXCII.

JAMAICA.

WE said already the grand Sea-Armament, which sailed from Portsmouth at Christmas 1654, had proved unsuccessful. It went westward;

[1] Examination of them (in *Harleian Miscellany*, vi. 424-39).
[2] Passages in his Highness's Last Sickness.
[3] Fox's Journal (Leeds, 1836), i. 265.

opened its Sealed Instructions at a certain latitude ; found that they were instructions to attack Hispaniola, to attack the Spanish Power in the West Indies : it did attack Hispaniola, and lamentably failed ; attacked the Spanish Power in the West Indies, and has hitherto realised almost nothing,—a mere waste Island of Jamaica, to all appearance little worth the keeping at such cost. It is hitherto the unsuccessfulest enterprise Oliver Cromwell ever had concern with. Desborow fitted it out at Portsmouth, while the Lord Protector was busy with his First refractory Pedant Parliament ; there are faults imputed to Desborow : but the grand fault the Lord Protector imputes to himself, That he chose or sanctioned the choice of Generals improper to command it. Sea-General Penn, Land-General Venables, they were unfortunate, they were incompetent ; fell into disagreements, into distempers of the bowels ; had critical Civil Commissioners with them, too, who did not mend the matter. Venables lay "six weeks in bed," very ill of sad West-India maladies ; for the rest, a covetous lazy dog, who cared nothing for the business, but wanted to be home at his Irish Government again. Penn is Father of Penn the Pennsylvanian Quaker ; a man somewhat quick of temper, "like to break his heart" when affairs went wrong ; unfit to right them again. As we said, the two Generals came voluntarily home, in the end of last August, leaving the wreck of their forces in Jamaica ; and were straightway lodged in the Tower for quitting their post.

A great Armament of Thirty, nay of Sixty ships ; of Four-thousand soldiers, two regiments of whom were veterans, the rest a somewhat sad miscellany of broken Royalists, unruly Levellers, and the like, who would volunteer,—whom Venables augmented at Barbadoes, with a still more unruly set, to Nine-thousand : this great Armament the Lord Protector has strenuously hurled, as a sudden fiery bolt, into the dark Domdaniel of Spanish Iniquity in the far West ; and it has exploded there, almost without effect. The Armament saw Hispaniola, and Hispaniola with fear and wonder saw it, on the 14th of April 1655 : but the Armament, a sad miscellany of distempered unruly persons, durst not land "where Drake had landed," and at once take the Town and Island : the Armament hovered hither and thither ; and at last agreed to land some sixty miles off; marched therefrom through thick-tangled woods, under tropical heats, till it was nearly dead with mere marching ; was then set upon by ambuscadoes ; fought miserably ill, the unruly persons of it, or would not fight at all ; fled back to its ships a mass of miserable disorganic ruin ; and "dying there at the rate of two-hundred a day," made for Jamaica.[1]

Jamaica, a poor unpopulous Island, was quickly taken, as rich Hispaniola might have been, and the Spaniards were driven away : but to men in biliary humour it seemed hardly worth the taking or the keeping. "Immense droves of wild cattle, cows and horses, run about Jamaica ;" dusky Spaniards dwell in *hatos*, unswept shealings ; "80,000 hogs are killed every year for the sake of their lard, which is sold under the name of *hog's-butter* at Carthagena :" but what can we do with all that! The poor Armament continuing to die as if by murrain, and all things looking

[1] Journal of the English Army in the West Indies : by an Eye-witness (in *Harl. Miscell.* vi 372-390). A lucid and reasonable Narrative.

worse and worse to poor biliary Generals, Sea-General Penn set sail for home, whom Land-General Venables swiftly followed; leaving "Vice-Admiral Goodson," "Major-General Fortescue," or almost whosoever liked, to manage in their absence, and their ruined moribund forces to die as they could;—and are now lodged in the Tower, as they deserved to be. The Lord Protector, and virtually England with him, had hoped to see the dark empire of bloody Antichristian Spain a little shaken in the West; some reparation got for its inhuman massacrings and long-continued tyrannies,—massacrings, exterminations of us, "at St. Kitts in 1629, at Tortuga, in 1637, at Santa Cruz in 1650:" so, in the name of England, had this Lord Protector hoped; and he has now to take his disappointment.

The ulterior history of these Western Affairs, of this new Jamaica under Cromwell, lies far dislocated, drowned deep, in the Slumber-Lakes of *Thurloe* and Company; in a most dark, stupified, and altogether dismal condition. A history, indeed, which, as you painfully fish it up and by degrees reawaken it to life, is in itself sufficiently dismal. Not much to be intermeddled with here. The English left in Jamaica, the English successively sent thither, prosper as ill as need be; still die, soldiers and settlers of them, at a frightful rate per day; languish, for most part, astonished in their strange new sultry element; and cannot be brought to front with right manhood the deadly inextricable jungle of tropical confusions, outer and inner, in which they find themselves. Brave Governors, Fortescue, Sedgwick, Brayne, one after the other, die rapidly, of the climate and of broken heart; their life-fire all spent there, in that dark chaos, and as yet no result visible. It is painful to read what misbehaviour there is, what difficulties there are.[1]

Almost the one steady light-point in the business is the Protector's own spirit of determination. If England have now a "West-India Interest," and Jamaica be an Island worth something, it is to this Protector mainly that we owe it. Here too, as in former darknesses, "Hope shines in him, like a pillar of fire, when it has gone out in all the others." Having put his hand to this work, he will not for any discouragement turn back. Jamaica shall yet be a colony; Spain and its dark Domdaniel shall yet be smitten to the heart,—the enemies of God and His Gospel, by the soldiers and servants of God. It must, and it shall. We have failed in the West, but not wholly; in the West and in the East, by sea and by land, as occasion shall be ministered, we will try it again and again.

"On the 28th of November 1655 the Treaty with France is proclaimed by heralds and trumpets," say the old Newspapers.[2] Alliance with France, and *Declaration* against Spain,—within the tropics where there is never Peace, and without the tropics where Peace yet is, there shall now be War with Spain. Penn and Venables, cross-questioned till no light farther could be had from them, are dismissed; in Penn's stead, Montague is made Admiral.[3] We will maintain Jamaica, send reinforce-

[1] Thurloe, iii., iv.,—in very many places, all in a most unedited, confused condition. Luminous Notices too in Carte's *Ormond Papers*, ii. Long's History of Jamaica (London, 1774), i 321 *et seqq.*, gives in a vague but tolerably correct way some of the results of *Thurloe*; which Bryan Edwards has abridged. Godwin (iv. 192-200) is exact, so far as he goes.

[2] In Cromwelliana, p. 134. [3] Jan. 1655-6 (Thurloe, iv. 338).

ment after reinforcement to it; we will try yet for the Spanish Plate Fleets; we will hurl yet bolt after bolt into the dark Domdaniel, and have no Peace with Spain. In all which, as I understand, the spirit of England, mindful of Armadas, and wedded once for all to blessed Gospel Light and Progress, and not to accursed Papal Jesuitry and Stagnancy, cooperates well with this Protector of the Commonwealth of England. Land-fighting too we shall by and by come upon; in all ways, a resolute prosecution of hostilities against Spain. Concerning the "policy" of which, and real wisdom and unwisdom of which, no reader need consult the current Sceptical Red-Tape Histories of that Period, for they are much misinformed on the matter.—

Here are Three Official Letters, or Draughts of Letters, concerning the business of Jamaica; which have come to us in a very obscure, unedited condition, Thomas Birch having been a little idle. Very obscure; and now likely to remain so, they and the others,—unless indeed Jamaica should produce a Poet of its own, pious towards the Hero-Founder of Jamaica, and courageous to venture into the Stygian Quagmires of *Thurloe* and the others, and vanquish them on his and its behalf.

Apparently these Official Letters are First-draughts, in the hand of Thurloe or some underling of his; dictated to him, as is like, by the Protector: they would afterwards be copied-fair, dated, and duly despatched; and only the rough originals, unhappily without date, are now left us. Birch has put them down without much criticism; the arrangement of some is palpably wrong. By the spelling and punctuation we judge them to be of Thurloe's handwriting; but the sense is clearly Oliver's, and probably, with some superficial polishings, the composition. They cannot, after much inquiry, be dated except approximately; the originals are gone with Birch, who has not even told us in whose handwriting they were, much less has tried to make any sense of them for himself, the idle ineffectual Editor! In fact, *Thurloe* in regard to these Jamaica businesses has had to go without editing; lies wide-spread, dislocated, dark; and, in this passage, read by Birch's light, is mere darkness visible. One of the Letters, we at length find, is even misaddressed,—seemingly by idle Birch, at random. Happily it is with the sense alone that we are much concerned; and that is in good part legible. Fancy Penn and Venables dismissed, after some light got out of them by cross-questioning; fancy "Vice-Admiral Goodson, Major-General Fortescue, Daniel Serle Governor of Barbadoes, and Major-General Sedgwick" new from England, made Commissioners, with Instructions,[1] with full power over Jamaica;—and then read.

LETTER CXC.

VICE-ADMIRAL GOODSON, as his title indicates, went out as second under Penn; whose place he now fills as chief. Letters of his in *Thurloe* indicate a thick blunt stout-hearted sailor character, not nearly so stupid as he looks; whose rough piety, sense, stoicism, and general manfulness grow luminous to us at last. The Protector hopes "the

[1] Thurloe, iv. 634.

Lord may have blessed Goodson to have lighted upon some of the Enemy's vessels and burnt them;"—which is a hope fulfilled: for Goodson has already been at St. Martha on the Spanish Main, and burnt it; but got few "ships," nor any right load of plunder either; the people having had him in sight for six hours before landing, and run away with everything to the woods. He got "thirty brass guns and two *bases*," whatever these are. The rest of the plunder, being "accurately sold at the mast of each ship" by public auction, yielded just 471*l.* sterling, which was a very poor return. At the Rio de Hacha ("Rio de hatch," as we here write it) "the bay was so shoal" no great ships could get near; and our "hoys" and small craft, on trying it, saw nothing feasible; wherefore we had drawn back again. Santa Marta, and plunder sold by auction to the amount above stated, was all we could get.[1]

To Vice-Admiral Goodson at Jamaica.

SIR, Whitehall, 'October 1655.'

I have written to Major-General Fortescue divers advertisements of our purpose and resolution, the Lord willing, to prosecute this Business; and you shall not want bodies of men nor yet anything in our power for the carrying on of the work. I have also given divers hints unto him of things which may probably be attempted, and should[2] be very diligently looked after by you both; but are left to your better judgments upon the place. Wherein I desire you would consult together how to prosecute your affairs with that brotherly kindness that upon no colour whatsoever any divisions or distractions should be amongst you, but that you may have one shoulder to the work; which will be very pleasing to the Lord; and not unnecessary, considering what an enemy you are like to have to deal withal.

We hope that you have with 'you' some of those ships which came last, near Twenty men-of-war; which I desire you to keep equipt, and make yourselves as strong as you can to beat the Spaniard, who will doubtless send a good force into the Indies. I hope, by this time the Lord may have blessed you to have light upon some of their vessels,—whether by burning them in their harbours or otherwise. And it will be worthy of you to improve your strength, what you can, both to weaken them by parcels, and to engage them as you have opportunity —which at such a distance I may probably guess, would be best 'managed' by not suffering, if you can help it, the new Fleet, which comes from Spain, to go unfought, before they join with the ships that are to the Leeward of you.

We are sending to you, with all possible speed, Seven more stout men-of-war, some of them forty guns, and the rest not under thirty, for your assistance. This Ship goes before, with instructions, to encourage you to go on in the work; and also with instructions to Mevis, and the other Windward Islands, to bring so many of the Plantations as are free to come, 'that they may settle with you at Jamaica.' And I desire you, with your lesser merchant-ships or such others as you can spare, to give all possible assistance for their removal and transplantation, from time to time, as also all due encouragement to remove them.

[1] Goodson's Letter, in Thurloe, iv. 139 *et seqq.*

[2] "would" *in orig.*

You will see by the Enclosed what I have writ to Major-General Fortescue. And I hope your counsels will enter into that which may be for the glory of God and good of this Nation. It is not to be denied but the Lord hath greatly humbled us in that sad loss sustained at Hispaniola; and we doubt we have provoked the Lord; and it is good for us to know and to be abased for the same. But yet certainly His name is concerned in the work: and, therefore, though we should, and I hope do, lay our mouths in the dust, yet He would not have us despond, but I trust give us leave to make mention of His name and of His righteousness, when we cannot make mention of our own. You are left there; and I pray you set up your banners in the name of Christ; for undoubtedly it is His cause. And let the reproach and shame that hath been for our sins, and through (also we may say) the misguidance of some, work up your hearts to confidence in the Lord, and for the redemption of His honour from the hands of men who attribute there success to their Idols, the work of their own hands. And though He hath torn us, yet He will heal us; though He hath smitten us, yet He will bind us up; after two days He will revive us, in the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight.[1] The Lord Himself hath a controversy with your Enemies; even with that Roman Babylon, of which the Spaniard is the great underproper. In that respect, we fight the Lord's battles;—and in this the Scriptures are most plain. The Lord therefore strengthen you with faith, and cleanse you from all evil: and doubt not but He is able, and I trust as willing, to give you as signal success as He gave your enemies against you. Only the Covenant-fear of the Lord be upon you.[2]

If we send you not by this, I trust we shall by the next, our Declaration setting forth the justness of this War.

I remain,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

The *Declaration* here alluded to, of War with Spain, came out on Tuesday, 23d October, 1655;[3] which with sufficient approximation dates this Letter for us. By obscure intimations, allusion to events, and even by recurrence of phrases, the following Letter seems to have the same or a closely subsequent date; but no sense could be made of it till the Address, "Major-General Fortescue at Jamaica" (which, being nonsense, we have to impute to Birch), was erased,—was altered, by dim lights[4] and guessing still a little uncertain, as below.

LETTER CXCI.

'*To Daniel Serle, Esquire, Governor of Barbadoes.*'

SIR, 'Whitehall, October 1655.'

These are first to let you know that myself and this Government reckon ourselves beholden[5] to you for the ready expres-

[1] Hosea, vi. 1, 2. [2] No other fear; nor is there need of any other hope or strength!
* Thurloe, iv. 130. [3] Ibid. iv. 117; Godwin, iv. 217; Antea, p. 603.
[4] Thurloe, iv. 633, &c. &c.
[5] "beholding" *in orig.*; as the old phrase usually is

sions of your love in giving assistance to our late Design.[1] Which indeed, though it hath miscarried in what we hoped for, through the disposing hand of God, for reasons best known to Himself, and as we may justly conceive for our sins,—yet is not this Cause the less His, but will be owned by Him, as I verily believe: and therefore we dare not relinquish it;[2] but shall, the Lord assisting, prosecute it with what strength we can, hoping for 'a' blessing for His name's sake.

You will receive some instructions,[3] with encouragements to remove your people thither. Whereto I refer you: only let me tell you that if you shall think to desire some other things which are not mentioned in those Instructions, 'you may' rest upon my word that we shall be most ready to supply what they may be defective in or you may reasonably demand, when once you are upon the place,—where certainly you may be better able to judge what may tend most to your accommodation than at a distance. Surely the sooner you remove thither,[4] you will have the more time to strengthen yourself, in such place and upon such part as you shall like of. And for your own part, I have named you one of the Commissioners there for managing of the whole affair; whereby you will have your vote and interest in that Government.

Having said this, I think fit to let you know that we have Twenty men-of-war already there, and are sending Eight more, many whereof have forty guns and upwards, and the rest above thirty.[5] We hope the Plantation is not wanting in anything; having at the least Seven-thousand fighting men upon the place: and we are providing to supply them constantly with fresh men: and we trust they are furnished with a twelvemonth's victuals;—and I think, if we have it in England, they shall not want.

We have also sent to the Colonies of New England like offers with yours,[6] To remove thither; our resolution being to people and plant that Island. And indeed we have very good reason to expect considerable numbers from thence, forasmuch as the last winter was very destructive, and the summer hath proved so very sickly.

I pray God direct you; and rest,

Your loving friend,

'OLIVER P.'*

Undoubtedly to "Daniel Serle," or else to "Major-General Sedgwick" the other of the Four new Commissioners, this Letter must have been addressed. With either of which Addresses it remains historically somewhat obscure; but is legible enough for our purposes with it here. The next seems to be of slightly later date.

[1] Hispaniola: to which Serle, at Barbadoes, had given due furtherance, as the Expedition passed.

[2] No!

[3] Thurloe, iv., 633-7; worth reading, though in great want of editing.

[4] Will mean, if our Addressing of this Letter is correct, that it had at one time been intended and decided to send Serle of Barbadoes, an experienced man, the ablest and principal English Governor in the West Indies, to take charge of Jamaica himself. Which however, in the quick succession of new lights and occurrences, never came to pass.

[5] Same phrase in the preceding Letter.

[6] Encouragements to them, as to "your" Colony, to emigrate thither.

[*] Thurloe, iv., 130.

LETTER CXCII.

To Major-General Fortescue at Jamaica.

SIR, 'Whitehall, November, 1655.'

You will herewith receive Instructions for the better carrying-on of your business; which is not of small account here, though our discouragements have been many; for which we desire to humble ourselves before the Lord, who hath very sorely chastened us. I do commend, in the midst of others' miscarriages, your constancy and faithfulness to your trust in every 'situation'[1] where you are, and 'your' taking care of a "company of poor sheep left by their shepherd:"[2] and be assured that, as that which you have done hath been good in itself, and becoming an honest man, so it hath a very good savour here with all good Christians and all true Englishmen, and will not be forgotten by me as opportunity shall serve.

I hope you have long before this time received that good supply which went from hence in July last,[3] whereby you will perceive that you have not been forgotten here. I hope also the ships sent for New England are, before this time, with you:[4]—and let me tell you, as an encouragement to you and those with you to improve the utmost diligence, and to excite your courage in this business, though not to occasion any negligence in prosecuting that affair, nor to give occasion to slacken any improvement of what the place may afford, That you will be followed with what necessary supplies, as well for comfortable subsistence as for your security against the Spaniard, this place may afford, or you want.

And therefore study first your security by fortifying: and although you have not monies, for the present, to do it in such quantities as were to be wished; yet, your case being as that of a marching army, wherein every soldier, out of principles of nature, and according to the practice of all discipline, ought to be at pains to secure the common quarter,—we hope no man amongst you will be so wanting to himself, considering food is provided for you, as not to be willing to help to the uttermost therein. And therefore I require you and all with you, for the safety of the whole, that this be made your most principal intention. The doing of this will require that you be very careful not to scatter, till you have begun a security in some one place.—Next I desire you that you would consider how to form such a body of good Horse as may, if the Spaniard should attempt upon you at his next coming into the Indies with his Galeons, be in a readiness to march to hinder his landing; who will hardly land upon a body of horse; and if he shall land, 'you will' be in a posture to keep the provisions of the country from him, or him from the provisions, if he shall endeavour to march towards you.

We have sent Commissioners and Instructions into New England, to try what people may be drawn thence.[5] We have done the like to the

[1] Word torn.

[2] Fortescue's own expression: in a Letter of 21 July, 1655 (Thurloe, iii., 675).

[3] Vaughan, i., 303; Thurloe, iv., 4.

[4] Thurloe, iv., 157; one, the first of them, did arrive, Nov. 1st: "sent from Jamaica to New England for provisions."

[5] Long Correspondences about it, and details, from assiduous Mr. Gookin, chief of those Commissioners, in Thurloe, iv.

Windward English Islands; and both in England and Scotland and Ireland, you will have what men and women we can well transport.

We think, and it is much designed amongst us, to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas: and therefore we could heartily wish that the Island of Providence were in our hands again; believing that it lies so advantageously in reference to the Main, and especially for the hindrance of the Peru trade and Carthagena, that you would not only have great advantage thereby of intelligence and surprisal, but 'might' even block up Carthagena.[1] It is discoursed here that, if the Spaniard do attempt upon you, it is most likely it will be upon the East end of the Island, towards Cuba; as also 'that' Cuba, in its chief Town, is a place[2] easily attempted, and hath in it a very rich copper-mine. It would be good, for the first, as you have opportunity, to inform yourself; and if there be need, to make a good work upon the East end of your Island, to prevent them. And for the other, and all things of that kind, we must leave them to your judgment upon the place, to do therein as you shall see cause.

To conclude: As we have cause to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at St. Domingo, upon the account of our own sins as well as others', so, truly upon the reports brought hither to us of the extreme avarice, pride and confidence, disorders and debauchedness, profaneness and wickedness, commonly practised amongst the Army, we can not only bewail the same, but desire that all with you may do so; and that a very special regard may be had so to govern, for time to come, as that all manner of vice may be thoroughly discountenanced, and severely punished; and that such a frame of government may be exercised that virtue and godliness may receive due encouragement.

'I rest,

'Your loving friend,

'Oliver P.'*

The brave Fortescue never received this Letter: he already lay in his grave when it was written; had died in October last,[3] a speedy victim of the bad climate and desperate situation. Brave Sedgwick, his Partner and Successor, soon died also:[4] a very brave, zealous and pious man, whose Letters in *Thurloe* are of all others the best worth reading on this subject. Other brave men followed, and soon died; spending heroically their remnant of life-fire there,—as heroes do, "making paths through the impassable." But we must leave the heroisms of Oliver Protector and his Puritans, in this Jamaica Business, to the reader's fancy henceforth,—till perhaps some Jamaica *Poet* rise to resuscitate and extricate them. Reinforcement went on the back of reinforcement, during this Protector's lifetime: "a thousand Irish Girls" went; not to speak of the rogue-and-vagabond species from Scotland,—"we can help you" at any time "to two or three hundred of these."[5] And so at length a West-India Interest did take root; and bears spices and poisons, and other produce, to this day.

[1] "the same" *in orig.*

[2] "Cuba upon Cuba is a place," as the original has it. The first "Cuba" here must, of course, mean Cuba *Town*, now Havanna.

* Thurloe, iv. 633. [3] Thurloe iv. 153. [4] 24 June, 1656 (Long's *History of Jamaica*, i. 257).

[5] Long, i. 244; Thurloe, iv. 692, 5:—new Admonitions and Instructions from the Protector, of Thurloe's writing, 17 June, 1656 (Thurloe, v. 129-131); &c.

LETTERS CXCIII.—CXCIX.

TAKE the following Letters in mass; and make some dim History of Eleven Months from them, as best may be.

LETTER CXCIII.

HENRY CROMWELL has no Major-Generals in Ireland, but has his anarchies there also to deal with. Let him listen to this good advice on the subject.

For my Son, Henry Cromwell, at Dublin, Ireland.

SON, 'Whitehall,' 21st November, 1655.

I have seen your Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe; and do find thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you, towards yourself and the public affairs.

I do believe there may be some particular persons who are not very well pleased with the present condition of things, and may be apt to shew their discontent as they have opportunity: but this should not make too great impressions in you. Time and patience may work them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that which, for the present, seems to be hid from them; especially if they shall see your moderation and love towards them, if they are found in other ways towards you. Which I earnestly desire you to study and endeavour, all that lies in you. Whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be.

For what you write of more help, I have long endeavoured it; and shall not be wanting to send you some farther addition to the Council, so soon as men can be found out who are fit for the trust. I am also thinking of sending over to you a fit person who may command the North of Ireland; which I believe stands in great need of one; and 'I' am of your opinion that Trevor and Colonel Mervin are very dangerous persons, and may be made the heads of a new rebellion. And therefore I would have you move the Council that they be secured in some very safe place, and the farther out of their own countries the better.

I commend you to the Lord; and rest,

Your affectionate father,

OLIVER P.*

"The Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe" which is responded to in this wise and magnanimous manner, does not appear in *Thurloe* or elsewhere. November 14, the day before the date of this, Henry writing to Thurloe excuses his present brevity, his last Letter having been so very copious: that copious Letter, now lost, is probably the one in question here.

"*November 22d*," the day after this Letter, "came several accounts from Major-Generals out of divers Counties. Out of Norfolk it was certified that Cleveland the Poet and one Sherland a wild Parson were apprehended" at Norwich "by Colonel Haynes," [1] the Lord Fleetwood's Substitute in those regions. This is John Cleveland the famous Cantab

* Thurloe, i. 726.

[1] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 154); Thurloe, iv. 185.

Scholar, Royalist Judge-Advocate, and thrice-illustrious Satirist and son of the Muses: who "had gone through eleven editions" in those times, far transcending all Miltons and all mortals,—and does not now need any twelfth edition, that we hear of. Still recognisable for a man of lively parts and brilliant petulant character; directed, alas, almost wholly to the *worship of clothes*,—which is by nature a transient one! His good fortune quitted him, I think, nine years ago, when David Lesley took him prisoner in Newark. A stinging satire against the Scots had led Cleveland to expect at least martyrdom on this occasion; but Lesley merely said, "Let the poor knave go and sell his ballads;"[1] and dismissed him,—towards thin diet, and a darkness which has been deepening ever since. Very low, now at Norwich, where he is picked up by Colonel Haynes: "Thirty pounds a year;" "lives with a gentleman to whom he is giving some instruction;"—unfortunate son of the Muses. He indites a highflown magnanimous epistle to Cromwell, on this new misfortune; who likewise magnanimously dismisses him,[2] to "sell his ballads" at what little they will bring.

Wednesday, December 12th, 1655. This day "in a withdrawing-room at Whitehall," presided over by his Highness, who is much interested in the matter, was held "a Conference concerning the Jews;"[3]—of which the modern reader too may have heard something. Conference, one of Four Conferences, publicly held, which filled all England with rumour in those old December days; but must now contract themselves into a point for us. Highest Official Persons, with Lord Chief Barons, Lord Chief Justices, and chosen Clergy have met here to advise, by reason, Law-learning, Scripture-prophecy, and every source of light for the human mind, concerning the proposal of admitting Jews, with certain privileges as of alien-citizens, to reside in England. They were banished near Four-hundred years ago: shall they now be allowed to reside and trade again? The Proposer is "Manasseh Ben Israel," a learned Portuguese Jew of Amsterdam; who, being stirred up of late years by the great things doing in England, has petitioned one and the other, Long Parliament and Little Parliament, for this object; but could never, till his Highness came into power, get the matter brought to a hearing. And so they debate and solemnly consider; and his Highness spake;—and says one witness, "I never heard a man speak so well."[4] His Highness was eager for the scheme, if so might be. But the Scripture-prophecies, Law-learnings, and lights of the human mind seemed to point another way: zealous Manasseh went home again; the Jews could not settle here except by private sufferance of his Highness;—and the matter contracts itself into a point for us.[5]

This same Jew-Wednesday, Wednesday the 12th, as a laborious unimportant computation shews, was the "evening" when Republican Ludlow had the first interview with his Highness and certain of his Council "in the Protector's bedchamber."[6] Solid Ludlow has been in

[1] Biog. Britan. (2d edit.), iii. 531:—very ignorantly told there.
[2] Life of Cleveland, prefixed to his Poems. [3] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 154).
[4] Sir Paul Rycaut (in Spence's Anecdotes, p. 77;—as cited by Godwin, iv. 299).
[5] Godwin, iv. 243-9.—To Manasseth Ben Israel, a pension of 100*l.* per annum, payable quarterly, and commencing 20 February, 1656 (1657): Privy Seals of Oliver; in Fifth Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records (London, 1844), Appendix, ii. p. 263.
[6] Ludlow, ii. 551 *et segg.*

Ireland; dreadfully sulky ever since this Protectorate began. Solid Ludlow never would acknowledge any Single Person, never he; not though the Single Person "were his own father." He has nevertheless, by certain written "engagements," contrived to get across from Ireland, with much trouble by the road; but will not now give any promise satisfactory to his Highness. "He will be peaceable; yes, so long as he sees no chance otherwise: but if he see a chance—!—Should like, notwithstanding, to breathe a little air in his own country; that is all he is wanting for the present!" In fact, our solid friend is firm as brass, or oak-timber; altogether obstinate indeed, not to say dogged and mulish. The Protector, who has a respect for the solid man, and whose course is conciliation in such cases, permits him to reside in Essex; keeping his eye upon him.

We might speak also of the famed "Committee of Trade," which has now begun its sessions "in the old House of Lords." An Assemblage of Dignitaries, Chief Merchants, political Economists, convened by summons of his Highness;[1] consulting zealously how the Trade of this country may be improved. A great concernment of the Commonwealth, "which his Highness is eagerly set upon." They consulted of "Swedish Copperas," and such like; doing faithfully what they could.

Of these things we might speak; but prefer to end the year by this small interesting fraction of Domestic Gossip, coming to us in a small flute-voice across the loud Disturbances, which are all fallen silent now, more silent now than even it! Sorry only that nobody can inform us who this blameworthy "person" in the Lord Henry Cromwell's house is, or what her misdoings are: but the reader, skilled in perennial human nature, can sufficiently supply these, and listen to the ancient small flute-voice with intelligence:

The Lady Mary Cromwell to Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Army in Ireland.

"'Hampton-Court,' 7th December, 1655.

"DEAR BROTHER,—I cannot be any longer without begging an excuse for my so long silence. You cannot but hear of my Sister's illness, which indeed has been the only cause of it. You might justly take it ill otherwise, and think there were want of that affection I owe unto you.

"Indeed, dear Brother, it was a great deal of trouble to me to think I should give you any occasion to think amiss of me: for I can truly say it, you are very dear to me; and it is a great trouble to me to think of the distance we are from one another; and would be more, if I did not think you are doing the Lord's service;—and truly that ought to satisfy us, for while we are here, we cannot expect but that we must be separated. Dear Brother, the Lord direct you in His ways, and keep your heart close unto Himself. And I am sure, therein you will have true comfort: and that will last when all this world shall pass away.

"I cannot but give you some item of One that is with you, who 'it' is so much feared by your friends that love you, is some dishonour to you and my dear Sister, if you have not a great care. For it is reported here, that she rules much in your Family; and truly it is feared that she is a discountenancer of the Godly People. Therefore, dear Brother,

[1] Whitlocke, p. 618 (2 November, 1655).

take it not ill, that I give you an item of her: for, truly, if I did not love both you and your honour, I would not give you notice of her. Therefore I hope you will not take it ill, that I have dealt thus plainly with you. I suppose you know who it is I mean, therefore I desire to be excused for not naming her. I desire not to be seen in it; and therefore desire you that you would not take the least notice of my writing to you about it: because I was desired not to speak of it;—nor should I, but that I know you will not take it amiss from your poor Sister who loves you.

"Dear Brother, I take leave to rest—your sister and servant,

"MARY CROMWELL.

"Her Highness 'our Mother' desires to have her love to you and my Sister; and my Sister Franke her respects to you both."[1]

"My Sister Franke" and the Lady Mary, these are my "two little wenches," grown now to be women: with dress-caps, fresh-blossoming hearts, musical glib tongues,—not uninteresting to men! Anthony Ashley Cooper, I am told, is looking towards this Lady Mary; now turned of Eighteen,[2] and a desirable match for any youth of ambition,—but not attainable I doubt by Ashley.

LETTER CXCIV.

NEW Sea-Armaments, and ever new, are fitted out against the Spaniards and their Papist Domdaniel. Penn being dismissed, Councillor Colonel Montague, already in the Admiralty, was made Sea-General last January in his stead; and now Blake and he have their flags flying, somewhere off Cadiz Bay, it would appear.

To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.

MY LOVING FRIENDS, Whitehall, 28th April, 1656.

You have, as I verily believe and am persuaded, a plentiful stock of prayers going 'on' for you daily, sent up by the soberest and most approved Ministers and Christians in this Nation; and, notwithstanding some discouragements, very much wrestling of faith for you: which is to us, and I trust will be to you, matter of great encouragement. But notwithstanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourselves and all our affairs to the disposition of our All-wise Father; who, not only out of prerogative, but because of His wisdom, goodness, and truth, ought to be resigned unto by His creatures, and most especially by those who are children of His begetting through the Spirit. We have been lately taught[3] that it is not in man to direct his way. Indeed all the dispensations of God, whether adverse or prosperous, do fully read that lesson. We can no more turn away the Evil, as we call it, than attain the Good: And therefore Solomon's counsel, of doing what we have to do with all our might, 'and' getting our hearts wholly submitted, if not to rejoicing, at least to contentation with whatsoever shall be dispensed by Him to whom alone the issues of all things do belong, is worthy to be received by us.[4]

[1] Thurloe, iv. 293. [2] *Antea*, vol. i. p. [3] In the affair of Hispaniola, &c.

[4] Yes, I should say so;—as indeed the whole Universe, since it first had any glimmerings of intelligence in it, has said!

Wherefore we have thought fit to send this honest man, Captain Lloyd, who is known to us to be a person of integrity, to convey to you some thoughts,—wherein we do only offer to you such things as do arise to us, partly upon intelligence, and partly upon such a measure as we at such a distance take of that great affair wherein you are engaged; desiring to give no rule to you; but building, under God, much more upon your judgments on the place than 'upon' our own; forasmuch as our intelligences, coming much upon the examination of Merchants' ships and such ways, may not be true oftentimes in matter of fact. And therefore we do offer what we have to say rather as queries than 'as' resolutions.

We are informed that not many of the Plate Fleet are come home; *viz.* two Galeons and two Pataches;[1] and we hear they are not so rich as they gave out. We are informed also that the Spaniards' Fleet in Cadiz is in no preparation to come out; and some think they will not come forth, but delay you upon the coast, until your victuals are spent, and you forced to come home. We apprehend that, when General Blake was there last year, they could not have told how to have manned out a Fleet, if the Merchants there and gentlemen interested had not (principally for their own interest in the return of the 'Plate' Fleet) done it.

We are informed that they sent what men they could well spare, by those Six or Seven ships which they sent to the West Indies in March last. We know also that it hath ever been accounted that the Spaniards' great want is men,—as well as money at this time. What numbers are in and about Cadiz you best know. We only discourse probabilities: Whether now it might not be worthy to be weighed by you and your council of war, whether this Fleet of theirs now in Cadiz might not be burnt or otherwise destroyed? Whether Puntal and the Forts are so considerably stronger as to discourage from such an attempt? Whether Cadiz itself be unattemptable; or the Island on which it stands be noways to be separated from relieving the Town by the Bridge,[2] the Island being so narrow in some parts of it? Whether any other place be attemptable; especially that of the Town and Castle of Gibraltar,—which if possessed and made tenable by us,[3] would it not be both an advantage to our trade and an annoyance to the Spaniard; and enable us, without keeping so great a fleet on that coast, with six nimble frigates lodged there to do the Spaniard more harm than by a fleet, and ease our own charge?

You may discourse freely with the Bearer concerning anything contained in this Letter, to whom the whole was communicated, that so he might be able to bring back to us a more particular account of things. The Lord guide you to do that which may be pleasing in His sight.

I remain,

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

[1] *Galeone*, in the Spanish Dictionary, is defined as an "Armed Ship of burden used for trade in time of war;" *Patache*, as "a Tender, or smaller ship to wait upon the *Galeone*."

[2] Means "noways to be separated from the Mainland, by ruining its Bridge:" Cadiz were thus in reality *isolated*.

[3] Hear, hear!

* Thurloe, iv, 744.

LETTER CXCV.

CADIZ could not be attempted. Here, eight days later, is another message to the same parties, concerning another business. "The Portugal," it appears, has been behaving in a very paltry fashion; and now "Mr. Meadows," one of Thurloe's Under-Secretaries, is gone out to him; whose remonstrances, the Fleet lending them its emphasis, will probably be effectual!

To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 6th May, 1656.

You will perceive, by the Instructions[1] herewith sent you, what is expected by the Council and myself at your hands. And although we are satisfied that you will believe we have sufficient grounds to give you these Directions, yet we have thought fit, for the farther strengthening you unto this Action, to give you a short knowledge of the true state of the Difference between us and the King of Portugal.

You very well know that it is very near two years since we and the Ambassador of Portugal did agree a Treaty; they having wronged us and our Merchants, and taken part with the late King against us. When the Articles were fully agreed by the Ambassador, who had full power and authority to conclude with us, we on our part ratified and confirmed the same, and sent it to the King of Portugal to be ratified and executed by him also. He, delaying to do it according to the first Agreement, in which there were some preliminaries to be performed by him before we could enter upon the whole body of a Treaty,—not only refused to give us satisfaction therein, but instead thereof sent us a pretended Ratification of a Treaty, so different from what was agreed by his Ambassador that it was quite another thing. In 'regard to' some essential Articles, it was proposed that if we condescend to some amendments, the King of Portugal would 'then' agree to confirm the whole.

Whereupon we sent Mr. Maynard to have the Treaty consummated: but finding by the answer he gave us,[2] that there was little reality, and nothing but delays intended, we could not satisfy ourselves without sending another Person, fully instructed, and authorised by us to take away all scruples by yielding to their own amendments; thereby to discern whether they were sincere[3] or not. But, contrary to all expectation, we find, by the account the said Person hath given us, that we are put upon it to recede from all those things that were provisional, either for the good of the State or of our Merchants, or else we must have no Peace with them.[4]

In one of the Articles agreed with the Ambassador, it was expressed, That the Merchants should enjoy liberty of conscience, in the worship of God in their own houses and aboard their ships; enjoying also the use of English Bibles, and other good books; taking care that they did not exceed this liberty. Now, upon the sending of Mr. Meadows,—unless we will agee to submit this Article to the determination of the Pope, we cannot have it: whereby he would bring us to an owning of the

1 Thurloe, iv. 769: brief "instructions," To seize the Portugal's ships, fleets, almost the Portugal's self, if he will not do justice.

2 "by his return" *in orig.*

3 "real" *in orig.*

4 Let them have a care!

Pope; which, we hope, whatever befal us, we shall not, by the grace of God, be brought unto.[1] And upon the same issue is that Article put whereby it is provided and agreed by his Ambassador, That any ships coming to that harbour, any of their company that shall run away from the said ships shall be brought back again by the Magistrate; and the Commanders of the said ships 'shall' not 'be' required to pay the said runaways their wages, upon pretence 'that' they are turned Catholics,—which may be a colour for any knave to leave his duty, or for the Roman Catholics to seduce our men. This we thought necessary to be provided against. Yet to this also, as I said before, they would not consent without the approbation of the Pope, although it was agreed by their Ambassador too.

Upon the whole matter, we find them very false to us, who intended nothing but what was simply honest. And truly we cannot believe that Article that was for our good, was 'ever' really intended by them. And we may now plainly see what the effect is like to be of any Treaty had or made with people or states guided by such principles, who, when they have agreed, have such an evasion as these people have manifestly held forth in their dealing with us. Wherefore we pray you to be very exact in your prosecution of your Instructions; which truly I hope do not arise from the hope of gain, but from a sense of duty. For, seeing we cannot secure our People in their lives, liberties, and estates, by a Pretence of a Treaty; nor yet answer the just demands this Nation hath for wrongs done them; but must in some sort be guilty of bringing our People as it were into a net, by such specious shews which have nothing but falseness and rottenness in them:—we are necessitated, having amongst ourselves found out no possible expedient, though we have industriously sought it, to salve these things; we, out of necessity 'I say,' and not out of choice, have concluded to go in this way.

You will receive herewith the Copy of an Instruction given and sent to Mr. Meadows, wherein is a time limited for the King's answer: and we desire that this may not be made use of by the King to delay or deceive us: nor that you, upon the first sight hereof, delay to take the best course you can to effect your Instructions,—or that the Portugal should get his Fleet home before you get between him and home, and so the birds be flown.

We know not what your affairs are at the present; but are confident that nothing will be wanting on your part for the effectual accomplishment of this Service. But knowing that all ways, and works, and ourselves, are ever at the perfect disposition of the Lord and His providence, and that our times are in His hands,—we therefore recommend you to the grace and guidance of our good God, who, we hope, hath thoughts of mercy towards us: and that He would guide and bless you is the prayer of,

Your very loving friend,
'OLIVER P.'*

In Thurloe's handwriting; but very evidently Oliver's composition every sentence of it. There will clearly be no living for the Portugal,

[1] Hear, hear!

* Thurloe, iv. 768

unless he decide to throw away his jockeyings and jesuitries, and do what is fair and square!

LETTER CXCVI.

A SMALL vestige, it is presumable, of this Protector's solicitude for the encouragement of Learning and Learned Men. Which is a feature of his character very conceivable to us, and well demonstrated otherwise by testimony of facts and persons. Such we shall presume the purport of this small Civic Message to be.

For our worthy Friends, the Committee of the City of London for Gresham College: These.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 9th May, 1656.

We, understanding that you have appointed an election this afternoon of a Geometry Professor in Gresham College,—We desire you to suspend the same for some time, till We shall have an opportunity to speak with some of you in order to that business.

I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

Historical Neal says zealously, "If there was a man in England who excelled in any faculty or science, the Protector would find him out, and reward him according to his merit." The renowned Dr. Cudworth in Cambridge, I have likewise expressly read, had commission to mark among the ingenuous youth of that University such as he deemed apt for Public Employment, and to make the Protector aware of them. Which high and indeed sacred function we find the Doctor, as occasion offers, intent to discharge.[1] The choice this Protector made of men,—"in nothing was his good understanding better discovered;" "which gave a general satisfaction to the Public," say the Histories.[2] As we can very well believe! He who is himself a true man, has a chance to know the truth of men when he sees them; he who is not, has none: and as for the poor Public and its satisfactions,—alas, is not the kind of "man" you set upon it the liveliest symbol of its, and your, veracity and victory and blessedness, or unveracity and misery and cursedness; the general summation and practical outcome of all else whatsoever in the Public, and in you?

LETTER CXCVII.

ANOTHER small Note still extant; relating to very different, altogether domestic matters.

'*For my loving Son, Richard Cromwell, Esquire, at Hursley: These.*'

SON, 'Whitehall,' 29th May, 1656.

You know there hath often been a desire to sell Newhall, because in these four years last past it hath yielded very little or no profit at all, nor did I ever hear you ever liked it for a seat.

* Original, with Oliver's Signature, now (1546) in the Guildhall Library, London.

[1] Thurloe, iii. 614; v. 522; &c. [2] Burnet, in Nares, ii. 574; ib. ii. 461, 494

It seems there may be a chapman had, who will give 18,000*l.* It shall either be laid out where you shall desire; at Mr. Wallop's, or elsewhere, and the money put into feoffees' hands in trust to be so disposed: or I shall settle Burleigh; which yields near 1,300*l.*[1] *per annum*, besides the woods. Waterhouse will give you farther information.

I rest,

Your loving father,

OLIVER P.

'P.S.' My love to your Father and Mother,[2] and your dear Wife.*

Newhall is the House and Estate in Essex which had once belonged to the great Duke of Buckingham. Burleigh I guess to be Burleigh House near Stamford, which Oliver in the beginning of his military services had known well: he took it by assault in 1643. Of Oliver's Lands, or even of his Public Lands granted by the Parliament, much more of the successive phases his Estate assumed by new purchase and exchange, there is, as we once observed already, no exact knowledge now anywhere to be had. Obscure incidental notices flit through the Commons Journals and other Records; but the sum of the matter alike with the details of it are sunk in antique Law-Parchments, in obliterated Committee-Papers, far beyond human sounding. Of the Lands he *died* possessed of, there is a List extant, more or less accurate; which is worth looking at here. On quitting the Protectorship in 1659, Richard Cromwell, with the hope of having his debts paid and some fixed revenue allowed him, gave-in a Schedule of his Liabilities and of his Properties, the latter all in Land: which Schedule poor Noble has found *somewhere;*[3] and copied, probably with blunders. Subjoined is his List of the Properties, some of them misspelt, most likely; the exact localities of which, no indication being given or sought by Noble, may be a problem for persons learned in such matters.[4] To us, only Burleigh and Newhall are known or of importance here.

Newhall, we can observe, was not sold on the occasion of this Letter, nor at all sold; for it still stands in the List of 1659; and with some indication, too, as to what the cause of now trying to sell it may have been. "For a Portion to my Sister Frances," namely. Noble's citations

[1] Written above is "1,260*l.*"

[2] Mr. and Mrs. Mayor of Hursley.

* Original in the possession of Henry William Field, Esq. of the Royal Mint.

[3] *Not* where he says he did, "in Commons Journals, 14 May 1659" (Noble, i. 333, 4).

[4] REAL ESTATE IN 1659.

Dalby, Broughton, Gower	settled on my Brother Henry Cromwell upon marriage: worth a-year	£989 9 1 533 8 8 479 0 0
Newhall with woods, settled for security of 15,000*l.* for a Portion for my Sister Frances		1200 0 0
Chepstall		549 7 3
Magore		448 0 0
Tydenham		3121 9 6
Woolaston		664 16 6
Chaulton, with woods		500 0 0
Burleigh		1236 12 8
Okham		326 14 11
Egleton		79 11 6

These are all the Lands at this date in the possession of the Oliver Family. As to poor Richard's finance-budget, encumbered "with 2,000*l.* yearly to my Mother," "with 3,000*l.* of debt contracted in my Father's lifetime," and plentifully otherwise,—it shall not concern us farther.

from Morant's *History of Essex;* his and Morant's blunderings and somnambulancies, in regard to this matter of Newhall, seem almost to approach the sublime.[1]

Leaving these, let us attend a little to the "Portion for my Sister Frances;" concerning which and whom a few lines of musical domestic gossip, interesting to the mind, are once more audible, from the same flute-voice above listened to. "Mr. Rich," we should premise, is the Lord Rich's son, the Earl of Warwick's Grandson; heir-apparent, though he did not live to be heir:—pious old Earl of Warwick, whom we have seen heretofore as Admiral in the Long-Parliament time; the poor Earl of Holland's Brother. Here are affairs of the heart, romances of reality, such as have to go on in all times, under all dialects and fashions of dress-caps, Puritan-Protectoral and other.

The Lady Mary Cromwell to Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Forces in Ireland.

'Hampton Court,' 23d June, 1656.

"DEAR BROTHER,—Your kind Letters do so much engage my heart towards you, that I can never tell how to express in writing the true affection and value I have for you,—who, truly, I think, none that knows you but you may justly claim it from.[2]

"I must confess myself in a great fault in omitting to write to you and your dear Wife so long a time. But I suppose you cannot be ignorant of the reason, which truly has been the only cause; which is this business of my Sister Frances and Mr. Rich. Truly I can truly say it, for these three months I think our Family, and myself in particular, have been in the greatest confusion and trouble as ever poor Family can be in. The Lord tell us His 'mind'[3] in it; and settle us, and make us what He would have us to be! I suppose you heard of the breaking-off of the business; and, according to your desire in your last Letter, as well as I can, I shall give you a full account of it. Which is this:

"After a quarter of a year's admittance, my Father and my Lord Warwick began to treat about the Estate; and it seems my Lord did not offer that which my Father expected. I need not name particulars; for I suppose you have had them from better hands: but if I may say the truth, I think it was not so much estate, as from private reasons which my Father discovered to none but to my Sister Frances and his own Family;—which was a dislike to the young person. Which he had from some reports of his being a vicious man, given to play and such-like things; which office was done by some who had a mind to break-off the match. My Sister hearing these things was resolved to know the truth of it;[4] and truly did find all the reports to be false that were recited of him. And to tell you the truth, they were so much engaged in affection before this, that she could not think of breaking it off. So that my Sister engaged me and all the friends she had, who truly were very few, to speak in her behalf to my Father. Which we did: but could not be heard to any purpose: only this my Father pro-

[1] Noble, pp. 334, 335.
[2] Young-Lady's Grammar!
[3] Word torn out.
[4] Poor little Frances!

mised, That if he were satisfied as to the report, the estate should not break it off. With which she was satisfied.

"And so after this, there was a second Treaty; and my Lord Warwick desired my Father, To name what it was he demanded more; and to his utmost he would satisfy him. So my Father upon this made new propositions; which my Lord Warwick has answered as much as he can. But it seems there are Five-hundred pounds a year in my Lord Rich's hands; which he has power to sell: and there are some people, who persuade his Highness, that it would be dishonourable for him to conclude it unless these 500*l.* a year be settled upon Mr. Rich, after his father's death. And my Lord Rich having no esteem at all of his son, because he is not so bad as himself, will not agree to it; and these people upon this persuade my Father, That it would be a dishonour to him to yield upon these terms; it would shew, that he was made a fool of by my Lord Rich. So the truth is, how it shall be, I cannot understand, nor very few else;[1] and truly I must tell you privately, they are so far engaged, that the match cannot be broke off! She acquainted none of her friends with her resolution, when she did it.

"Dear Brother, this is, as far as I can tell, the state of the business. The Lord direct them what to do. And all, I think, ought to beg of God to pardon her in her doing of this thing;—which I must say truly she was put upon by the 'course'[2] of things. Dear, let me beg my excuses to my Sister for not writing. My best respects to her. Pardon this trouble; and believe me that I shall ever strive to approve myself,—dear Brother, your affectionate sister and servant,

"MARY CROMWELL."[3]

Poor little Fanny Cromwell was not yet much turned of Seventeen, when she had these complex things to do, with her friends, "who truly were very few." What "people" they were that put, or strove to put, such notions into his Highness's head, with intent to frustrate the decidedly eligible Mr. Rich, none knows. I could suspect Ashley Cooper, or some such hand, if his date of favour still lasted. But it is gone, long months ago. Ashley is himself frustrated; cannot obtain this musical glib-tongued Lady Mary, says Ludlow;[4]—goes over to opposition in consequence; is dismissed from his Highness's Council of State: and has to climb in this world by another ladder.—Poor Fanny's marriage did

[1] Good little Mary!

[2] Torn out.

[3] Thurloe, v. 146.

[4] Here is the passage, not hitherto printed; one of several "suppressed-passages from *Ludlow's Memoirs*," which still exist in the handwriting of John Locke (now in the possession of Lord Lovelace), having been duly copied out by Locke for his own poor *Life* of the Earl of Shaftesbury, to whom they all relate:

"Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was first for the King, then for the Parliament; then in Cromwell's first Assembly," the Little Parliament, was, "for the reformation; and afterwards for Cromwell against the reformation. Now" again, "being denied Cromwell's Daughter Mary in marriage, he appears against Cromwell's design in the last Assembly," the constitutioning Parliament, where his behaviour was none of the best; "and is therefore dismissed the Council, Cromwell being resolved to act there as the chief juggler himself; and one Colonel Mackworth, a Lawyer about Shrewsbury, a person fit for his purpose, is chosen in his room."—Mackworth was a Soldier as well as Lawyer; the same who, as Governor of Shrewsbury, gave negative response to Charles Second, when he summoned him on the road to Worcester, once upon a time. Mackworth was in the Council, and had even died, and entirely left the Council, before Anthony Ashley left it (Thurloe, iii. 581; and Godwin, iv. 288). My solid friend, absent in Ireland, sulkily breathing the air in Essex, falls into some errors! Court-rumour, this of his truth in the heart of it, details rather vague:—not much worth verifying or rectifying here.

nevertheless take effect. Both Mary and she were duly wedded, Fanny to Rich, Mary to Lord Fauconberg, in November next year, within about a week of each other:[1] our friends, "who truly were very few," and our destinies, and our own lively wits, brought all right in the end.

LETTER CXCVIII.

IT was last Spring Assizes, as we saw, that the "great appearances of country gentlemen and persons of the highest quality" took place; leading to the inference generally that this Protectorate Government is found worth acknowledging by England. Certainly a somewhat successful Government hitherto; in spite of difficulties great and many. It carries eternal Gospel in the one hand, temporal drawn Sword in the other. Actually it has compressed the turbulent humours of this Country, and encouraged the better tendencies thereof, hitherto; it has set its foot resolutely on the neck of English Anarchy, and points with its armed hand to noble onward and upward paths. All which, England, thankful at lowest for peace and order, by degrees recognises; with acquiescence, not without some slow satisfactory feeling. England is in peace at home; stands as the Queen of Protestantism abroad; defies Spain and Antichrist, protects poor Piedmont Protestants and servants of Christ; —has taken, all men admit, a nobler attitude than it ever had before.

Nor has the task been easy hitherto; nor is it like to be. No holyday work, governing such an England as this of Oliver Protector's; with strong Papistry abroad, and a Hydra of Anarchies at home! The domestic Hydra is not slain; cannot, by the nature of it, be *slain*; can only be scotched and mowed down, head after head, as it successively protrudes itself;—till, by the aid of Time, it slowly *die*. As yet on any hint of foreign encouragement, it revives again, requires to be scotched and mowed down again. His exiled Majesty Charles Stuart has got a new lever in hand by means of this War with Spain.

Seven years ago his exiled Majesty's "Embassy to Spain," embassy managed by Chancellor Hyde and another, proved rather a hungry affair; and ended, I think, in little,—except the murder of poor Ascham, the then Parliament's Envoy at Madrid; whom, like Dutch Dorislaus, as "an accursed regicide or abetter of regicides," certain cut-throat servants of the said hungry Embassy broke in upon, one afternoon, and slew. For which violent deed no full satisfaction could be got from Spain,—the murderers having taken "sanctuary," as was pleaded.[2] With that rather sorry result, and no other noticeable, Chancellor Hyde's Embassy took itself away again; Spain ordering it to go. But now, this fierce Protestant Protector breathing nothing but war, Spain finds that the English domestic Hydra, if well operated upon by Charles Stuart, might be a useful thing; and grants Charles Stuart some encouragement for that. His poor Majesty is coming to the sea-shore again; is to have "Seven-thousand Spaniards" to invade England,—if the domestic Hydra will stir with effect. The domestic Hydra, I think, had better lie quiet for a while! This Letter to Henry Cromwell is to bid him too, for his part, be awake in Ireland to these things.

1 *Antea*, vol. i. p. 56.

2 Clarendon, iii. 498-509; Process and Pleadings in the Court of Spain upon the Death of Anthony Ascham (in *Harl. Miscell.* i. 236-47).

For the Hydra is not dead; and its heads are legion. Major Wildman, for example, sits safe in Chepstow: but Sexby, the Anabaptist Colonel, whom we could not take on that occasion, is still busy; has been "trying to seduce the Fleet," trying to do this and that; is now fairly gone to Spain, to treat with Antichrist himself for the purpose of bringing-in a Reign of Christ,—the truly desperate Anabaptist Colonel![1] It is a Hydra like few. Spiritual and Practical: Muggletonians, mad Quakers riding into Bristol, Fifth Monarchists, Hungry Flunkeys: ever scheming, plotting with or without hope, "to seduce the Protector's Guard," "to blow up the Protector in his bed-room," "and do other little fiddling things," as the Protector calls them,—which one cannot waste time in specifying! Only the slow course of Nature can kill that Hydra: till a Colonel Sexby die, how can you keep him quiet?—

But what doubtless gives new vitality to plotting, in these weeks, is the fact that a General Election to Parliament is going on. There is to be a new Parliament;—in which may lie who knows what contentions. The Protector lost it last time, by the arithmetical account of heads; will he gain it this time? Account of heads is not exactly the Protector's basis; but he hopes he may now gain it even so. At all events, this wide foreign and domestic Spanish War cannot be carried on without supplies; he will first try it so,—then otherwise if not so.

'*To Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Army in Ireland.*'

SON HARRY, 'Whitehall,' 26th August, 1656.

We are informed, from several hands, that the old Enemy are forming designs to invade Ireland, as well as other parts of the Commonwealth; and that he and Spain have very great correspondence with some chief men in that Nation, for raising a sudden rebellion there.

Therefore we judge it very necessary that you take all possible care to put the Forces into such a condition as may answer anything that may fall out in this kind. And to that end, that you contract the Garrisons in Ireland, as many as may be; and get a considerable marching Army into the field, in two or three bodies, to be left in the most proper and advantageous places for service, as occasion shall require. Taking also, in all other things, your best care you can to break and prevent the designs and combinations of the Enemy; and a very particular regard is to be had to the North, where, without question, busy and discontented persons are working towards new disturbances. I do not doubt but you will communicate this thing to Colonel Cowper, to the end he may be more watchful and diligent in looking to this danger. I rest,

Your loving father,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"Colonel Cowper" commands the Forces in Ulster. Plenty of details about him in Thurloe's Fourth Volume:—our readers can sufficiently conceive him without details. We are more interested to state, from a Letter of Thurloe's which goes along with this, that there are "Fourteen

[1] Clarendon, iii 852: Thurloe, iv. 698, &c.

* Sloane MSS. 4157, f. 209; and (with insignificant variations) Thurloe, v. 348.

Spanish ships plying about the Isle of Islay," doubtless with an eye to Carrickfergus ; that we hope, and indeed believe, my Lord Henry will be on the alert. For the rest, the Elections are going well ; all "for peace and settlement," as we hear, "and great friends to the Government." Ashley Cooper, indeed, has been chosen for Wilts : but, on the other hand, Bradshaw has missed in Cheshire ; Sir Henry Vane has tried in three places and missed in all.[1] This is of date 26th August, 1656 ; poor England universally sifting itself ; trying what the arithmetical account of heads will do for it once more.

LETTER CXCIX.

THE Portugal has done justice ; reluctantly aware at last that jesuitries would not serve him.[2] The Spaniards, again, cower close within their harbours ; patient of every insult ; no ship will venture out, and no Plate Fleet will come in : and as for "attempting Cadiz or Gibraltar," the Sea-Generals, after mature survey, decide that without other force it cannot prudently be done. This is what Montague, with his clear eyes, has had to report to Secretary Thurloe on the latter enterprise : "I perceive much desire that Gibraltar should be taken. My thoughts as to that are, in short, these : That the likeliest way to get it is, By landing on the sand, and quickly cutting it off between sea and sea, or so securing our men there as that they may hinder the intercourse of the Town with the Main ; frigates lying near, too, to assist them :—and it is well known that Spain never victualleth any place for one month. This will want Four or Five thousand men, well formed and officered. —This is my own only thought which I submit, at present."[3]

Whereupon the Lord Protector sends the following Orders ; one other Sea Letter of his which we happen to have left. Mainly of Thurloe's composition, I perceive ; but worth preserving on various accounts.

To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 28th August, 1656.

We have received your Letters of the 19th of June brought to us by Captain Lloyd, who arrived here the 11th of July.

By those Letters, and by what Captain Lloyd related by word of mouth,—which is not contradicted by yours of the 1st and 3d of July, 'since' received by the Squadron of Ten Ships (which are all safely arrived in the Channel), nor by any other intelligence received by other hands,—we find That the Spaniard keeps 'within' his Ports, and doth not yet prepare any considerable Fleet to come to Sea ; and that, in the condition you and they were then in, they were not to be attempted in their Harbours. And as for any design upon Gibraltar, we see by General Montague's Letter to the Secretary, that nothing therein was feasible without a good Body of Landsmen.—So that, upon the whole, there remains nothing to be done, in those seas for the present, which should require the whole Fleet now with you to remain there. Besides

1 Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, date 26 Aug. (v. 349).

2 Meadows to Blake and Montague, 13 May, 1656 : Thurloe, v. 14 ;—see ib. 69, 116, and 118 (the Portugal's Letter to Oliver, 24 June, 1656).

3 Montague to Thurloe, in cipher, 20 April to 29 May, 1656 (*Thurloe*, v. 67-70), "received by Captain Lloyd, who arrived here 11th July,"—and has brought other Letters, joint Letters from the Generals, of somewhat later date, as we may observe.

that the Great Ships cannot, without great danger, be kept out, the winter time, upon that coast.

Upon these grounds we are of opinion, with you, That a good Squadron of Frigates will, in this season, be sufficient to answer any opportunity of service which may present itself. And, therefore, we have resolved That about the number of Twenty Ships, such as you shall judge proper and fit for that purpose, be kept in those seas; and the rest be sent home, with the first opportunity of wind and weather:—and desire that you will give order therein accordingly. And in respect it will be necessary that we advise with one of you at least, upon this whole affair; and it being also very inconvenient that you should be *both* from the head of the Fleet which remains behind, the management thereof being of so great concernment to the Commonwealth,—we would have General Blake to stay with the Fleet, and General Montague to come with the Squadron which comes home.

For the Service which these Ships 'that stay' should be applied to,—we need say nothing therein; but refer you to the former Instructions. That which we believe the Enemy will most intend will be the carrying-on his Trade to the West Indies; which if he can effectually do, he will not much care for what else is done upon him. And our intelligence is, That at this time he is fitting out some Ships of war, and others, to send from Cadiz into those parts;—the certainty whereof we suppose you may know. And therefore that which is most to be endeavoured is, The spoiling him in that Trade, by intercepting his Fleets either going to or coming from those parts,[1]—and as much as may be To destroy his correspondencies thither. It will be of great use also to prevent the coming of any Materials for Shipping, or other contraband goods, into Cadiz or any of his Ports: which you can have an eye to; and as much as may be, prejudice his correspondency with Flanders.

Besides these things, and what other damage you may have opportunity to do the Enemy, we, in our keeping the said Fleet in those Seas, had an eye to the Preservation of the Trade of this Commonwealth in the Straits and to Portugal:[1] which we suppose could not be driven on without a very good countenance and strength,—in respect the Enemy would otherwise be able with a few ships to obstruct this Trade wholly, and to take all that passed either to or from the one place or the other.[2]—But our intention is not To reckon up every particular wherein this Fleet may be useful, but only To let you know our general scope; and to leave the management and improvement thereof to the prudence and direction of him who is to abide upon the place. Whom we beseech the Lord to be present with; and to guide him to that which may be for the good of this Commonwealth, and according to His own will.

These have been our thoughts, and the considerations we have had upon this Affair. If anything else doth occur to you different from what is here expressed, either as to the number of Ships to remain in

[1] "thence," *in orig.*

[2] Here, I think, at the beginning of this Paragraph, the Protector himself has more decidedly struck in.

those seas, or the way and manner of weakening the Enemy and managing the War against him,—we desire to understand your sense and advice hereupon, with all possible speed ; sooner, if it may be, than the return of the aforesaid Squadron. And in the mean time we are not willing to tie you up positively to the number of Twenty Ships to remain on that Coast ; but give you a latitude to keep a lesser or greater number there, for answering the ends aforesaid, and 'so' as you shall find the occasion to require, which possibly may be very much varied since the last we had from you.—For what concerns the Provisions of victuals and other things which the Fleet will stand in need of, the Commissioners of the Admiralty have direction to write at large to you. Unto whose Letters we refer you ;—and desire you and the whole Fleet to rest assured that nothing shall be omitted to be done, here, for your supply and encouragement upon all occasions.

Your loving friend,
'OLIVER P.'*

About a fortnight ago, August 13th, learned Bulstrode went with the Swedish Ambassador to dine with a famed Sea-General Sir George Ayscough, of whom we have occasionally heard ; who lives for the present, retired from service, "at his House in Surrey ;" House not known to me ; which by the aid of "ponds, moats," and hydraulic contrivances, he has made to "stand environed in water like a ship at sea,"—very charming indeed ; and says he has "cast anchor" here. Our entertainment was superb. The brilliant Swedish Ambassador and Sir George spake much about frigates, their rates of sailing, their capabilities of fighting, and other technical topics ; which a learned man might without much tedium listen to. "After dinner, the Ambassador came round by Hampton Court, to take his leave of the Lady Claypole and her Sisters ;"[1]—which latter small fact, in the ancient Autumn afternoon, one rather loves to remember ! As for this Swedish Ambassador, he is just about quitting England, the high-tempered, clear-glancing man ; having settled "copperas," "contrabanda," and many other things, to mutual satisfaction ;—nay it is surmised he has thoughts of inviting Ayscough into Sweden to teach them seamanship there ; which, however, shall not concern us on this occasion.[2]

SPEECH V.

BUT the new Parliament is now about assembling ; wherein we shall see what conclusions will be tried ! A momentous question for his Highness and the Council of State ; who have been, with interest enough, perusing and pondering the List of Names returned. On the whole, a hopeful Parliament, as Thurloe had expected : Official persons, these, and others known as friends to this Government, are copiously elected : the great body of the Parliament seems to consist of men well-affected to his Highness, and even loyal to him ; who, witnessing the course he follows, wish him heartily God-speed thereon. Certain others there are, and in considerable number, of stiff Republican ways, or given to turbulence in general, a Haselrig, a Thomas Scott, an Ash-

* Thurloe, v. 363. "Sent to Plymouth, To be sent to the Generals by Captain Hatsell."
1 Whitlocke, pp. 638, 9. 2 Biog. Britan. Sec. Ayscough.

ley Cooper; these, as a mass of leaven which might leaven the whole lump, and produce one knows not what in the way of fermentation, are clearly very dangerous. But for these also his Highness and the Council of State, in the present anomalous condition of the Nation, have silently provided an expedient. Which we hope may be of service. On the whole, we hope this Parliament may prove a better than the last.

At all events, on Wednesday, 17th September, 1656, Parliament, Protector, all in due State, do assemble at the Abbey Church; and with reverence and credence, hear Doctor Owen, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, very pertinently preach to them from these old words of Isaiah,—old and yet always new and true: *What shall one then answer to the Messengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the Poor of His People shall trust in it.*[1] After which, all having removed, still in due state, to the Painted Chamber, and there adjusted themselves, the Protector, rising in his elevated place and taking off his hat, now speaks. The Speech, reported by one knows not whom, lies in old Manuscript in the British Museum; and printed in late years in the Book called *Burton's Diary;* here and there in a very dreary, besmeared, unintelligible condition; from which, as heretofore, a pious Editor strives to rescue it. Sufficiently studied, it becomes intelligible, nay luminous. Let the reader too read with piety, with a real endeavour to understand.

GENTLEMEN,

When I came hither, I did think that a duty was incumbent upon me a little to pity myself; because, this being a very extraordinary occasion, I thought I had very many things to say unto you, 'and was somewhat burdened and straitened thereby.' But truly now, seeing *you* in such a condition as you are,[2] I think I must turn off 'my pity' in this, as I hope I shall in everything else;—and consider *you* as certainly not being able long to bear that condition and heat that you are now in.——'So far as possible, on this large subject, let us be brief; not studying the Art of Rhetoricians.' Rhetoricians, whom I do not pretend to 'much concern with;' neither with them, nor with what they use to deal in: Words!

Truly *our* business is to speak Things! The Dispensations of God that are upon us do require it; and that subject upon which we shall make our discourse is somewhat of very great interest and concernment, both for the glory of God, and with reference to His Interest in the world. I mean His peculiar, His most peculiar Interest, 'His Church, the Communion of the Faithful Followers of Christ;'—and that will not leave any of us to exclude His general Interest, which is the concernment of the Living People 'not as Christians but as human creatures,' within these three Nations, and all the Dependencies thereupon. I have told you I should speak to *things;* things that concern these Interests: The glory of God, and His Peculiar Interest in the world,—which 'latter' is more extensive, I say more extensive, than the People

[1] Isaiah xv. 32.

[2] Place crowded, weather hot.

of all these three Nations with the appurtenances, or the countries and places, belonging unto them.[1]

The first thing, therefore, that I shall speak to is *That* that is the first lesson of Nature: Being and Preservation. [*Begin at the basis: How are we to get continued at all as a Nation, not trampled under foot by Invaders, Anarchies, and reduced to wreck?*] As to that of Being, I do think I do not ill style it the *first* consideration which Nature teacheth the Sons of Adam:—and then I think we shall enter into a field large enough when we come to consider that of Well-being. But if Being itself be not first well laid, I think the other will hardly follow!

Now in order to this, to the Being and Subsistence of these Nations with all their Dependencies: The conservation of that, 'namely of our National Being,' is first to be viewed with respect to those who seek to undo it, and so make it *not to be;* and then very naturally we shall come to the consideration of what will make it *be*, of what will *keep* its being and subsistence. [*His Highness's heads of method.*]

'Now' that which plainly seeks the destruction of the Being of these Nations is, out of doubt: The endeavour and design of all the common Enemies of them. I think, truly, it will not be hard to find out who those Enemies are; nor what hath made them so! I think, They are all the wicked men in the world, whether abroad or at home, that are the Enemies to the very Being of these Nations;—and this upon a common account, from the very enmity that is in them 'to all such things.' Whatsoever could serve the glory of God and the interest of His People,—which they see to be more eminently, yea more eminently patronised and professed in this Nation (we will not speak it with vanity) than in all the Nations in the world: *this* is the common ground of the common enmity entertained against the prosperity of our Nation, against the very Being of it.—But we will not, I think, take up our time, contemplating who these Enemies are, and what they are, in the general notion: we will labour to *specificate* our Enemies; to know what persons and bodies of persons they practically are that seek the very destruction and[2] Being of these Three Nations.

And truly I would not have laid such a foundation but to the end I might very particularly communicate with you 'about that same matter.' For which 'above others,' I think, you are called hither at this time:—That I might particularly communicate with you about the many dangers these Nations stand in, from enemies abroad and at home; and advise with you about the remedies, and means to obviate these dangers. 'Dangers' which,—say I, and I shall leave it to you whether you will join with me or no,—strike at the very Being and 'vital' interest of these Nations. And therefore, coming to particulars, I will shortly represent to you the estate of your affairs in that respect: in respect 'namely' of the Enemies you are engaged with; and how you come to be engaged with those Enemies, and how they come to be, *as*

[1] "more extensive:" *more important* would have better suited what went before: yet "extensive" is in all likelihood the word, for his Highness is here branching out into a second idea, which he goes on to blend with the primary one, of "the concernment of the general mass of the People."

[2] "of the" would be more grammatical; but much less Oliverian.

heartily, I believe, engaged against you. [*His Highness's utterance is terribly rusty hitherto; creaky, uncertain, difficult! He will gather strength by going. Wait till the axles get warm a little!*]

Why, truly, your great enemy is the Spaniard. He is a natural enemy. He is naturally so; he is naturally so throughout,—by reason of that enmity that is in him against whatsoever is of God. 'Whatsoever is of God' which is in *you*, or which may be in you; contrary to that which *his* blindness and darkness, led on by superstition, and the implicitness of his faith in submitting to the See of Rome, actuate[1] him unto!—With this King and State, I say, you are at present in hostility. We put you into this hostility. You will give us leave to tell you how. [By sending out your Hispaniola Fleet, Christmas gone a year—which has issued rather sorrily, your Highness!] For we are ready to excuse 'this and' most of our actions,—and to justify them too, as well as to excuse them—upon the ground of Necessity. 'And' the ground of Necessity, for justifying of men's actions, is above all considerations of instituted Law; and if this or any other State should go about,—as I know they never will,—to make Laws against Events, against what *may* happen, 'then' I think it is obvious to any man, they will be making Laws against Providence; events and issues of things, being from God alone, to whom all issues belong.

The Spaniard is your enemy; and your enemy, as I tell you, naturally, by that antipathy which is in him,—'and also' providentially,[2] and this in divers respects. You could not get an honest or honourable Peace from him: it was sought by the Long Parliament; it was not attained. It could not be attained with honour and honesty. I say, it could not be attained with honour and honesty. And truly when I say that, 'I do but say,' He is naturally throughout *an enemy;* an enmity is put into him by God. "I will put an enmity between thy seed and her seed;"[3]—which goes but for little among statesmen, but is more considerable than all things! [Yea, your Highness; it is!—Listen to what his Highness himself says of his reasons for going to war with Spain. "Statesmen" too, if they can separate therein what is transitory from what is perennial and eternal, may find it still very worthy of attention. He who has in him, who manifests in the ways of him, an "enmity to God," and goes about patronising unveracities, rotten delusions, brazen falsities, pestilent injustices,—with him, whatever his seeming extent of money-capital and worldly prosperity may be, I would advise no nation nor statesman nor man to be prompt in clapping up an alliance. He will not come to good, I think; not he, for one. Bad security in his firm; have no trade with him. With him your only fit trade is, Duel to the death, when the time comes for that!] And he that considers not such natural enmity, the *providential* enmity, as well as the *accidental*, I think he is not well acquainted with Scripture and the things of God. And the Spaniard is not only our enemy accidentally, but he is providentially so; God having in His wisdom disposed it so to be, when we made a breach with the Spanish Nation 'long ago.'

[1] "acts" *in orig.*, now as always.
[2] Means, not "luckily" as now, but simply "by special ordering of Providence."
[3] Genesis iii., 15.

No sooner did this Nation form what is called (unworthily) the Reformed Religion [It was not half reformed !] after the death of Queen Mary, by the Queen Elizabeth of famous memory,—we need not be ashamed to call her so ! [No, your Highness ; the royal court-phrase expresses in this case an exact truth. She was and is "of famous memory."]—but the Spaniard's design became, By all unworthy, unnatural means, to destroy that Person, and to seek the ruin and destruction of these Kingdoms. For me to instance in particulars upon that account, were to trouble you at a very unseasonable time : there is a Declaration extant [The Council's "Declaration," in October last], which very fully hath in it the origin of the Spaniard venting himself upon this Nation ; and a series of it [1] from those very beginnings to this present day. But his enmity was partly upon that general account which all are agreed 'about.' The French, all the Protestants in Germany, all have agreed, That his design was the empire of the whole Christian World if not more ;—and upon *that* ground he looks 'and hath looked' at this Nation as his greatest obstacle. And as to what his attempts have been for that end,—I refer you to that Declaration, and to the observations of men who read History. It would not be difficult to call to mind the several Assassinations designed upon that Lady, that great Queen : the attempts upon Ireland, the Spaniards' invading of it ; their designs of the same nature upon *this* Nation,—public designs, private designs, all manner of designs, to accomplish this great and general end. Truly King James made a Peace ; but whether this Nation, and the interest of all Protestant Christians, suffered not more by that Peace, than ever by Spain's hostility, I refer to your consideration !

Thus a State which you can neither have peace with nor reason from,—that is the State with which you have enmity at this time, and against which you are engaged. And give me leave to say this unto you, because it is truth, and most men know it, That the Long Parliament did endeavour, but could not obtain satisfaction 'from the Spaniard' all the time they sat : for their Messenger [Poor Ascham !] was murdered : and when they asked satisfaction for the blood of your poor people unjustly shed in the West Indies [Yes, at Tortuga, at St. Kitts ; in many a place and time !], and for the wrongs done elsewhere ; when they asked liberty of conscience for your people who traded thither,—satisfaction in none of these things would be given, but was denied. I say, they denied satisfaction either for your Messenger that was murdered, or for the blood that was shed, or the damages that were done in the West Indies. No satisfaction at all ; nor any reason offered *why* there should not be liberty 'of conscience' given to your people that traded thither. Whose trade was very considerable there, and drew many of your people thither ; and begot an apprehension in *us* 'as to their treatment there,'—whether in *you* or no, let God judge between you and Himself. I judge not : but all of us know that the people who went thither to manage the trade there, were imprisoned. We desired 'but' such a liberty as 'that' they might keep their Bibles in their pockets, to exercise their liberty of religion for themselves, and not be under

[1] Of "his ventings," namely.

restraint. But there is not liberty of conscience to be had 'from the Spaniard;' neither is there satisfaction for injuries, nor for blood. When these two things were desired, the Ambassador told us, "It was to ask his Master's two eyes;"[1] to ask both his eyes, asking these things of him!—

Now if this be so, why, truly then here is some little foundation laid to justify the War that has been entered upon[2] with the Spaniard! And not only so: but the plain truth of it is, Make any peace with any State that is Popish and subjected to the determination of Rome and 'of' the Pope himself,—you are bound, and they are loose. It is the pleasure of the Pope at any time to tell you, That though the man is murdered [Poor Ascham, for example!], yet his murderer has got into the sanctuary! And equally true is it, and hath been found by common and constant experience, That peace is but to be kept so long as the Pope saith Amen to it. [What is to be done with such a set of people?] We have not 'now' to do with any Popish State except France: and it is certain that *they* do not think themselves under such a tie to the Pope; but think themselves at liberty to perform honesties with nations in agreement with them, and protest against the obligation of such a thing as that,—'of breaking your word at the Pope's bidding.' *They* are able to give us an explicit answer to anything reasonably demanded of them: and there is no other Popish State we can speak of, save this only, but will break their promise or keep it as they please upon these grounds,—being under the lash of the Pope, to be by him determined, 'and made to decide.'

In the time when Philip Second was married to Queen Mary, and since that time, through Spanish power and instigation, Twenty-thousand Protestants were murdered in Ireland. We thought, being denied just things,—we thought it our duty to get that by the sword which was not to be had otherwise! And this hath been the spirit of Englishmen; and if so, certainly it is, and ought to be, the spirit of men that have *higher* spirits! [Yes, your Highness: "Men that are Englishmen and more,—Believers in God's Gospel, namely!"—Very clumsily said; but not at all clumsily meant, and the very helplessness of the expression adding something of English and Oliverian character to it.]—With that State you are engaged. And it is a great and powerful State:—though I may say also, that with all other Christian States you are at peace. All these 'your other' engagements were upon you before this Government was undertaken: War with France, Denmark,—nay, upon the matter, War, 'or as good as War,' with Spain 'itself.' I could instance how it was said 'in the Long Parliament time,' "We will have a war in the Indies, though we fight them not at home." I say, we are at peace with all other Nations, and have only a war with Spain. I shall say somewhat 'farther' to you, which will let you see our clearness 'as' to that, by and by.

Having thus 'said, we are' engaged with Spain,—'that is the root of the matter;' that is the party that brings *all* your enemies before you. [Coming now to the Home Malignants.] It doth: for so it is now that

[1] "these two things:" Exemption to our traders from injury in the West Indies, and Liberty to have Bibles and worship:—See Thurloe (i. 760, 1); Bryan Edwards (i. 141-3); &c.

[2] "that was had" *in orig.*

Spain hath espoused that Interest which you have all along hitherto been conflicting with,—Charles Stuart's Interest. And I would but meet the gentleman upon a fair discourse who is willing that that Person should come back again !—but I dare not believe any in this room is. [Heavens, no ; not one of us !] And I say it doth not detract at all from your Cause, nor from your ability to make defence of it, That God by His providence hath so disposed that the King of Spain should espouse that Person. And I say 'farther' [His Highness's spirit gets somewhat tumultuous here, and blazes up with several ideas at once,—producing results of "some inextricableness," as he himself might phrase it], No man but might be very well satisfied that it is not for aversion to that Person [Not for his sake that we have gone to war with Spain :—the Cavaliers talk loudly so, and it is not so]—! And the "choosing out" (as was said today[1]) "a Captain to lead us *back into Egypt*," 'what honest man has *not* an aversion to that?'—if there *be* such a place? I mean metaphorically and allegorically such a place ; 'if there be,' that is to say, A *returning* 'on the part of some' to all those things we have been fighting against, and a destroying of all that good (as we had some hints today) which we have attained unto— ?—I am sure my Speech 'and defence of the Spanish war' will signify very little, if such grounds [Grounds indicated, in this composite "blaze of ideas," which is luminous enough, your Highness ; but too simultaneous for being very distinct to strangers !] go not for good ! Nay I will say this to you, Not a man in England, that is disposed to comply with Papists and Cavaliers but to him my Speech here is the greatest parable, the absurdest discourse ! And in a word, we could wish they were all where Charles Stuart is, all who declare ["By their cavilling at Spanish Wars and so on :" his Highness looks animated !] that they are of that spirit, I do, with all my heart ;—and I would help them with a boat to carry them over, who are of that mind ! Yea, and if you shall think it a duty to drive them over by arms, I will help in that also !— —

You are engaged with such an Enemy ; a foreign enemy, who hath such allies among ourselves :—this last said hath a little vehemency in it [His Highness repents him of blazing up into unseemly heat] : but it is well worth your consideration.

Though I seem to be, all this while, upon the justice of the business, yet my desire is to let you see the dangers 'and grand crisis' this Nation stands in 'thereby.' All the honest interests ; yea all interests of the Protestants, in Germany, Denmark, Helvetia and the Cantons, and all the interests in Christendom, are the same as yours. If you succeed, if you succeed well and act well, and be convinced what is God's Interest, and prosecute it, you will find that you act for a very great many who are God's own. Therefore I say that your danger is from the Common Enemy abroad ; who is the head of the Papal Interest, the head of the Antichristian Interest,—who is so described in Scripture, so forespoken of, and so fully, under that characteral name 'of Antichrist' given him by the Apostle in the *Epistle to the Thessalonians*, and likewise so expressed in the *Revelations* ; which are sure and plain things ! Except you will deny the truth of the

[1] In Owen's Sermon.

Scriptures, you must needs see that that State is so described in Scripture to be Papal and Antichristian. [Who would not go to war with it!] I say, with this Enemy, and upon this account, you have the quarrel,—with the Spaniard.

And truly he hath an Interest in your bowels;[1] he hath so. The Papists in England,—they have been accounted, ever since I was born, Spaniolised. There is not a man among us can hold up his face against that. [The justifying of the Spanish War is a great point with his Highness!] They never regarded France; they never regarded any other Papist State where a 'hostile' Interest was, 'but Spain only.' Spain was their patron. Their patron all along, in England, in Ireland and Scotland: no man can doubt of it. Therefore I must needs say, this 'Spanish Interest is also, in regard to your home-affairs, a great source of your danger. It is, and it evidently is; and will be more so, —upon that account that I told you of: He hath espoused Charles Stuart! With whom he is fully in agreement; for whom he hath raised Seven or Eight Thousand men, and has them now quartered at Bruges; to which number Don John of Austria has promised that, so soon as the campaign is ended, which it is conceived will be in about five or six weeks, he shall have Four or Five Thousand added. And the Duke of Newburgh, who is a Popish Prince, hath promised good assistance according to his power; and other Popish States the like. In this condition you are with that State 'of Spain;' and in this condition through unavoidable necessity; because your Enemy was *naturally* an enemy, and is providentially too become so. [Always, by the law of his being, as Antichristian to Christian, a VIRTUAL enemy; and now Providence, with beneficent wisdom, has developed him into an ACTUAL one.—"That was his Highness's fundamental reason for rushing at him in the West Indies? Because he was Antichrist?" ask some Moderns.—Why yes, it might help, my red-tape Friends! I know well, if I could fall in with Antichrist anywhere, with Supreme Quack and Damnability anywhere, I should be right happy to have a stroke at him if there seemed any chance!]

And now farther,—as there is a complication of these Interests abroad, so there is a complication of them here. Can we think that Papists and Cavaliers shake not hands in England? It is unworthy, Unchristian, Un-English-like,[2] 'say you.' Yes; but it doth serve to let you see, and for that end I tell it you that you may see, your danger, and the source thereof. Nay it is not only thus, in this condition of hostility, that we stand towards Spain; and towards all the Interest which would make void and frustrate everything that has been doing for you; namely, towards the Popish Interest, Papists and Cavaliers;—but it is also — — [His Highness finds this sentence will not do, and so tries it another way]—That is to say, your danger is *so great*, if you will be sensible of it, by reason of Persons who pretend *other* things! [Coming now to the great Miscellany of Anabaptists, Republicans, Levellers; your Allens, Sexbys, Overtons.] 'Pretend, I say;' yea who, though perhaps they *do* not all suit in their hearts with the said 'Popish' Interest—[Sentence

[1] Old phrase for "the interior of your own country.
[2] To combine with Papists, even for Royalists to do so.

left ruinous; sense gradually becomes visible]—Yet every man knows, and must know, that discontented spirits are among us somewhere! They must expect backing and support somewhere. They must end in the Interest of the Cavalier at the long-run. That must be their support!—I could have reckoned this in another 'head' [Half soliloquising, his Highness; giving us a glimpse into the strange seething, simmering inner-man of him.]—But I give you an account of things as they arise to me. Because I desire to clear them to you! Not discoursively, in the oratoric way; but to let you see the matter of fact,—to let you see how the state of your affairs stands. [Well, your Highness; that certainly is the grand object of speaking to us. To shew ME what THOU seest, what is in THEE: why else should one human being dare to wag his tongue to another? It is frightful otherwise. One almost loves this incondite half-articulation of his Highness, in comparison.]

Certain it is, there was, not long since, an endeavour to make an Insurrection in England. [Penruddock at Salisbury;—we heard of Wagstaff and him!] It was going on for some time before it broke out. It was so before the last Parliament sat. 'Nay,' it was so not only from the time of the undertaking of this Government; but the spirit and principle of it did work in the Long-Parliament 'time.' From that time to this hath there been nothing but enterprising and designing against you. And this is no strange or new thing to tell you: Because it is true and certain that the Papists, the Priests and Jesuits have a great influence upon the Cavalier Party; they and the Cavaliers prevail upon the discontented spirits of the Nation,—who are not all so apt to see where the dangers lie, nor to what the management of affairs tends. Those 'Papists and Cavaliers' do foment all things that tend to *dis*service; to propagate discontentments upon the minds of men. And if we would instance, in particulars, those that have manifested this,—we could tell you how Priests and Jesuits have insinuated themselves into men's society; pretending the same things that *they* pretended;—whose ends, 'these Jesuits' ends,' have, out of doubt, been what I have told you. [Dark spectres of Jesuits; knitting up Charles Stuart, the Spaniard, and all manner of Levellers and discontented persons, into one Antichristian mass, to overwhelm us therewith!]

We had that Insurrection. It was intended first to the assassination of my person;—which I would not remember as anything at all considerable, to myself or to you [Very well, your Highness!]: for they would have had to cut throats beyond human calculation before they could have been able to effect their design. But you know it very well, 'this of the assassination;'—it is no fable. Persons were arraigned for it before the Parliament sat; and tried, and upon proof condemned, [Gerard and Vowel; we remember them!]—for their designs to cut the throat of myself, and three or four more; whom they had singled out as being, a little beyond ordinary, industrious to preserve the peace of the Nation. And did think to make a very good issue 'in that way,' to the accomplishment of their designs! I say, this was made good upon the Trial. Before the Parliament sat, all the time the Parliament sat, they were about it, We did hint these things to the Parliament people by several persons, who acquainted them therewith. But what fame we

lay under I know not! [Suspicious of us in that Parliament!] It was conceived, it seems, we had things[1] which rather intended to persuade agreement and consent, and bring money out of the people's purses, or I know not what:—in short nothing was believed [Very beautifully rebutted, your Highness; without even anger at it; as the Lion walks quietly on through cobwebs. We had "things" which rather intended to &c. &c. What most articulate rhetoric could match this half-articulate,—articulate enough for the occasion!]; though there was a series of things distinctly and plainly communicated to many Members.

The Parliament rose about the middle of January. By the 12th of March after, the people were in arms. But "they were a company of mean fellows,"—alas!—"not a lord, nor a gentleman, nor a man of fortune, nor a this nor that, among them: but it was a poor headstrong people, a company of rash fellows who were at the undertaking of this,"—and that was all! And by such things [His Highness's face indicates that he means "no-things," "babblements"] have men 'once well-affected' lost their consciences and honours, complying, 'coming to agreement with Malignants,' upon such notions as these!—Give me leave to tell you, We know it; we are able to prove it. And I refer you to that Declaration[2] which was for guarding against Cavaliers (as I did before to that other 'Declaration' which set down the grounds of our war with Spain), Whether these things were true or no? If men will not believe,—we are satisfied, we do our duty. [A suspicious people, your Highness: nay not suspicious, so much as incredulous, obstinate, dreadfully thick of skin and sense,—and unused to such phenomena as your Highness!] If we let you know things and the ground of them, it is satisfaction enough to *us*: But to see how men can reason themselves out of their honours and consciences in their compliance with those sort of people—!—Which, truly I must needs say, some men had compliance with, who I thought never *would* for all the world: I must tell you so.—

These men rise in March. And that it was a general Design, I think all the world must know and acknowledge. For it is as evident as the day that the King [We may call him "King"] sent Sir Joseph Wagstaff and another, the Earl of Rochester, to the North. And that it was general, we had not by suspicion or imagination; but we know individuals! We are able to make appear, That persons who carried themselves the most demurely and fairly of any men in England were engaged in this business. And he that gave us our intelligence lost his life for it in Newburgh Country [Yes, Manning was shot there; he had told us Hyde was cock-sure];—I think I may now speak of that, because he is dead:—but he did discover, from time to time, a full intelligence of these things. Therefore, How men of wicked spirits may traduce us in that matter; or, notwithstanding all that hath been done, may still continue their compliances 'with the Malignants;'—I leave it. [Yes, let THEM look to that.] I think England cannot be safe unless Malignants be carried far away!—

There was never any design on foot but we could hear it out of the

[1] Means "we made statements;" very Oliverian expression.
[2] Can be read in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 434 *et seqq.*

Tower. He who commanded there[1] would give us account, That within a fortnight of such a thing[2] there would be some stirrings; for a great concourse of people were coming to them, and they had very great elevations of spirit. [Vigilant Barkstead!] And not only there; but in all the Counties of England. We have had informations that they were upon designs all over England (besides some particular places which came to our particular assurance), by knowledge we had from persons in the several Counties of England.

And if this *be* so, then, as long as commotions can be held on foot, you are in danger by your War with Spain; with whom all the Papal Interest is joined. This Pope[3] is a person all the world knows to be a person of zeal for his Religion,—wherein perhaps he may shame *us*,—and a man of contrivance, and wisdom, and policy: and his Designs are known to be, all over, nothing but an Endeavour to unite all the Popish Interests in all the Christian world, against this Nation above any, and against all the Protestant Interest in the world.—If this be so, and if you will take a measure of these things; if we must still hold the esteem that we have had 'for Spaniards,' and be ready to shake hands with them and the Cavaliers,—what doth this differ from the Bishop of Canterbury [Poor old Laud, and his Surplices!] 'striving' to reconcile matters of Religion; if this temper be upon us to unite with these 'Popish' men in Civil Things? Give me leave to say, and speak what I know! If this be men's mind, I tell you plainly,—I hope I need not; but I wish all the Cavaliers in England, and all the Papists, heard me declare it, and many besides yourselves have 'heard me:' There are a company of poor men that are ready to spend their blood against such compliance! [Right so, your Highness; that is the grand cardinal certainly! An irrevocable Act of Legislature passed in one's own heart. In spite of all clamours and jargons, and constitutional debatings in Parliament and out of it, there is a man or two will have himself cut in pieces before that "shaking of hands" take place. In fact, I think Christ and Antichrist had better not try shaking of hands; no good will come of it!—Does not his Highness look uncommonly animated?]; and I am persuaded of the same thing in you!

If this be our condition,—with respect had to this, truly let us go a little farther. For I would lay open the danger, wherein I think in my conscience we stand; and if God give not your hearts to see and discern what is obvious, we shall sink, and the house will fall about our ears,—upon even 'what are called' "such sordid attempts" as these same! Truly there are a great many people in this Nation, who "would not reckon up every pitiful thing,"—perhaps like the nibbling of a mouse at one's heel; but only "considerable dangers!" I will tell you plainly 'what to me seems dangerous;' it is not a time for compliments nor rhetorical speeches. I have none, truly:—but to tell you how we *find* things.[4]

1 Barkstead, a Goldsmith once, a severe vigilant Colonel now; who has seen much service.
2 "time" might be the word; but I am getting to love this "thing."
3 One *Chigi* by natural name, called Alexander VII. as Pope; an "Anti-jansenist Pope," say the Books. With whom, beyond the indispensable, let us crave not to be acquainted.
4 Paragraph irretrievably misreported; or undecipherable for want of the tones and looks accompanying it;—in a dim uncertain manner, displays the above as a kind of meaning.

There is a generation of men in this Nation who cry up nothing but righteousness and justice and liberty; [Coming now to the Levellers and "Commonwealth's-men."] and these are diversified into several sects, and sorts of men; and though they may be contemptible, in respect they are many, and so not like to make a solid vow to do you mischief,—yet they are apt to agree *in aliquo tertio*. They are known, (yea, well enough) to shake hands with,—I should be loath to say with Cavaliers,—but with all the scum and dirt of this Nation, [Not loath to say that, your Highness?] to put you to trouble. And, when I come to speak of the *Remedies*, I shall tell you what are the most apt and proper remedies in these respects. I speak now of the very time when there was an Insurrection at Salisbury, 'your Wagstaffs and Penruddocks openly in arms'— —[Sudden prick of anger stings his Highness at the thought of that great Peril, and how it was treated and scouted by the incredulous Thickskinned; and he plunges in this manner]— —I doubt whether it be believed there ever was any rising in North Wales 'at the same time;' at Shrewsbury; at Rufford Abbey, where were about Five-hundred horse; or at Marston Moor; or in Northumberland, and the other places,—where all these Insurrections were at that very time! [Truly it is difficult to keep one's temper: sluggish mortals saved from destruction; and won't so much as admit it!]— —There was a Party which was very proper to come between the Papists and Cavaliers; and that *Levelling* Party hath some accession lately, which goes under a *finer* name or notion! I think they would now be called "Commonwealth's-men,"—who perhaps have right to it little enough. And it is strange that men of fortune and great estates [Lord Grey of Groby; he is in the Tower; he and others.] should join with such a people. But if the *fact* be so, there will need no stretch of wit to make it evident, it being so by demonstration. [His Highness still harps on the incredulity of a thickskinned public, naturally very provoking to him in these perilous, abstruse, and necessarily SECRET operations of his.]

I say, this people at that very time, they were pretty numerous,—and do not despise them!—at the time when the Cavaliers were risen, this very Party had prepared a Declaration against all the things that had been transacted 'by us;' and called them by I know not what 'names,' "tyranny," "oppression," things "against the liberty of the subject;" and cried out for "justice," and "righteousness," and "liberty:"—and what was all this business for, but to join the Cavaliers to carry on that Design? And these are things,—not words! That Declaration we got; and the Penner of it we got [Locked him fast in Chepstow; the unruly Wildman!]: and we have got intelligence also how the business was laid and contrived; which was hatched in the time of the Sitting of that Parliament. I do not accuse anybody: but that was the *time* of it;—an unhappy time! And a plausible Petition had been penned, which must come to me, forsooth [Through that obtuse Constitutioning Parliament, I fancy!], "To consider of these things, and to give redress and remedies." And this was so.—

Now indeed I must tell you plainly, we suspected a great deal of violence then; and we did hunt it out. I will not tell you these are high things [Call them "low" if you like; mice nibbling at one's heel!]:

but at that time when the Cavaliers were to rise, a Party was to seize upon General Monk in Scotland, and to commit him to Edinburgh Castle, upon this pretence of "liberty:" and when they had seized him, and clapped him by the heels, 'him' and some other true and faithful Officers, they had resolved a number at the same time should march away for London; leaving a Party behind them,—to have their throats cut by the Scots! Though I will not say they would have 'purposely' brought it to this pass; yet it cannot be thought but that a considerable 'part of the' Army would have followed them 'hither' at the heels.— — And not only thus: but this same spirit and principle designed some little fiddling things upon some of your Officers, to an assassination;[1] and an Officer was engaged, who was upon the Guard, to seize me in my bed. This was true. And other foolish designs there were,—as To get into a room, to get gunpowder laid in it, and to blow up the room where I lay. And this, we can tell you is *true*. These are Persons not worthy naming; but the things are *true*. And such is the state we have stood in, and had to conflict with, since the last Parliament. And upon this account, and in this combination,[2] it is that I say to you, That the ringleaders to all this are none but your old enemies the Papists and Cavaliers. We have some 'of them' in prison for these things.

Now we would be loath to tell you of notions mere seraphical! [His Highness elevating his brows; face assuming a look of irony, of rough banter.] *These* are poor and low conceits. We have had very seraphical notions! We have had endeavours to deal between two Interests;—one some section of that Commonwealth Interest; and another which was a notion of a Fifth-Monarchy Interest! [A "NOTION;" not even worth calling a "SECTION" or "PARTY"—such moonshine was it.] —Which 'strange operation' I do not recite, nor what condition it is in, as thinking it not worthy our trouble. But *de facto* it hath been so, That there have been endeavours;—as there were endeavours to make a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate that Christ might be put to death, so there have been endeavours of reconciliation between the Fifth-Monarchy men and the Commonwealth men that there might be union in order to an end,—no *end* can be so bad as *that* of Herod's was, —but in order to end in blood and confusion! And, that you may know, 'to tell you candidly,' I profess I do not believe of these two last, of Commonwealth men and Fifth-Monarchy men, but that they have stood at a distance, 'aloof from Charles Stuart.' [The Overtons, the Harrisons, are far above such a thing.] I think they did not participate. I would be so charitable, I would be, That they did not. But this I will tell you, That as for the others, *they* did not only set these things on work; but they sent a fellow, [Sexby, the miserable outcast!] a wretched creature, an apostate from religion and all honesty,—they sent him to Madrid to advise with the King of Spain to land forces to invade this Nation. Promising satisfaction that they would comply and concur with him to have both men and monies; undertaking both to engage the Fleet to mutiny, and also your Army to gain a garrison 'on the coast;' to raise a party, 'so' that, if the Spaniard would say where he

[1] Means: "they attempted to persuade some of your Officers to that 'little fiddling thing.'"
[2] Identity of time and attempt.

would land, they would be ready to assist him !—This person was sometimes[1] a Colonel in the Army. He went with Letters to the Archduke Leopoldus and Don John. That was an "Ambassador;"—and gave promise of much monies: and hath been soliciting, and did obtain monies; which he sent hither by Bills of Exchange:—and God by His providence, we being exceeding poor, directed that we lighted on some of them, and some of the monies ! [Keep hold of them, your Highness !] Now if they be payable, let them be called for ! [He won't call, I believe.]—If the House shall think fit to order any inspection into these things, they may have it.

We think it our duty to tell you of these things; and we can make them good. Here is your danger; that is it ! Here is a poor Nation that hath wallowed in its blood;—though, thanks be to God, we have had Peace these four or five years: yet here is the condition we stand in. And I think I should be false to you, if I did not give you this true representation of it.

I am to tell you, by the way, a word to justify a Thing [Coming to the Major-Generals.] which I hear, is much spoken of. When we knew all these Designs before mentioned; when we found that the Cavaliers would not be quiet— —No quiet; "there is no peace to the wicked," saith the Scripture (*Isaiah*, Fifty-seventh): "They are like the troubled sea, which cannot rest; whose waters throw up mire and dirt."[2] They cannot rest,—they have no Peace with God in Jesus Christ to the remission of sins ! They do not know what belongs to that [My brave one !]; therefore they know not how to be at rest; therefore they can no more cease from their actions than they can cease to live,—nor so easily neither !— —Truly when that Insurrection was, and we saw it in all the roots and grounds of it, we did find out a little poor invention, which I hear has been much regretted. I say, there was a little thing invented; which was the erecting of your Major-Generals [Yes !]: To have a little inspection upon the People thus divided, thus discontented, thus dissatisfied, 'split' into divers interests,—and the workings of the Popish Party ! 'Workings' of the Lord Taffe and others;[3] the most consisting of Natural-Irish rebels, and all those men you have fought against in Ireland, and have expulsed from thence, as having had a hand in that bloody Massacre; of him and of those that were under his power; who were now to have joined in this excellent business of Insurrection !—

And upon such a Rising as that was,—truly I think if ever anything were justifiable as to Necessity, and honest in every respect, this was. And I could as soon venture my life with it as with anything I ever undertook ! [His Highness looks animated.] We did find,—I mean myself and the Council did,—That, if there were need to have greater forces to carry on this work, it was a most righteous thing to put the

[1] Means "at one time;" as almost all know.

[2] Isaiah, lvii. 20, 21.

[3] His Highness suddenly breaks off after new quarry on mention of this Party. The Lord Taffe is even now very busy, at Antwerp (Thurloe, v.), with Chancellor Hyde "throwing up mire and dirt" of the insurrection kind. He was in trouble long ago at the beginning of the Long Parliament, on the score of the Irish Massacre; sat some time in the Tower (Clarendon, ii. 216) with Lord Dillon and others; a generation "who can no more cease from their practices than they can cease to live, nor so easily neither !"

charge upon that Party which was the cause of it. [Yea !] And if there be any man that hath a face averse to this, I dare pronounce him to be a man against the Interest of England !—Upon this account, upon this ground of necessity ; when we saw what game they were upon ; and knew individual persons, and of the greatest rank, not a few, engaged in this business (I knew one man that laid down his life for it) ["Name ?" He must go unnamed, this one !] ; and had it by intercepted Letters made as clear as the day ;—we did think it our duty To make that class of persons who, as evidently as anything in the world, were in the combination 'of the insurrectionists,' bear their share of the charge. 'Bear their share,' one with another, for the raising of the Forces which were so necessary to defend us against those Designs ! And truly if any man be angry at it,—I am plain, and shall use an homely expression : *Let him turn the buckle of his girdle behind him !*[1] If this were to be done again, I would do it.

How the Major-Generals have behaved themselves in that work ? I hope they are men, as to their persons, of known integrity and fidelity ; and men who have freely adventured their blood and lives for that good Cause,—if it 'still' be thought such, and it was well stated, 'this morning,' against all the 'new' humours and fancies of men !— — And truly England doth yet receive one day more of Lengthening out its tranquillity, by that same service of theirs.[2]— —

Well ; your danger is as you have seen. And truly I am sorry it is so great. But I wish it to cause no despondency :—as truly, I think, it will not : for we are Englishmen ; that is one good fact. And if God give a Nation the property of valour and courage, it is honour and a mercy 'from Him.' [Yes, it is a great thing, your Highness !] And much more 'than English !' Because you all, I hope, are Christian Men, who know Jesus Christ [Yea !], and know that Cause which hath been mentioned to you this day.

Having declared to you my sense and knowledge,—pardon me if I say so, my knowledge,—of the condition of these poor Nations, for it hath an influence upon them all, it concerneth them all very palpably : I should be to blame if I did not a little offer to you the Remedies. [Second head of method : the Remedies.] I would comprehend them under two considerations. They are both somewhat general. The one is, The Considering all things that may be done, and ought to be done, in order to Security ; that is one. And truly the other is a common head, 'a general, nay a universal consideration,'—the other is, Doing all things that ought to be done in order to Reformation : and with that I will close my Discourse. All that hath hitherto been hinted at was but to give you a sense of the danger ; which 'truly' is most material and significant : for which principally you are called hither to advise of the remedies.—I do put them, 'the remedies,' into this twofold method, not but that I think they are scarcely distinct. I do believe, truly, upon serious and deliberate consideration : That a true Reformation, as it

[1] The Proverb is in *Ray ;* but without commentary. I suppose it means "Let him seek what is uneasy in himself, and try to alter that ; the thing he is angry at is not wrong, and cannot be altered. Perhaps his *girdle* will sit easier the reverse way ?"

[2] "that occasion" *in orig.*

may, and will through God's acceptance, and by the endeavours of His poor servants, be,—That that, 'I say,' will be pleasing in His sight; and will prove not only what shall avert the present danger, but be a worthy return for all the blessings and mercies which you have received. So, in my conscience, if I were put to shew it, this hour, Where the security of these Nations will lie!—forces, arms, watchings, posts, strength; your being and freedom; be as politic and diligent, and as vigilant as you can be,—I would say in my conscience, and as before Almighty God I speak it: I think your Reformation, if it be honest and thorough and just, *it* will be your best security! [Hear him; Hear, hear!]

First, 'however,' with regard to Security 'outwardly considered.' We will speak a little distinctly to that. ["Be ye wise as serpents withal!"] You see where your War is. It is with the Spaniard. You have Peace with all "other" Nations, or the most of them; Swede, Dane, Dutch. At present, I say, it is well; it is at present so. And so likewise with the Portugal, with France,—the Mediterranean Sea. Both these States; both Christian and Profane; the Mahometan;—you have Peace with them all. Only with Spain, you have a difference, you have a War. I pray consider it. Do I come to tell you that I would *tie* you to this War? No. 'According' as you shall find your spirits and reasons grounded in what hath been said, so let you and me join in the prosecution of that War,—'according' as we are satisfied, and as the cause shall appear to our consciences in the sight of the Lord. But if you *can* come to prosecute it, prosecute it vigorously or don't do it at all!—

Truly I shall speak a very great word,—one may ask a very great question: "*Unde*, Whence shall the means of it come?" Our Nation is overwhelmed in debts! Nevertheless I think it my duty to deal plainly; I shall speak what even Nature teacheth us. If we engage in a business,—a recoiling man may *haply* recover of his enemy: but the wisdom of a man surely will be in the keeping of his ground. Therefore that is what I advise you, That we join together to prosecute it *vigorously*. In the second place I would advise you to deal effectually,—even *because* there is such a "complication of interests," 'as some keep objecting.' If you believe that there is such a complication of interests,—why, then, in the name of God, that excites you the more to do it! Give me leave to tell you, I do not believe that in any war that ever was in former times, nor in any engagements that you have had with other 'enemies,' this Nation had more obligation upon it to look to itself,—to forbear waste of time, precious time! Needlessly to mind things that are not essential; to be quibbling about words, and comparatively about things of no moment: and in the mean time,—being in such a case as I suppose you know we are,—to suffer ourselves to be wanting to a just defence against the common Enemies abroad, or not to be thoroughly sensible of the Distempers that are at home[1]—!—I know, perhaps there are many considerations which may teach you, which may incline you, to keep your own hands tender from men of one

[1] Original sentence incomplete; or tacked with radical incoherency to the foregoing; the sense, on either hypothesis, is very visible.

Religion 'with ourselves,'[1] and of an Interest that is so spread in the Nation. However, if they seek the eradication of the Nation; if they be active as you have seen, and 'as' it hath been made manifest so as not to be denied, to the carrying on of their Designs; if England must be eradicated by persons complicated with the Spaniard; if this must be brought upon us through distempers and falseness of men among themselves,—then the question is no more than this: Whether any consideration whatsoever shall lead us, for fear of eradicating distempers, to suffer all the honest Interests of this Nation to be eradicated? Therefore, speaking generally of any of their distempers, 'which are' of all sorts,—where a member cannot be cured, the rule is plain, *Ense rescindendum est immedicabile vulnus.* And I think it is of such an advantage that nothing ever could more properly be put in practice[2] since this or any Nation 'first' was.

As to those lesser Distempers of people that pretend Religion, yet which from the whole consideration of Religion, would fall under one of the heads of Reformation,—I had rather put these under this head;[3] and I shall the less speak to it, because you have been so well spoken to already to-day 'elsewhere.' I will tell you the truth: Our practice since the last Parliament hath been, To let all this Nation see that what ever pretensions to Religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves;—and *not* to make Religion a pretence for arms and blood. Truly we have suffered them, and that cheerfully, so to enjoy their own liberties. Whatsoever is contrary, 'and not peaceable,' let the pretence be never so specious,—if it tend to combination, to interests and factions, we shall not care, by the grace of God, *whom* we meet withal, though never so specious, 'if they be not quiet!' And truly I am against all "liberty of conscience" repugnant to *this.* If men will profess,—be they those under Baptism, be they those of the Independent judgment simply, or of the Presbyterian judgment,—in the name of God, encourage them, countenance them; so long as they do plainly continue to be thankful to God, and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences! For, as it was said to-day, undoubtedly "*this* is the peculiar Interest all this while contended for." [An excellent "Interest;" very indispensable in a state of genuine Protestantism, which latter has itself for some time been indispensable enough.]

Men who believe in Jesus Christ—that is the Form that gives being to true religion, 'namely,' to Faith in Christ and walking in a profession answerable to that Faith;—men who believe the remission of sins through the blood of Christ, and free justification by the blood of Christ; who live upon the grace of God: those men who are certain they are so [Faith of assurance],—'they' are members of Jesus Christ, and are to Him the apple of His eye. Whoever hath this Faith, let his Form be what it will; he walking peaceably, without prejudice to others under other Forms:—it is a debt due to God and Christ; and He will require

[1] Royalists, and other Discontented; Protestants, though Plotters. [2] "used" *in orig.*
[3] Of "doing all we can for Security;" they will stand better under *this*, thinks his Highness. His Highness half-soliloquising, suddenly bethinking himself, again shows us a glimpse of his Speech in a state of genesis.

it, if that Christian may not enjoy his liberty. [True Tolerance: a noble thing; patience, indifference as to the Unessential; liveliest impatience, inexorable INTOLERANCE for the want of the Essential!]

If a man of one form will be trampling upon the heels of another form; if an Independent, for example, will despise him 'who is' under Baptism, and will revile him, and reproach and provoke him,—I will not suffer it in him. If, on the other side, those of the Anabaptist 'judgment' shall be censuring the Godly Ministers of the Nation who profess under that of Independency; or if those that profess under Presbytery shall be reproaching or speaking evil of them, traducing and censuring of them,—as I would not be willing to see the day when England shall be in the power of the Presbytery to impose upon the consciences of others that profess faith in Christ,—so I will not endure any reproach to them. But God give us hearts and spirits to keep things *equal*. Which, truly I must profess to you, hath been my temper. I have had some boxes 'on the ear,' and rebukes,—on the one hand and on the other; some censuring me for Presbytery; others as an inletter to all the Sects and Heresies of the Nation. I have borne my reproach: but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in hindering any one Religion to impose upon another. And truly I must needs say (I speak it experimentally): I have found it, I have, that those of the Presbyterian judgment—["Do themselves partly approve my plan," he means to say; but starting off into broken sentences, as he is liable to do, never says it]— —I speak it knowingly, as having received from very many Counties—I have had Petitions, and acknowledgments and professions, from whole Counties; as from Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and other Counties. Acknowledgments that they, 'the Presbyterians there,' do but desire they may have liberty and protection in the worshipping of God according to their own judgments; for the purging of their congregations, and the labouring to attain more purity of faith and repentance;—and that, in their outward profession, they will not strain themselves beyond their own line. I have had those Petitions; I have them to shew. And I confess I look at that as the blessedest thing which hath been since the adventuring upon this Government, 'or' which these times produce. And I hope I gave them fair and honest answers. And if it shall be found to *be* the Civil Magistrate's real endeavour to keep all professing Christians in this relation to one another; not suffering any to say or do what will justly provoke the others;—I think he that would have more liberty than this, is not worthy of any.

This therefore I think verily, if it may be under consideration for Reformation:—I say, if it please God to give you and me hearts to keep *this* straight, 'it may be a great means' in giving countenance to just Ministers,—[In such semi-articulate uneasy way does his Highness hustle himself over into the discussion of a new Topic]—in countenancing a just *maintenance* to them, by Tithes or otherwise. For my part I should think I were very treacherous if I took away Tithes, till I see the Legislative Power settle Maintenance to Ministers another way. But whoever they be that shall contend to destroy Tithes,—it doth as surely cut their 'the Ministers'' throats as it is a drift to take Tithes

away before another mode of maintenance, or way of preparation towards such, be had. Truly I think all such practices and proceedings should be discountenanced. I have heard it from as gracious a Minister as any is in England; I have had it professed: That it would be a far greater satisfaction to them to have maintenance another way,—if the State will provide it. [Sensation among the Voluntaries!— —His Highness proceeds no farther in that direction at present. The next sentence suddenly drawing itself up into a heap; comprising both ideas, "TITHES" and "EQUALITY," and in free-flowing half-articulate manner uttering them both at once, must be given precisely as it stands,—Grammar yielding place to something still needfuller, to TRANSPARENCY of Speech with or without grammar].— —Therefore I think, for the keeping of the Church and people of God and professors in their several forms in this liberty,—I think as it, 'this of tithes, or some other maintenance,' hath been a thing that is the root of visible Profession [No public maintenance no regular priest], the upholding of this—I think you will find a blessing in it:—if God keep your hearts to keep things in this posture and balance which is so honest and so necessary. [Better keep up Tithes, till we see!]

Truly, there might be some other things offered to you, in point of Reformation: a Reformation of Manners to wit—But I had forgot one thing which I must remember! It is the Church's work, you know, in some measure: yet give me leave to ask, and I appeal unto your consciences, Whether there hath not been an honest care taken for the ejecting of Scandalous Ministers, and for the bringing-in of them that have passed an Approbation? [Our two Commissions, of Triers and Expurgators.] I dare say such an Approbation as never passed in England before! And give me leave to say, It hath been with this difference 'from the old practice,' that neither Mr. Parson nor Doctor in the University hath been reckoned stamp enough by those that made these Approbations;—though, I can say too, they have a great esteem for Learning; and look at Grace as most useful when it falls unto men *with* rather than without 'that addition;' and wish, with all their hearts, the flourishing of all those Institutions of Learning, as much as any. I think there hath been a conscience exercised, both by myself and the Ministers, toward them that have been Approved. I may say, such an one, as I truly believe was never known in England, 'in regard to this matter.' And I do verily believe that God hath, for the Ministry, a very great seed in the youth 'now' in the Universities; who instead of studying Books, study their own hearts. I do believe, as God hath made a very great and flourishing seed to that purpose; so this Ministry of England—I think in my very conscience that God will bless and favour it; and hath blessed it, to the gaining of very many souls. It was never so upon the thriving hand since England was, as at this day. Therefore, I say, in these things, 'in these arrangements made by us,' which tend to the profession of the Gospel and Public Ministry, 'I think' you will be so far from hindering, that you will farther them. And I shall be willing to join with you.

I did hint to you my thoughts about the Reformation of Manners. And those abuses that are in this Nation through disorder, are a thing

which should be much in your hearts. It is that, which, I am confident, is a description and character of the Interest you have been engaged against, 'the Cavalier Interest:' the badge and character of countenancing Profaneness, Disorder and Wickedness in all places,—[A horrible "character," your Highness; not undeserved hitherto: and under OUR new Defender of the Faith (if you could see into futurity) what a height of evidence will it rise to!]—and whatever is most of kin to these, and most agrees with what is Popery, and 'with' the profane Nobility and Gentry of this Nation! In my conscience, it was a shame to be a Christian, within these fifteen, sixteen or seventeen years, in this Nation! Whether "in Cæsar's house," or elsewhere! It was a shame, it was a reproach to a man; and the badge of "Puritan" was put upon it.—We would keep up [He bethinks him of the above word "profane"] Nobility and Gentry:—and the way to keep them up is, Not to suffer them to be patronisers or countenancers of debauchery and disorders! And you will hereby be as labourers in that work 'of keeping them up.' And a man may tell us plainly as can be what becomes of us, if we grow indifferent and lukewarm 'in repressing evil,' under I know not what weak pretensions. [Yes, your Highness; even so,—were you and I in a minority of Two upon it! "Merry Monarchs" of the Nell-Gwynn Defender kind, and the gallantest Sir Charles Sedleys in their tavern-balcony in Bow Street, are and remain a most mournful phenomenon to me; mournfuller than Death;—equal to Death with a Grimaldi mask clapt on it!] If it lives in us, therefore; I say, if it be in the general 'heart of the Nation,' it is a thing I am confident our liberty and prosperity depend upon,—Reformation. Make it a shame to see men bold in sin and profaneness, and God will bless you. You will be a blessing to the Nation; and by this, will be more repairers of breaches than by anything in the world. Truly these things do respect the souls of men, and the spirits,—which *are* the men. The mind is the man. If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat; if not, I would very fain see what difference there is betwixt him and a beast. He hath only some activity to do some more mischief. [A real "Head of the Church," this "King;" not an imaginary one!]

There are some things which respect the Estates of men; and there is one general Grievance in the Nation. It is the Law. ["Hear, hear!" from all quarters of the Nation.] Not that the Laws are a grievance; but there are Laws that are; and the great grievance lies in the execution and administration. I think I may say it, I have as eminent Judges in this land as have been had, as the Nation has had, for these many years. [Hale and others; yea!]—Truly I could be particular, as to the executive part 'of it,' as to the administration 'of the Law;' but that would trouble you. The truth of it is, There are wicked and abominable Laws, which 'it' will be in your power to alter. To hang a man for Six-and-eight-pence, and I know not what; to hang for a trifle, and acquit murder,—is in the ministration of the Law, through the ill-framing of it. I have known in my experience abominable murders acquitted. And to see men lose their lives for petty matters: this is a thing God will reckon for. [Your Highness actually says so, believes so?] And I wish it may not lie upon this Nation a day longer than you have an

opportunity to give a remedy; and I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it. This hath been a great grief to many honest hearts and conscientious people; and I hope it is in all your hearts to rectify it.

I have little more to say to you, being very weary; and I know you are so 'too.' Truly I did begin with what I thought was 'the means' to carry on this War (if you will carry it on), That we might join together in that vigorously. And I did promise an answer to an objection: "But what will you prosecute it with?" The State is hugely in debt; I believe it comes to—— [Reporter cannot hear; on his Paper is mere Blank;—nay I think his Highness stutters, does not clearly articulate any sum.]—The Treasure of the State is run out. We shall not be an enemy to your inspection; but desire it,—that you should inspect the Treasury, and how monies have been expended. And we are not afraid to look the Nation in the face upon this score. And, therefore, we will say negatively, *first*, No man can say we have misemployed the Treasures of this Nation, and embezzled it to particular and private uses.

It may be we have not been,—as the world terms it,—so fortunate in all our successes, 'in the issues of all our attempts?' [Hispaniola was a terrible affair, your Highness; and Jamaica is yet—a load to crush any but a Man of Hope!] Truly if we are of mind that God may not decide for us in these things, I think we shall be quarrelling with what God 'Himself' will answer 'for.' And we hope we are able,—it may be weakly, I doubt not,—to give an answer to God, and to give an answer to every man's conscience in the sight of God, of the reason of things. But we shall tell you, it—["It," the principal "reason" we could give, was the Plotting of the Cavaliers; whereat his Highness bursts into sudden spontaneous combustion again!]—was part of that Arch-Fire, which hath been in this your time; wherein there were flames good store, fire enough;—and it will be your wisdom and skill, and God's blessing upon you, to *quench* them both here and elsewhere! I say it again, our endeavours—by those that have been appointed, by those that have been Major-Generals; I can repeat it with comfort,—they have been effectual for the Preservation of your Peace! [What worlds of old terror, rage, and endeavour, all dead now; what continents of extinct fire, of life-volcanoes once blazing, now sunk in eternal darkness, do we discern, with emotion, through this chance crevice in his Highness!] It hath been more effectual towards the discountenancing of Vice and settling Religion, than anything done these fifty years: I will abide by it, notwithstanding the envy and slander of foolish men! [Poor Oliver, noble Oliver!] But I say there was a Design—I confess I speak that to you with a little vehemency—But you had not peace two months together, 'nothing but plot after plot;' I profess I believe it as much as ever I did anything in the world: and how instrumental *they*, 'these Major-Generals,' have been to your peace and for your preservation, by such means,—which, we say, was Necessity! More 'instrumental' than all instituted things in the world!——If you would make laws against whatever things God may please to send, 'laws' to meet everything that may *happen*,—you make a law in the face of God; you

tell God you will meet all His dispensations, and will stay things whether He will or no![1] But if you make good laws of Government, that men may know how to obey and to act for Government, they may be laws that have frailty and weakness; ay, and 'yet' good laws to be observed. But if nothing should 'ever' be done but what is "according to Law," the throat of the Nation may be cut while we send for some to make a law! [The Tyrant's plea?—Yes; and the true Governor's my friend; for extremes meet.] Therefore certainly it is a pitiful beastly notion to think, though it be for ordinary Government to live by law and rule, yet[2]—'if a Government in extraordinary circumstances go beyond the law even for self preservation, it is' to be clamoured at, and blottered at. [His Highness still extremely animated; wants as if more tongues than one to speak all he feels!] When matters of Necessity come, then without guilt extraordinary remedies may not be applied? Who can be so pitiful a person!—

I confess, if Necessity be *pretended*, there is so much the more sin. A laying the irregularity of men's actions upon God as if He had sent a Necessity;—who doth indeed send Necessities! But to *anticipate* these—For as to an appeal to God, I own it, 'own this Necessity,' conscientiously to God; and the principles of Nature dictate the thing:—But if there be a *supposition*, I say, of a Necessity which is *not*, every *act* so done hath in it the more sin. This 'whether in a given case, there *is* a Necessity or not,' perhaps is rather to be disputed than otherwise: But I must say I do not know one action 'of this Government,' no not one, but it hath been in order to the peace and safety of the Nation. And the keeping of some in prison [Lilburn, Wildman, Overton, Grey of Groby, Willoughby of Parham, occasionally Harrison and others: a fair stock of Prisoners up and down!] hath been upon such clear and just grounds that no man can except against it. I know there are some imprisoned in the Isle of Wight, in Cornwall and elsewhere; and the cause of their imprisonment was, They were all found acting things which tended to the disturbance of the Peace of the Nation. Now these principles made us say to them: "Pray live quietly in your own countries; you shall not be urged with bonds or engagements, or to subscribe to the Government." But they would not so much as say, "We will promise to live peaceably." If others are imprisoned, it is because they have done such things. And if other particulars strike,[3] we know what to say,—as having endeavoured to walk as those that would not only give an account to God of their actings in Authority, but had 'withal' to give an account of them to men. [Anticlimax;—better than some climaxes; full of simplicity and discretion.]

I confess I have digressed much. [Yes, your Highness; it has been a very loose-flowing Discourse;—like a big tide on shallow shores, with few banks or barriers!]—I would not have you be discouraged if you

[1] "Laws against events," insisted on before, p. 628. The "event" there could be no law against beforehand, was the universal rising of the cutthroat Cavaliers; a thing not believed in by the thick-skinned, but too well known to his Highness as a terrible verity,—which the thickest skin would have got acquainted with, moreover, had it not been for him! Evidently a most provoking topic.

[2] A small hiatus in the MS. (Burton, p. clxxii.), which imagination can easily fill.

[3] Means "give offence."

think the State is exceeding poor. Give me leave to tell you, we have managed the Treasury not unthriftily, nor to private uses; but for the use of the Nation and Government:—and shall give you this short account. When the Long Parliament sat,[1] this Nation owed 700,000*l.* We examined it; it was brought unto that,—in that short Meeting 'of the Little Parliament,' within half a year after the Government came into our hands. I believe there was *more* rather than less. They, 'the Long-Parliament people' had 120,000*l.* a-month; they had the King's, Queen's Prince's, Bishops' Lands; all Delinquents' Estates, and the Dean-and-Chapter Lands;—which was a very rich Treasure. As soon as ever we came to the Government, we abated 30,000*l.* the first half-year, and 60,000*l.* after. We had no benefits of those Estates, at all considerable; [Only the merest fractions of them remaining now unsold.] I do not think, the fiftieth part of what they had:—and give me leave to tell you, *You are not so much in debt as we found you.*[2] We know it hath been maliciously dispersed, as if we had set the Nation into 2,500,000*l.* of debt: but I tell you, you are not so much in debt, by some thousands,—I think I may say, by some hundreds of thousands! This is true that I tell you. We have honestly,—it may be not so wisely as some others would have done,—but with honest and plain hearts, laboured and endeavoured the disposal of Treasure to Public Uses; and laboured to pull off the common charge 60,000*l.* a-month, as you see. And if we had continued that charge that was left upon the Nation, perhaps we could have had as much money 'in hand,' as now we are in debt.—These things being thus, I did think it my duty to give you this account,—though it be wearisome even to yourselves and to me.

Now if I had the tongue of an Angel; if I was so certainly Inspired as the holy Men of God have been, I could rejoice, for your sakes, and for these Nations' sakes, and for the sake of God, and of His Cause which we have all been engaged in, If I could move affections in you to that which, if you do it, will save this Nation! If *not*,—you plunge it (to all human appearance), 'it' and all Interests, yea and all Protestants in the world, into irrecoverable ruin!—

Therefore I pray and beseech you, in the name of Christ, Shew yourselves to be men; "quit yourselves like men!" It doth not infer any reproach if you do shew yourselves men: *Christian* men,—*which* alone *will* make you "quit yourselves." I do not think that, to this work you have in hand, a neutral spirit will do. That is a Laodicean spirit; and we know what God said of that Church: it was "lukewarm," and therefore He would "spew it out of His mouth!" It is not a neutral spirit that is incumbent upon you. And if not a neutral spirit, it is much less a stupefied spirit, inclining you, in the least disposition, the *wr ng* way! Men are, in their private consciences, every day making shipwreck; and it's no wonder if these can shake hands with persons of reprobate Interests:—such, give me leave to think, are the Popish Interests. For the Apostle brands them so, "Having seared consciences." Though I do not judge every man: but the ringleaders[3] are such. The Scrip-

[1] Polite for "ceased to sit." [2] *Antea*, p. 6 5.

[3] Of the Insurrectionary persons, and the general Miscellany who favour the Popish Interests; it is on these more than on Papists proper that his Highness is now gain coming to glance.

tures foretold there should be such. It is not such a spirit that will carry this work on! It is men in a Christian state; who have *works* with *faith;* who know how to lay hold on Christ for remission 'of sins,' till a man be brought to "glory in hope." Such an hope kindled in men's spirits will actuate them to such ends as you are tending to: and so many as are partakers of that, and do own your standings,[1] wherein the Providence of God hath set and called you to this work, 'so many' will carry it on.

If men, through scruple, be opposite, you cannot take them by the hand to *carry* them 'along with you,'—it were absurd: if a man be scrupling the plain truth before him, it is in vain to meddle with him. He hath placed another business in *his* mind; he is saying, "O, if we could but exercise wisdom to gain Civil Liberty,—Religion would follow!" [His Highness thinks Religion will PRECEDE,—as I hope thou also, in a sense, emphatically thinkest. His Highness does not much affect Constitution-builders, Oceana Harringtons, and Members of the Rota Club. Here however he has his eye principally upon the late Parliament, with its Constitution-pedantries and parchments.] Certainly there are such men, who are not *maliciously* blind, whom God, for some cause, exercises. [Yes, your Highness; we poor Moderns have had whole shoals of them, and still have,—in the later sections of that same "work" you are engaged in.] It cannot be expected that they should do anything! [Profound silence.] These men,—they must demonstrate that they are in bonds. — — Could we have carried it thus far, if we had sat disputing in that manner? I must profess I reckon that difficulty more than all the wrestling with flesh and blood. [What could so try one as that Pedant Parliament did; disputing, doling out pennyweights of distilled constitution; and Penruddock, Charles Stuart and the Spaniards waiting momentarily to come in, with Ate and the Scarlet Woman in their rear?] Doubting, hesitating men, they are not fit for your work. You must not expect that men of hesitating spirits, under the bondage of scruples, will be able to carry on this work, much less such as are merely carnal, natural; such as having an "outward profession of Godliness," whom the Apostle speaks of so often, "are enemies to the cross of Christ; whose god is their belly; whose glory is in their shame; who mind earthly things." [A really frightful kind of character;—and not yet obsolete, though its dialect is changed?] Do you think these men will rise to such a spiritual heat for the Nation as shall carry you a Cause like this; as will meet 'and defy' all the oppositions that the Devil and wicked men can make? [Not to BE expected, your Highness; not at all. And yet we, two hundred years later, how do we go on expecting it,—by the aid of Ballot-boxes, Reform-Club Attorneys, &c. &c.!]

Give me leave to tell you,—those that are called to this work, it will not depend 'for them' upon formalities, nor notions, nor speeches! [A certain truculency on his Highness's visage.] I do not look the work should be done by these. 'No;' but by men of honest hearts, engaged to God; strengthened by Providence; enlightened in His words, to know His Word,—to which He hath set His Seal, sealed with the blood

[1] Present official positions.

of His Son, with the blood of His servants: *that* is such a spirit as will carry on this work. [Scant in the Pedant Parliament, scant in the Rota Club; not to be found in the Reform-Club Attorney, or his Ballot-box, at all.]

Therefore I beseech you, do not dispute of unnecessary and unprofitable things which may divert you from carrying on so glorious a work as this is. I think *every* objection that ariseth is not to be answered; nor have I time for it. I say, look up to God; have peace among yourselves. Know assuredly that if I have interest,[1] I am by the voice of the People the Supreme Magistrate; [We will have no disputing about that,—you are aware!] and, it may be, do know somewhat that might satisfy my conscience, if I stood in doubt! But it is a union, really it is a union, 'this' between you and me: and both of us united in faith and love to Jesus Christ, and to His peculiar Interest in the world,—*that* must ground this work. And in *that*, if I have any peculiar Interest which is personal to myself, which is not subservient to the Public end, —it were not an extravagant thing for me to *curse* myself: because I know God will curse me, if I have! [Look in that countenance of his Highness!] I have learned too much of God, to dally with Him, and to be bold with Him, in these things. And I hope I never shall be bold with Him;—though I can be bold with men, if Christ be pleased to assist!—

I say, if there be love between us, so that the Nations[2] may say, "These are knit together in one bond, to promote the glory of God against the Common Enemy; to suppress everything that is Evil, and encourage whatsoever is of Godliness,"—yea, the Nation will bless you! And really that and nothing else will work off these Disaffections from the minds of men; which are great,—perhaps greater than all the 'other' oppositions you can meet with. I do not know what I say. When I speak of these things, I speak my heart before God;—and, as I said before, I dare not be bold with Him. I have a little faith: I have a little lived by faith, and therein I may be "bold." If I spoke other than the affections and secrets of my heart, I know He would not bear it at my hands! [Deep silence; his Highness's voice, in sonorous bass, alone audible in the Painted Chamber.] Therefore in the fear and name of God: Go on, with love and integrity, against whatever arises of contrary to those ends which you know and have been told of; and the blessing of God go with you,—and the blessing of God *will* go with you! [Amen!]—

I have but one thing more to say. I know it is troublesome:—But I did read a Psalm yesterday; which truly may not unbecome both me to tell you of, and you to observe. It is the Eighty-fifth Psalm;[3] it is very instructive and significant: and though I do but a little touch upon it, I desire your perusal at pleasure. [We will many of us read it, this night; almost all of us, with one view or the other;—and some of us may sing a part of it at evening worship.]

[1] Means "if you see me in power."

[2] The Three Nations.

[3] Historical: Tuesday, 16th Sept. 1656; Oliver Protector reading the Eighty-fifth Psalm in Whitehall. We two might read it; but as his Highness recites it all here except one short verse, it is not so necessary.

It begins: "Lord, thou hast been very favourable to Thy Land; Thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob. Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of Thy People; Thou hast covered all their sin. Thou hast taken away all the fierceness of Thy wrath: Thou hast turned Thyself from the fierceness of Thine anger. Turn us, O God of our salvation, and cause Thine anger toward us to cease. Wilt Thou be angry with us forever; wilt Thou draw out Thine anger to all generations? Wilt Thou not revive us again, that Thy People may rejoice in Thee?" Then he calls upon God as "the God of his salvation,"[1] and then saith he: "I will hear what God the Lord will speak: for He will speak peace unto His People, and to His Saints; but let them not turn again to folly. Surely His salvation is nigh them that fear Him;" Oh—"that glory may dwell in our land! Mercy and Truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the Earth, and Righteousness shall look down from Heaven. Yea the Lord shall give that which is good, and our Land shall yield her increase. Righteousness shall go before Him, and shall set us in the way of His steps." [What a vision of celestial hope is this: vista into Lands of Light, God's Will done on Earth; this poor English Earth an Emblem of Heaven; where God's Blessing reigns supreme; where ghastly Falsity and brutal Greed and Baseness, and Cruelty and Cowardice, and Sin and Fear, and all the Helldogs of Gehenna shall lie chained under our feet; and Man, august in divine manhood, shall step victorious over them, heavenward, like a god! O Oliver, I could weep,—and yet it steads not. Do not I too look into "Psalms," into a kind of Eternal Psalm, unalterable as adamant,—which the whole world yet will look into?—Courage, my brave one!]

Truly I wish that this Psalm, as it is written in the Book, might be better written in our hearts. That we might say as David, "*Thou* hast done this," and "Thou hast done that;" "Thou hast pardoned our sins; Thou hast taken away our iniquities!" Whither can we go to a better God? For "He hath done it." It is to Him any Nation may come in their extremity, for the taking away of His wrath. How did He do it? "By pardoning their sins, by taking away their iniquities!" If we can but cry unto Him, He will "turn and take away *our* sins."—Then let us listen to Him. Then let us consult, and meet in Parliament; and ask Him counsel, and hear what He saith, "for He will speak peace unto His People." If you be the People of God, He will speak *peace*:—and we will not turn again to folly.

"Folly:" a great deal of grudging in the Nation that we cannot have our horse-races, cock-fightings, and the like! [Abolished, suspended, for good reasons!] I do not think these are lawful, except to make them recreations. That we will not endure 'for necessary ends' [For preventing Royalist Plots, and such like] to be abridged of them:—Till God hath brought us to another spirit than this, He will not bear with us. Ay, "but He bears with them in France;" "they in France are so and so!"—Have they *the Gospel* as we have? They have seen the sun but a little; we have great lights.——If God give you a spirit of Reformation, you will preserve this Nation from "turning again" to those

[1] *Verse* 7, "Shew us Thy mercy, O Lord, and grant us Thy salvation."

fooleries :—and what will the end be? Comfort and blessing. Then "Mercy and Truth shall meet together." Here is a great deal of "truth" among professors, but very little "mercy!" They are ready to cut the throats of one another. But when we are brought into the right way, we shall be *merciful* as well as orthodox : and we know who it is that saith, "If a man could speak with the tongues of men and angels, and yet want *that*, he is but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal!"—

Therefore I beseech you in the name of God, set your hearts to this 'work.' And if you set your hearts to it, then you will sing Luther's Psalm.[1] That is a rare Psalm for a Christian!—and if he set his heart open, and can approve it to God, we *shall* hear him say, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble." If Pope and Spaniard and Devil and all, set themselves against us,—though they should "compass us like bees," as it is in the Hundred-and-eighteenth Psalm,—yet in the name of the Lord we should destroy them! And, as it is in this Psalm of Luther's : "We will not fear, though the Earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the middle of the sea ; though the waters thereof roar and be troubled ; though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof." [A terrible scene indeed :—but there is something in the Heart of Man, then, greater than any "scene;" which, in the Name of the Highest, can defy any "scene" or terror whatsoever! "Yea," answers the Hebrew David ; "Yea," answers the German Luther ; "Yea," the English Cromwell. The Ages responsive to one another : soul hailing soul across the dead Abysses ; deep calling unto deep.] "There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God. God is in the midst of her ; she shall not be moved." [No!] Then he repeats two or three times, "The Lord of Hosts is with us ; the God of Jacob is our refuge." [What are the King of Spain, Charles Stuart, Joseph Wagstaff, Chancellor Hyde, and your triple-hatted Chimera at Rome? What is the Devil in General, for that matter,—the still very extensive Entity called "Devil," with all the force he can raise?]

I have done. All I have to say is, To pray God that He may bless you with His presence ; that He who hath your hearts and mine would shew His presence in the midst of us.

I desire you will go together, and choose your Speaker.*

[1] Psalm Forty-sixth ; of which Luther's Paraphrase, *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott*, is still very celebrated. Here is the original Psalm ;

"God is our refuge and strength ; a very present help in trouble ; therefore we will not fear, —though the Earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea; though the waters roar and be troubled ; though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof!

"There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God, the Holy Place of the Tabernacles of the Most High. God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved : God shall help her, and that right early. The Heathen raged, the Kingdoms were moved : He uttered His voice, the Earth melted. The Lord of Hosts is with us : the God of Jacob is our refuge.

"Come behold the works of the Lord, what desolations He hath made in the Earth! He maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the Earth ; He breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; He burneth the chariot in the fire :—Be still, and know that I am God ; I will be exalted among the Heathen, I will be exalted in the Earth! The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge."

* Burton's Diary, i. Introd. p. clxxix. *et seqq.* (from *Additional Ayscough* MSS. no. 6125).

The latest of the Commentators expresses himself in reference to this Speech in the following singular way :

"No Royal Speech like this was ever delivered elsewhere in the world! It is,—with all its prudence, and it is very prudent, sagacious, courteous, right royal in spirit,—perhaps the most artless transparent piece of Public Speaking this Editor has ever studied. Rude, massive, genuine; like a block of unbeaten gold. A Speech not so fit for Drury Lane, as for Valhalla, and the Sanhedrim of the Gods. The man himself, and the England he presided over, there and then, are to a singular degree visible in it; open to our eyes, to our sympathies. He who would see Oliver, will find more of him here than in most of the history-books yet written about him.

"On the whole, the cursory modern Englishman cannot be expected to read this speech :—and yet it is pity : the Speech might do him good, if he understood it. We shall not again hear a Supreme Governor talk in this strain : the dialect of it is very obsolete; much more than the grammar and diction, forever obsolete,—not to my regret the dialect of it. But the spirit of it is a thing that should never have grown obsolete. The spirit of it will have to revive itself again; and shine out in *new* dialect and vesture, in infinitely wider compass, wide as God's known Universe *now* is,—if it please Heaven! Since that spirit went obsolete, and men took to 'dallying' with the Highest, to 'being bold' with the Highest, and not 'bold with men' (only Belial, and not 'Christ' in any shape, assisting them), we have had but sorry times, in Parliament and out of it. There has not been a Supreme Governor worth the meal upon his periwig, in comparison,—since this spirit fell obsolete. How could there? Belial is a desperately bad sleeping-partner in any concern whatever! Cant did not ever yet, that I know of, turn ultimately to a good account, for any man or thing. May the Devil swiftly be compelled to call in large masses of our current stock of Cant, and withdraw it from circulation! Let the people 'run for gold,' as the Chartists say; demand Veracity, Performance, instead of mealy-mouthed Speaking; and force him to recal his Cant. Thank Heaven, stern Destiny, merciful were it even to death, does now compel them verily to 'run for gold :' Cant in all directions is swiftly ebbing into Bank *it* was issued by."—

Speech being ended, the Honourable Members "went to the House," says Bulstrode ;[1] and in the Lobby, with considerable crowding I think, "received from the Chancery Clerk, Certificates in this form,"—for instance :

"COUNTY OF BUCKS. *These are to certify that*" Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke "*is returned by Indenture one of the Knights to serve in this present Parliament for the said County, and approved by his Highness's Council.* NATH. TAYLER, *Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery.*"

Mr Tayler has received Four-hundred "Indentures" from Honourable Gentlemen; but he does not give out Four-hundred "Certificates," he only gives Three-hundred and odd. Near One-hundred Honourable Gentlemen can get no Certificate from Mr Tayler,—none provided for

[1] Whitlocke, p. 639

you;—and without Certificate there is no admittance. Soldiers stand ranked at the door; no man enters without his Certificate! Astonishing to see. Haselrig, Scott and the stiff Republicans, Ashley Cooper and the turbulent persons, who might have leavened this Parliament into strange fermentation, cannot, it appears, get in! No admittance here: saw Honourable Gentlemen ever the like!—

The most flagrant violation of the Privileges of Parliament that was ever known! exclaim they. A sore blow to Privilege indeed. With which the Honourable House, shorn of certain limbs in this rude way, knows not well what to do. The Clerk of the Commonwealth, being summoned, answers what he can; Nathaniel Fiennes, for the Council of State, answers what he can: the Honourable House, actually intent on Settling the Nation, has to reflect that in real truth this will be a great furtherance thereto; that matters do stand in an anomalous posture at present; that the Nation should and must be settled. The Honourable House, with an effort, swallows this injury; directs the petitioning Excluded Members "to apply to the Council."[1] The Excluded Members, or some one Excluded Member, redacts an indignant Protest, with all the names appended;[2] prints it, privately circulates it, "in boxes sent by carriers, a thousand copies in a box:"—and there it rests; his Highness saying nothing to it; the Honourable House and the Nation saying nothing. In this Parliament, different from the last, we trace a real desire for Settlement.

As the power of the Major-Generals, "in about two months hence,"[3] or three months hence, was, on hint of his Highness himself, to the joy of Constitutional England, withdrawn, we may here close *Part Ninth*. Note first, however, as contemporary with this event, the glorious news we have from Blake and Montague at sea; who, in good hour, have at last got hold of a Spanish Fleet, and in a tragic manner burnt it, and taken endless silver therein.[4] News of the fact comes in the beginning of October: in the beginning of November comes, as it were, the fact itself,—some Eight-and-thirty waggonloads of real silver; triumphantly jingling up from Portsmouth, across London pavements to the Tower, to be coined into current English money there. The Antichrist King of Spain has lost Lima by an earthquake, and infinite silver there also. Heaven's vengeance seems awakening. "Never," say the old Newspapers,[5] "never was there a more terrible visible Hand of God in judgment upon any People, since the time of Sodom and Gomorrah! Great is the Lord; marvellous are His doings, and to be had in reverence of all the Nations." England holds universal Thanksgiving Day; sees Eight-and-thirty waggonloads of silver, sees hope of Settlement, sees Major-Generals abolished; and piously blesses Heaven.

1 Commons Journals, vii. 424, 5, 6 (Sept. 18-22).

2 Copy of it and them in *Whitlocke*, p. 641-3; see also *Thurloe*, v. 456, 490.

3 Kimber, p. 211. The real date and circumstances may be seen in Burton's Diary, i. 310 (7 Jan. 1656-7), Commons Journals, vii. 483 (29 Jan.); compared with Ludlow, ii. 581, 2. See Godwin, iv. 328.

4 Captain Stayner's Letter (9 Sept. 1656, *Thurloe*, v. 399); General Montague's Letter (*Ib.* v. 433); Whitlocke, p. 643; &c.

5 October (in Cromwelliana, p. 16e).

PART X.

SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT.

1657—1658.

LETTERS CC., CCI.

Two Letters near each other in date, and now by accident brought contiguous in place; which offer a rather singular contrast; the one pointing as towards the Eternal Heights, the other as towards the Tartarean Deeps! Between which two Extremes the Life of men and Lord Protectors has to pass itself in this world, as wisely as it can. Let us read them, and hasten over to the new Year Fifty-Seven, and last Department of our subject.

LETTER CC.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, or the Municipal Authorities there, as we may perceive, are rather of the Independent judgment; and have a little dread of some encouragement his Highness has been giving to certain of the Presbyterian sect in those parts. This Letter ought to be sufficient reassurance.

To the Mayor of Newcastle: To be communicated to the Aldermen and others whom it doth concern.

Whitehall, 18th December, 1656.

GENTLEMEN AND MY VERY GOOD FRIENDS,

My Lord Strickland, who is one of our Council, did impart to us a Letter written from yourselves to him, according to your desire therein expressed; which occasions this return from us to you.

As nothing that may reflect to the prejudice of your outward Good, either Personal or as you are a Civil Government, shall easily pass with us; so, much less what shall tend to your discouragement, as you are Saints, to your Congregations, gathered in that way of fellowship commonly known by the name of Independents, whether of one judgment or other:—'this' shall be far from being actually discountenanced, or passively 'left to' suffer damage, by any applying themselves to me. I do, once for all, give you to understand, that I should thereby destroy and disappoint one of the main ends for which God hath planted me in the station I am in.

Wherefore I desire you in that matter to rest secure. True it is that two Ministers, one Mr. Cole and one Mr. Pye, did present to me a Letter in the name of divers Ministers of Newcastle, the Bishoprick of Durham and Northumberland; of an honest and Christian purpose: the sum whereof I extracted, and returned an Answer thereunto;—a true Copy whereof I send you here enclosed. By which I think it will easily appear, that the consideration of my kindness is well deserved by them; provided they observe the condition 'there' expressed; which in charity I am bound to believe they will; and without which their own consciences and the world will know how to judge of them.

Having said this, I, or rather the Lord, require of you, That you walk in all peaceableness and gentleness, inoffensiveness, truth and love towards them, as becomes the Servants and Churches of Christ. Knowing well that Jesus Christ, of whose diocese both they and you are, expects it. Who, when He comes to gather His People, and to make Himself "a name and praise amongst all the people of the earth,"—He "will save her that halteth, and gather her that was driven out, and will get them praise and fame in every land, where they have been put to shame."[1] And such "lame ones" and "driven out ones" were not the Independents only, and Presbyterians, a few years since, by the Popish and Prelatical Party in these Nations; but such are and have been the Protestants in all lands,—persecuted, and faring alike with you, in all the Reformed Churches. And therefore, knowing your charity to be as large as all the flock of Christ who are of the same Hope and Faith of the Gospel with you; I thought fit to commend these few words to you;—being well assured it is written in your heart, So to do with this that I shall stand by you in the maintaining of all your just privileges to the uttermost.

And committing you to the blessing of the Lord, I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

LETTER CCI.

CARDINAL MAZARIN, the governing Minister of France in those days, is full of compliance for the Lord Protector; whom, both for the sake of France and for the Cardinal's sake, it is very requisite to keep in good humour. On France's score, there is Treaty with France and War with its enemy Spain; on the Cardinal's are obscure Court-intrigues, Queen-mothers, and one knows not what: in brief, the subtle Cardinal has found, after trial of the opposite course too, that friendship, or even at times obedient-servantship to Cromwell, will be essentially advantageous to him.

Some obscure quarrel has fallen out between Charles Stuart and the Duke of York his Brother. Quarrel complicated with open politics, with Spanish War and Royalist Revolt, on Oliver's side; with secret Queen-mothers and back-stairs diplomacies on the Cardinal's:—of which there flit in the dreariest manner this and the other enigmatic vestige in the Night-realm of *Thurloe*;[2] and which is partly the subject of this present Letter. A letter unique in two respects. It is the only one we have of Oliver Cromwell, the English Puritan King, to Giulio Mazarini, the Sicilian-French Cardinal, and King of Shreds and Patches; who are a very singular pair of Correspondents brought together by the Destinies! It is also the one glimpse we have from Oliver himself of the subterranean Spy-world, in which by a hard necessity so many of his thoughts had to dwell. Oliver, we find, cannot quite grant Toleration to the Catholics; but he is well satisfied with this "our weightiest affair,"—not without weight to *me* at least, who sit

[1] Zephaniah, iii. 19, 20.

* Thurloe, v. 714: in Secretary Thurloe's hand.

[2] iv. 506; v. 753; &c. &c.

expecting Royalist Insurrections backed by Spanish Invasions, and have Assassins plotting for my life at present "on the word of a Christian King!"—

Concerning the "affair" itself, and the personages engaged in it, let us be content that they should continue spectral for us, and dwell in the subterranean Night-realm which belongs to them. The "Person" employed from England, if anybody should be curious about him, is one Colonel Bamfield, once a flaming Presbyterian Royalist, who smuggled the Duke of York out of this Country "in woman's clothes;" and now lives as an Oliverian Spy, very busy making mischief for the Duke of York. "Berkley" is the Sir John Berkley who rode with Charles First to the Isle of Wight long since;[1] the Duke of York's Tutor at present. Of "Lockhart," Oliver's Ambassador in France, we shall perhaps hear again. The others,—let them continue spectral to us. Let us conceive, never so faintly, that their "affair" is to maintain in the Duke of York some Anti-Spanish notion; notion of his having a separate English interest, independent of his Brother's, perhaps superior to it; wild notion, of one or the other sort, which will keep the quarrel wide:—as accordingly we find it did for many months,[2] whatever notion it was. We can then read with intelligence sufficient for us.

'*To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin.*'

'Whitehall,' 26th December, 1656.

The obligations, and many instances of affection, which I have received from your Eminency, do engage 'me' to make returns suitable to your merits. But although I have this set home upon my spirit I may not (shall I tell you, I cannot?) at this juncture of time, and as the face of my affairs now stands, answer to your call for Toleration.[3]

I say, I cannot, as to a public Declaration of my sense in that point; although I believe that under my Government your Eminency, in the behalf of Catholics, has less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences than under the Parliament. For I have of some, and those very many, had compassion; making a difference. Truly I have (and I may speak it with cheerfulness in the presence of God, who is a witness within me to the truth of what I affirm) made a difference; and, as Jude speaks, "plucked many out of the fire,"[4]—the raging fire of persecution, which did tyrannise over their consciences, and encroached by an arbitrariness of power upon their estates. And herein it is my purpose, as soon as I can remove impediments, and some weights that press me down, to make a farther progress, and discharge my promise to your Eminency in relation to that.

And now I shall come to return your Eminency thanks for your judicious choice of that Person to whom you have entrusted our weightiest Affair: an Affair wherein your Eminency is concerned, though not in an equal degree and measure with myself. I must confess that I had some doubts of its success, till Providence cleared them

[1] *Antea*, i. 185. [2] Thurloe, iv. v. vi. see also *Biog. Brit.* (2d edition), ii. 154.
[3] To the Catholics here.
[4] Verses 22, 23: a most remarkable Epistle, to which his Highness often enough solemnly refers, as we have seen.

to me by the effects. I was, truly, and to speak ingenuously, not without doubtings; and shall not be ashamed to give your Eminency the grounds I had for much doubting. I did fear that Berkley would not have been able to go through and carry on that work; and that either the Duke would have cooled in his suit,[1] or condescended to his Brother. I doubted also that those Instructions which I sent over with 290[2] were not clear enough as to expressions; some affairs here denying me leisure at that time to be so particular as, 'in regard' to some circumstances, I would.—If I am not mistaken in his 'the Duke's' character, as I received it from your Eminency, that fire which is kindled between them will not ask bellows to blow it and keep it burning. But what I think farther necessary in this matter I will send 'to' your Eminency by Lockhart.

And now I shall boast to your Eminency my security upon a well-builded confidence in the Lord: for I distrust not but if this breach 'be' widened a little more, and this difference fomented, with a little caution in respect of the persons to be added to it,—I distrust not but that Party, which is already forsaken of God as to an outward dispensation of mercies, and noisome to their countrymen, will grow lower in the opinion of all the world.

If I have troubled your Eminency too long in this, you may impute it to the resentment of joy which I have for the issue of this Affair; and 'I' will conclude with giving you assurance that I will never be backward in demonstrating, as becomes your brother and confederate, that I am,

Your servant,
OLIVER P.*

SPEECH VI.

SINDERCOMB.

THE Spanish Invasion and Royalist Insurrection once more came to no effect: on mature judgment of the case, it seemed necessary to have Oliver Protector assassinated first; and that, as usual, could not be got done. Colonel Sexby, the frantic Anabaptist, he and others have been very busy; "riding among his Highness's escort" in Hyde Park and elsewhere, with fleet horses, formidable weapons, with "gate-hinges ready filed through," if the deed could have been done;—but it never could. Sexby went over to Flanders again, for fresh consultations; left the assassination-affair in other hands, with 1,600*l.* of ready money, "on the faith of a Christian King." Quartermaster Sindercomb takes Sexby's place in this great enterprise; finds, he too, that there is nothing but failure in it.

Miles Sindercomb, now a cashiered Quartermaster living about Town, was once a zealous Deptford lad, who enlisted to fight for Liberty, at the beginning of these Wars. He fought strongly on the side of Liberty, being an earnest fierce young fellow;—then gradually got astray into Levelling courses, and wandered ever deeper there, till daylight forsook

1 His suit, I understand, was for leave to continue in France; an Anti-Spanish notion.

2 Cipher for some Man's Name, now undecipherable; to all appearance, Bamfield.

* Thurloe, v. 735. In the possession of a "Mr. Theophilus Rowe of Hampstead in Middlesex," says Birch. Where did Rowe get it? Is it in the original hand, or only a copy? Birch is silent even as to the latter point. The style sufficiently declares it to be a genuine Letter.

him, and it became quite dark. He was one of the desperate misguided Corporals, or Quartermasters, doomed to be shot at Burford, seven years ago: but he escaped over night, and was not shot there; took service in Scotland; got again to be Quartermaster; was in the Overton Plot, for seizing Monk and marching into England, lately: whereupon Monk cashiered him: and he came to Town; lodged himself here, in a sulky threadbare manner,—in Alsatia or elsewhere. A gloomy man and Ex-Quartermaster; has become one of Sexby's people, "on the faith of a Christian King;" nothing now left of him but the fierceness, groping some path for itself in the utter *dark*. Henry Toope, one of his Highness's Lifeguard, gives us, or will give us, an inkling of Sindercomb; and we know something of his courses and inventions, which are many. He rode in Hyde Park, among his Highness's escort, with Sexby; but the deed could not then be done. Leave me the 1,600*l*., said he; and I will find a way to do it. Sexby left it him, and went abroad.

Inventive Sindercomb then took a House in Hammersmith; Garden-House, I think, "which had a banqueting-room looking into the road;" road very narrow at that part;—road from Whitehall to Hampton Court on Saturday afternoons. Inventive Sindercomb here set about providing blunderbusses of the due explosive force,—ancient "infernal-machines," in fact,—with these he will blow his Highness's Coach and Highness's self into small pieces, if it please Heaven. It did not please Heaven,—probably not Henry Toope of his Highness's Lifeguard. This first scheme proved a failure.

Inventive Sindercomb, to justify his 1,600*l*., had to try something. He decided to fire Whitehall by night, and have a stroke at his Highness in the tumult. He has "a hundred swift horses, two in a stable, up and down:" set a hundred stout ruffians on the back of these, in the nocturnal fire; and try. Thursday, 8th January, 1656-7; that is to be the Night. On the dusk of Thursday, January 8th, he with old-trooper Cecil, his second in the business, attends Public Worship in Whitehall Chapel; is seen loitering there afterwards, "near the Lord Lambert's seat." Nothing more is seen of him: but about half-past eleven at night, the sentinel on guard catches a smell of fire;—finds holed wainscots, picked locks; a basket of the most virulent wild-fire; "fit to burn through stones,"—with lit match slowly creeping towards it, computed to reach it in some half-hour hence, about the stroke of midnight!—His Highness is summoned, the Council is summoned;—alas Toope of the Lifeguard is examined, and Sindercomb's lodging is known. Just when the wildfire should have blazed, two Guardsmen wait upon Sindercomb; seize him, not without hard defence on his part, "wherein his nose was nearly cut off;" bring him to his Highness. Toope testifies; Cecil peaches:—inventive Sindercomb has failed for the *last* time. To the Tower with him, to a jury of his country with him!—The emotion in the Parliament and in the Public, next morning, was great. It had been proposed to ring an alarm at the moment of discovery, and summon the Trainbands; but his Highness would not hear of it.[1]

[1] Burton, i. 322, 3, 355; Official Narrative (in Cromwelliana, p. 160, 1); State-Trials, v. sec Sindercomb.

This Parliament, really intent on settling the Nation, could not want for emotions in regard to such a matter! Parliament adjourns for a week, till the roots of the Plot are investigated somewhat. Parliament, on reassembling, appoints a day of Thanksgiving for the Nation; Friday come three weeks, which is February 20th, that shall be the general Thanksgiving Day: and in the meantime we decide to go over in a body, and congratulate his Highness. A mark of great respect to him.[1]

Parliament accordingly goes over in a body, with mellifluous Widdrington, whom they have chosen for Speaker, at their head, to congratulate his Highness. It is Friday, 23rd January, 1656-7; about Eleven in the morning; scene, Banqueting-house, Whitehall. Mellifluous Widdrington's congratulation, not very prolix, exists in abstract;[2] but we suppress it. Here is his Highness's Reply:—rather satisfactory to the reader. We have only to regret that in passing from the Court up to the Banqueting-house, "part of an ancient wooden staircase," or balustrade of a staircase, "long exposed to the weather, gave way in the crowding;"[3] and some honourable Gentlemen had falls, though happily nobody was seriously hurt. Mellifluous Widdrington having ended, his Highness answers:

Mr. SPEAKER,

I confess with much respect, that you have put this trouble on yourselves upon this occasion:—but I perceive there be two things that fill me full of sense. One is, The mercy on a poor unworthy creature; the second is, This great and, as I said, unexpected kindness of Parliament, in manifesting such a sense thereof as this is which you have now expressed. I speak not this with compliment! That which detracts from the thing, in some sense, is the inconsiderableness and unworthiness of the person that hath been the object and subject of this deliverance, to wit, myself. I confess ingenuously to you, I do lie under the daily sense of my unworthiness and unprofitableness, as I have expressed to you: and if there be, as I most readily acknowledge there is, a mercy in it to me, I wish I may never reckon it on any other account than this, That the life that is lengthened, may be spent and improved to His honour who hath vouchsafed the mercy, and to the service of you, and those you represent.

I do not know, nor did I think it would be very seasonable for me, to say much to you upon this occasion; being a thing that ariseth from yourselves. Yet, methinks, the kindness you bear should kindle a little desire in me; even at this present, to make a short return. And, as you have been disposed hither by the Providence of God, to congratulate my mercy; so give me leave, in a very word or two, to congratulate with you. [Rusty, but sincere.]

Congratulations are ever conversant about good, bestowed upon men,

1 Commons Journals, vii. 481, 493; Burton's Diary, i. 369, 377.
2 Burton, ii. 488.
3 Cromwelliana, p. 162. See *Thurloe* (vi. 49), and correct poor *Noble* (i. 161), who, with a double or even triple blunder, says My Lord Richard Cromwell had his leg broken on this occasion, and dates it August 1657.

or possessed by them. Truly, I shall in a word or two congratulate you with good *you* are in possession of, and in some respect, I also with you. God hath bestowed upon you, and you are in possession of it, Three Nations, and all that appertains to them. Which in either a geographical, or topical consideration, are Nations. [Indisputably!] In which also there are places of honour and consideration, not inferior to any in the known world,—without vanity it may be spoken. Truly God hath not made so much soil, furnished with so many blessings, in vain! [Here is an idea of one's own.] But it is a goodly sight, if a man behold it *uno intuitu*. And therefore this is a possession of yours, worthy of congratulation.

This is furnished,—give me leave to say, for I believe it is true,—with the best People in the world, possessing so much soil. A People in civil rights,—in respect of their rights and privileges,—very ancient and honourable. And *in* this People, in the midst of this People, 'you have, what is still more precious,' a *People* (I know every one will hear 'and acknowledge' it) that are to God "as the apple of His eye,"—and He says so of them, be they many, or be they few! But they are many. A People of the blessing of God; a People under His safety and protection. A People calling upon the Name of the Lord; which the Heathen do not. A People knowing God; and a People (according to the ordinary expressions) fearing God. [We hope so!] And you have of this no parallel; no, not in all the world! You have in the midst of you glorious things.

Glorious things: for you have Laws and statutes, and ordinances, which, though not all of them so conformable as were to be wished, to the Law of God, yet, on all hands, pretend not to be long rested in farther than *as* they are conformable to the just and righteous Laws of God. Therefore, I am persuaded, there is a heart and spirit in every good man to wish they did all of them answer the Pattern. [Yea!] I cannot doubt but that which is in the heart will in due time break forth. [And we shall actually have just Laws, your Highness thinks?] That endeavours will be 'made' that way, is another of your good things, with which in my heart 'I think' you are worthily to be congratulated. And you have a Magistracy; which in outward profession, in pretence, in endeavour, doth desire to put life into these Laws. And I am confident that among *you* will rest the true desire to promote every desire in others, and every endeavour, that hath tended or shall tend to the putting of these Laws in execution.

I do 'also' for this congratulate you: You have a Gospel Ministry among you. That have you! Such a one as,—without vanity I shall speak it; or without caring at all for any favour or respect from *them*! save what I have upon an account above flattery, or good words,—such an one as hath excelled itself; and, I am persuaded,—to speak with confidence before the Lord, is the most growing blessing (one of the most growing blessings) on the face of this Nation.

You have a good Eye 'to watch over you,'—and in that I will share with your good favours. A good God; a God that hath watched over you and us. A God that hath visited these Nations with a stretched-out arm: and borne His witness against the unrighteousness and ungodli-

ness of men, against those that 'would' have abused such Nations,—such mercies throughout, as I have reckoned up unto you! A God that hath not only withstood such to the face; but a God that hath abundantly blessed you with the evidence of His goodness and presence. And He "hath done things wonderful amongst us," "by terrible things in righteousness."[1] He hath visited us by "wonderful things!" [A Time of Miracle; as indeed all "Times" are, your Highness, when there are MEN alive in them!] In mercy and compassion hath He given us this day of freedom, and liberty to speak this, one to another: and to speak of His mercies, as He hath been pleased to put into our hearts. [Where now are the Starchambers, High Commissions, Council-Chambers; pitiless oppressors of God's Gospel in this land? The Hangmen with their whips and red-hot branding-irons, with their Three blood-sprinkled Pillories in Old Palaceyard, and Four clean Surplices at Allhallowtide,—where are they? Vanished. Much has vanished; fled from us like the Phantasms of a Nightmare Dream!]

Truly, this word in conclusion. If these things be so, give me leave to remember you but one word; which I offered to you with great love and affection the first day of meeting with you, this Parliament. It pleased God to put into my heart then to mention a Scripture to you, which would be a good conclusion of my Speech now at this time to you. It was, That we being met to seek the good of so great an Interest, as I have mentioned, and the glory of that God who is both yours and mine, how could we better do it than by thinking of such words as these, "His salvation is nigh them that fear Him," "that glory may dwell in our land!" I would not comment upon it. I hope I fear Him; and let us more fear him! If this 'present' mercy at all doth concern you, as I see it doth,—let me, and I hope you will with me, labour more to fear Him! [Amen!] Then we have done, 'that includes all;' seeing such a blessing as His salvation "is nigh them that fear Him,"—seeing we are all of us representatives of all the good of all these lands, 'to endeavour with our whole strength' "that glory may dwell in our land."

'Yes,' if it be so, "Mercy and Truth shall meet together, Righteousness and Peace shall kiss each other." We shall know, you, and I as the father of this family, how to dispose our mercies to God's glory; and how to dispose our severity. How to distinguish between obedient and rebellious children;—and not to do as Eli did, who told his sons "he did not *hear* well of them," when perhaps he *saw* ill *by* them. And we know the severity of that. And, therefore, let me say,—though I will not descant upon the words,—that Mercy must be joined with Truth: Truth, in that respect, that we think it our duty to exercise a just severity, as well as to apply kindness and mercy. And, truly, Righteousness and Mercy must kiss each other. If we will have Peace without a worm in it, lay we foundations of Justice and Righteousness. [Hear this Lord Protector!] And if it shall please God so to move you, as that you marry this redoubtable Couple together, Mercy and Truth, Righteousness and Peace,—you will, if I may be free to say so, be blessed whether you will or no! And that you and I may, for the time the Lord shall continue us together, set our hearts upon this, shall be my daily

[1] Isaiah, xxv. 1; Psalm lxv. 5.

prayer And I heartily and humbly acknowledge my thankfulness to you.*

On Monday 9th February, Sindercomb was tried by a jury in the Upper Bench; and doomed to suffer as a traitor and assassin, on the Saturday following. The night before Saturday his poor Sister, though narrowly watched, smuggled him some poison: he went to bed, saying, "Well, this is the last time I shall go to bed;" the attendants heard him snore heavily, and then cease; they looked, and he lay dead. "He was of that wretched sect called *Soul-Sleepers*, who believe that the soul falls *asleep* at death:"[1] a gloomy, far-misguided man. They buried him on Tower-hill with due ignominy, and there he rests; with none but Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, or Deceptive-Presbyterian Titus, to sing his praise.[2]

Next Friday, Friday the 20th, which was Thanksgiving Day, "the Honourable House, after hearing two Sermons at Margaret's Westminster, partook of a most princely Entertainment," by invitation from his Highness, at Whitehall. "After dinner his Highness withdrew to the Cockpit; and there entertained them with rare music, both of voices and instruments, till the evening;"[3] his Highness being very fond of music. In this manner end, once more, the grand Assassination projects, Spanish-Invasion projects; unachievable even the Preface of them;—and now we will speak of something else.

LETTER CCII.; SPEECHES VII.—XIII.

KINGSHIP.

THIS Second Protectorate Parliament, at least while the fermenting elements or "hundred Excluded Members" are held aloof from it, unfolds itself to us as altogether reconciled to the rule of Oliver, or even right thankful for it; and really striving towards Settlement of the Nation on that basis. Since the First constitutioning Parliament went its ways, here is a great change among us: three years of successful experiment have thrown some light on Oliver, and his mode of ruling, to all Englishmen. What can a wise Puritan Englishman do but decide on complying with Oliver, on strengthening the hands of Oliver? Is he not verily doing the thing we all wanted to see done? The old Parchments of the case may have been a little hustled, as indeed in a Ten-Years Civil War, ending in the Execution of a King, they could hardly fail to be;—but the divine Fact of the case, meseems, is well cared for! Here is a Governing Man, undeniably the most English of Englishmen, the most Puritan of Puritans,—the Pattern Man, I must say, according to the model of that Seventeenth Century in England; and a Great Man, denizen of all the Centuries, or he could never have been the

* Burton's Diary (from Landsdown MSS. 755, no. 244), ii. 490-3.

1 Cromwelliana, p. 162.

2 "Equal to a Roman in virtue,' says the noisy Pamphlet *Killing no Murder*, which seems to have been written by Sexby, though Titus, as adroit King's Flunkey, at an after-period, saw good to claim it. A Pamphlet much noised of in those months and afterwards; recommending all persons to *assassinate* Cromwell;—has this merit, considerable or not, and no other worth speaking of.

3 Newspapers (in Burton, i. 377); Commons Journals, vii. 493.

Pattern one in that. Truly, my friends, I think, you may go farther and fare worse! To the darkest head in England, even to the assassinative truculent-flunkey head in steeple-hat worn brown, some light has shone out of these three years of Government by Oliver. An uncommon Oliver, even to the truculent-flunkey. If not the noblest and worshipfullest of all Englishmen, at least the strongest and terriblest; with whom really it might be as well to comply; with whom, in fact, there is small hope in not complying!

For its wise temper and good practical tendency, let us praise this Second Parliament;—admit nevertheless that its History, like that of most Parliaments, amounts to little. This Parliament did what they could: forbore to pester his Highness with quibblings and cavillings and constitution-pedantries; accomplished respectably the Parliamentary routine; voted, what perhaps was all that could be expected of them, some needful modicum of supplies; "debated whether it should be debated," "put the question whether this question should be put,"—and in a mild way neutralised one another, and as it were handsomely *did nothing*, and left Oliver to do. A Record of their proceedings has been jotted down by one of their Members there present, who is guessed rather vaguely by Editorial sagacity to have been "one Mr. Burton." It was saved from the fire in late years, that Record has been printed under the title of *Burton's Diary;* and this Editor has faithfully read it,—not without wonder once more at the inadequacy of the human pen to convey almost any glimmering of insight to the distant human mind. Alas, the human pen, oppressed by incubus of Parliamentary or other Pedantry, is a most poor matter. At bottom, if we will consider it, this poor Burton,—let us continue to call him "Burton," though that was not his name,—cared nothing about these matters himself; merely jotted them down *pedantically*, by impulse from without,—that he might seem, in his own eyes and those of others, a knowing person, enviable for insight into facts "of an high nature." And now, by what possibility of chance, can he interest thee or me about them; now when they have turned out to be facts of no nature at all,—mere wearisome *ephemera*, cast-clothes of facts, gone all to dust and ashes now; which the healthy human mind resolutely, not without impatience, tramples under its feet! A Book filled, as so many are, with mere dim inanity, and moaning wind. Will nobody condense it into sixteen pages; instead of four thick octavo volumes? For there are, if you look long, some streaks of dull light shining even through *it;* perhaps, in judicious hands, one readable sheet of sixteen pages might be made of it;—and even the rubbish of the rest, with a proper Index, might be useful; might at least be left to rot quietly, once it was known to be rubbish. But enough now of poor Mr. Burton and his *Diary*,—who, as we say, is not "Mr. Burton" at all, if anybody cared to know who or what he was![1] Undoubtedly some very dull man. Under chimerical circumstances he

[1] *Compare* the Diary, vol. ii. p. 404, line 2, and vol. ii. p. 347, line 7, *with* Commons Journals, vii. 588; and again Diary, vol. ii. p. 346, line 13, *with* Commons Journals, vii. 450, 580: Two Parliament-Committees, on both of which "I" the writer of the Diary sat; in neither of which is there such a name as *Burton*. Guess rather, if it were worth while to guess, one of the two Suffolk *Bacons*; most probably *Nathaniel Bacon*, Master of the "Court of Requests,"—a dim old Law-Court fallen obsolete now.

gives us, being fated to do it, an inane History of a Parliament now itself grown very inane and chimerical!—

This Parliament, as we transiently saw, suppressed the Major-Generals; refused to authorise their continued "Decimation" or *Ten-per-centing* of the Royalists;[1] whereupon they were suppressed. Its next grand feat was that of James Nayler and his Procession which we saw at Bristol lately. Interminable Debates about James Nayler,—excelling in stupor all the Human Speech, even in English Parliaments, this Editor has ever been exposed to. Nayler, in fact, is almost all that survives with one, from *Burton*, as the sum of what this Parliament did. If they did aught else, the human mind, eager enough to carry off news of them, has mostly dropt it on the way hither. To Posterity they sit there as the James-Nayler Parliament. Four hundred Gentlemen of England, and I think a sprinkling of Lords among them, assembled from all Counties and Boroughs of the Three Nations, to sit in solemn debate on this terrific Phenomenon: a Mad Quaker fancying or seeming to fancy himself, what is not uncommon since, a New Incarnation of Christ. Shall we hang him, shall we whip him, bore the tongue of him with hot iron; shall we imprison him, set him to oakum; shall we roast, or boil, or stew him;—shall we put the question whether this question shall be put; debate whether this shall be debated;—in Heaven's name what shall we do with him, the terrific Phenomenon of Nayler? This is the history of Oliver's Second Parliament for three long months and odd. Nowhere does the unfathomable Deep of Dulness which our English character has in it, more stupendously disclose itself. Something almost grand in it; nay, something really grand, though in our impatience we call it "dull." They hold by Use and Wont, these honourable Gentlemen, almost as by Laws of Nature,—by Second Nature almost as by First Nature. Pious too; and would fain know rightly the way to new objects by the old roads, without trespass. Not insignificant this English character, which can placidly debate such matters, and even feel a certain smack of delight in them! A massiveness of eupeptic vigour speaks itself there, which perhaps the liveliest wit might envy. Who is there that has the strength of ten oxen, that is able to support these things? Couldst thou debate on Nayler, day after day, for a whole Winter? Thou, if the sky were threatening to fall on account of it, wouldst sink under such labour, appointed only for the oxen of the gods!—The honourable Gentlemen set Nayler to ride with his face to the tail, through various streets and cities; to be whipt (poor Nayler), to be branded, to be bored through the tongue, and then to do oakum *ad libitum* upon bread and water; after which he repented, confessed himself mad, and this world-great Phenomenon, visible to Posterity and the West of England, was got winded up.[2]

LETTER CCII.

CONCERNING which, however, and by what power of jurisdiction the honourable Gentlemen did it, his Highness has still some inquiry to

[1] Commons Journals, 7 Jan.—29 Jan. 1656-7.

[2] Sentence pronounced, Commons Journals, vii. 486, 7 (16 Dec. 1656); executed in part, Thursday 18 Dec (ib. 470);—petitions, negotiations on it do not end till May 26, 1657. James Nayler's Recantation (Somers Tracts, vi. 22-29).

make ;—for the limits of jurisdiction between Parliament and Law-courts, Parliament and Single Person, are never yet very clear ; and Parliaments uncontrolled by a Single Person have been known to be very tyrannous before now ! On Friday 26th December, Speaker Widdrington intimates that he is honoured with a Letter from his Highness ; and reads the same in these words :

To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Sir Thomas Widdrington, Speaker of the Parliament : To be communicated to the Parliament.

O. P.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, we greet you well. Having taken notice of a Judgment lately given by Yourselves against one James Nayler : Although we detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of the crimes commonly imputed to the said Person : Yet We, being entrusted in the Present Government, on behalf of the People of these Nations ; and not knowing how far such Proceeding, entered into wholly without Us, may extend in the consequence of it,—Do desire that the House will let us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded.

Given at Whitehall the 25th of December 1656.*

A pertinent inquiry ; which will lead us into new wildernesses of Debate, into ever deeper wildernesses ;—and in fact into our far notablest achievement, what may be called our little oasis, or island of refuge : That of reconstructing the Instrument of Government upon a more liberal footing, explaining better the boundaries of Parliament's and Single Person's jurisdiction ; and offering his Highness the Title of King.—

Readers know what choking dust-whirlwind in certain portions of "the Page of History" this last business has given rise to ! Dust-History, true to its nature, has treated this as one of the most important businesses in Oliver's Protectorate ; though intrinsically it was to Oliver, and is to us, a mere "feather in a man's cap," throwing no new light on Oliver ; and ought to be treated with great brevity indeed, had it not to many thrown much new darkness on him. It is now our painful duty to deal with this matter also ; to extricate Oliver's real words and procedure on it from the detestable confusions and lumber-mountains of Human Stupidity, old and recent, under which as usual they lie buried. Some Seven, or even Eight Speeches of Oliver, and innumerable Speeches of other persons on this subject have unluckily come down to us ; and cannot yet be consumed by fire ;—not yet till one has painfully extricated the real speakings and proceedings of Oliver, instead of the supposititious jargonings and imaginary dark petti-foggings of Oliver ; and asked candid mankind, Whether there is anything particular in them ? Mankind answering No, fire can be applied ; and mountains of rubbish, yielding or not some fractions of Corinthian brass, may once more be burnt out of men's way.

The Speeches and Colloquies, reported by one knows not whom, upon this matter of the Kingship, which extend from March to May of

* Burton, i. 370 ; see Commons Journals, vii. 475.

the year 1657, and were very private at the time, came out two years afterwards as a printed Pamphlet, when Kingship was once more the question, Charles Stuart's Kingship, and men needed incitements thereto. Of course it is with the learned Law-arguments in favour of Kingship that the Pamphleteer is chiefly concerned; the words of Oliver, which again are our sole concern, have been left by him in a very accidental condition! Most accidental, often enough quite meaningless distracted condition;—growing ever more distracted, as each new Imaginary Editor and unchecked Printer, in succession, did his part to them. Till now in *Somers Tracts*,[1] which is our latest form of the business, they strike description silent! Chaos itself is Cosmos in comparison with that Pamphlet in *Somers*. In or out of Bedlam, we can know well, gods or men never spake to one another in that manner! Oliver Cromwell's meaning is there; and that is *not* it. O Sluggardship, Imaginary-Editorship, Flunkeyism, Falsehood, Human Platitude in general—?—But we will complain of nothing. Know well by experience of him, that Oliver Cromwell always had a meaning, and an honest manful meaning; search well for that, after ten or twenty reperusals you will find it even there. Those frightful jungles, trampled down for two centuries now by mere bisons and hoofed cattle, you will begin to see, *were* once a kind of regularly planted wood!—Let the Editor with all brevity struggle to indicate so much, candid readers doing their part along with him; and so leave it. A happier next generation will then be permitted to seek the aid of *fire;* and this immense business of the Kingship, throwing little new light but also no new darkness upon Oliver Protector, will then reduce itself to very small compass for his Biographers.

Monday, 23d February 1656-7. Amid the Miscellaneous business of this day, Alderman Sir Christopher Pack, one of the Members for London, a zealous man, craves leave to introduce "Somewhat tending to the Settlement of the Nation,"—leave, namely, to read this Paper "which has come to his hand," which is written in the form of a "Remonstrance from the Parliament" to his Highness; which if the Parliament please to adopt, they can modify it as they see good, and present the same to His Highness. Will not the Honourable House consent at least to hear it read? The Honourable House has great doubts on that subject; debates at much length, earnestly puts the question whether the question shall be put; at length however, after two divisions, and towards nightfall, decides that it will; and even resolves by overwhelming majority "that a candle be brought in." Pack reads his Paper: A new Instrument of Government, or improved Constitution for these Nations; increased powers to the Single Person, intimation of a *Second* House of Parliament, the Protector something like a King; very great changes indeed! Debate this matter farther to-morrow.

Debate it, manipulate it, day after day,—let us have a Day of Fasting and Prayer on Friday next; for the matter is really important.[2] On farther manipulation, this "Remonstrance" of Pack's takes improved form, increased development; and, under the name "Petition and Advice presented to his Highness," became famous to the world in those

[1] vi. 349-403. [2] Commons Journals, vii. 496, 2.

spring months. We can see, the Honourable House has "a very good resentment of it." The Lawyer-party is all zealous for it; certain of the Soldier-party have their jealousies. Already, notwithstanding the official reticence, it is plain to every clear-sighted man they mean to make his Highness King!

Friday, 27th February. "The Parliament keep a Fast within their own House; Mr. Caryl, Mr. Nye, Mr. Manton, carrying on the work of the day; it being preparatory to the great work now on hand of Settling the Nation."[1] In the course of which same day, with an eye also to the same great work, though to the opposite side of it, there waits upon his Highness, Deputation of a Hundred Officers, Ex-Major-Generals and considerable persons some of them: To signify that they have heard with real dismay of some project now on foot to make his Highness King; the evil effects of which, as "a scandal to the People of God," "hazardous to his Highness's person, and making way for the return of Charles Stuart," are terribly apparent to them!—

Whereto his Highness presently makes answer, with dignity, not without sharpness: "That he now specifically hears of this project for the first time,—*he*" (with emphasis on the word, and a look at some individuals there) "has not been caballing about it, for it or against it. That the Title 'King' need not startle *them* so much; inasmuch as some of them well know" (what the Historical Public never knew before) "it was already offered to him, and pressed upon him by themselves when this Government was undertaken. That the Title King, a feather in a hat, is as little valuable to him as to them. But that the fact is, they and he have not succeeded in settling the Nation hitherto, by the schemes *they* clamoured for. Their Little Parliament, their First Protectorate Parliament, and now their Major-Generalcies, have all proved failures;—nay this Parliament itself, which they clamoured for, had almost proved a failure. That the Nation is tired of Major-Generalcies, of uncertain arbitrary ways; and really wishes to come to a Settlement. That actually the original Instrument of Government does need mending in some points. That a House of Lords, or other check upon the arbitrary tendencies of a Single House of Parliament, may be of real use: see what they, by their own mere vote and will, I having no power to check them, have done with James Nayler: may it not be any one's case some other day?" That, in short, the Deputation of a Hundred Officers had better go its ways, and consider itself again.—So answered his Highness, with dignity, with cogency, not without sharpness. The Deputation did as bidden. "Three Major-Generals," we find next week, "have already come round. The House hath gone on with much unity."[2]

The House in fact is busy, day and night, modelling, manipulating its Petition and Advice Amid the rumour of England, all through this month of March 1657. "Chief Magistrate for the time being is to name his successor;" so much we hear they have voted. What Title he shall have is still secret; that is to be the last thing. All men may speculate

1 Newspapers (in Burton, i. 380).

2 *Passages between the Protector and the Hundred Officers* (in Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 6125; printed in Burton, i., 382-4), a Fragment of a Letter, bearing date 7 March 1656-7;—to the effect abridged as above.

and guess!—Before March ends, the Petition and Advice is got ready; in Eighteen well-debated Articles;[1] fairly engrossed on vellum: the Title, as we guessed, is to be *King*. His Highness shall adopt the whole Document, or no part of it is to be binding.

SPEECH VII.

On Tuesday, March 31, 1657, "The House rose at eleven o'clock, and Speaker Widdrington, attended by the whole House, repaired to His Highness at Whitehall,[2] to present this same Petition and Advice," "engrossed on vellum," and with the Title of "King" recommended to him in it. Banqueting House, Whitehall; that is the scene. Widdrington's long flowery Speech[3] is omissible. As the Interview began about eleven o'clock, it may now be past twelve; Oliver *loquitur:*

Mr. Speaker,

This Frame of Government which it hath pleased the Parliament through your hand to offer to me,—truly I should have a very brazen forehead if it did not beget in me a great deal of consternation of spirit; it being of so high and great importance as, by your opening of it,[4] and by the mere reading of it, is manifest to all men; the welfare, the peace and settlement of Three Nations, and all that rich treasure of the best people in the world[5] being involved therein! I say, this consideration alone ought to beget in me the greatest reverence and fear of God that ever possessed a man in the world.

Truly I rather study to say no more at this time than is necessary for giving some brief general answer, suitable to the nature of the thing. The thing is of weight; the greatest weight of anything that was ever laid upon a man. And therefore, it being of that weight, and consisting of so many parts as it doth,—in each of which much more than my life is concerned,—truly I think I have no more to desire of you at present, but that you would give me time to deliberate and consider *what* particular answer I may return to so great a business as this.—

I have lived the latter part of my age in,—if I may say so,—the fire; in the midst of troubles. But all the things that have befallen me since I was first engaged in the affairs of this Commonwealth, if they could be supposed to be all brought into such a compass that I could take a view of them at once, truly I do not think they would 'so move,' nor do I think they ought so to move, my heart and spirit with that fear and reverence of God that becomes a Christian, as this thing that hath now been offered by you to me!—And truly my comfort in all my life hath been that the burdens which have lain heavy on me, they were laid upon me by the hand of God. And I have not known, I have been many times at a loss, which way to *stand* under the weight of what hath lain upon me:—except by looking at the conduct and pleasure of God in it. Which hitherto I have found to be a good pleasure to me.

And should I give any resolution in this 'matter' suddenly, without

[1] Copy of it in Whitlocke, p. 648 *et seqq.*
[2] Commons Journals, vii., 516.
[3] Burton, i., 397-413.
[4] In this long florid speech.
[5] Us and all the Gospel Protestants in the world.

seeking to have an answer put into my heart, and so into my mouth, by Him that hath been my God and my Guide hitherto,—it would give you very little cause of comfort in such a choice as you have made [Of me to be King] in such a business as this. It would savour more to be of the flesh, to proceed from lust, to arise from arguments of self. And if,—whatsoever the issue of this 'great matter' be,—'my decision in' it have *such* motives in me, have *such* a rise in me, it may prove even a curse to you and to these Three Nations. Who, I verily believe, have intended well in this business; and have had those honest and sincere aims [1] towards the glory of God, the good of His People, the rights of the Nation. I verily believe these have been your aims: and God forbid that so good aims should suffer by any dishonesty and indirectness on my part. For although, in the affairs that are in the world, things may be intended well,—as they are always, or for the most, by such as love God, and fear God and make Him their aim (and such honest ends and purposes, I do believe, yours now are);—yet if these considerations [2] fall upon a person or persons whom God takes no pleasure in; who perhaps may be at the end of his work; [Growing old and weak? Say not that, your Highness!—A kind of pathos, and much dignity and delicacy in these tones.] who, to please any of those humours or considerations which are of this world, shall run upon such a rock as this is,[3]—without due consideration, without integrity, without approving the heart to God, and seeking an answer from Him; and putting things *to* Him as if for life and death, that such an answer may be received 'from Him' as may be a blessing to the person [Me] who is to be used for these noble and worthy and honest intentions of the persons [You] that have prepared and perfected this work:—'why then,' it would be like a match where a good and worthy and virtuous man *mistakes* in the person he makes love to; and, as often turns out, it proves a curse to the man and to the family, through mistake! And if this should be so to you, and to these Nations, whose good I cannot but be persuaded you have in your thoughts aimed at,—why then, it had been better, I am sure of it, that I had never been born!—

I have therefore but this one word to say to you: That seeing you have made progress in this Business, and completed the work on your part, I 'on my side' may have some short time to ask counsel of God and of my own heart. And I hope that neither the humour of any weak unwise people, nor yet the desires of any who may be lusting after things that are not good, shall steer me to give other than such an answer as may be ingenuous and thankful,—thankfully acknowledging your care and integrity;—and such an answer as shall be for the good of those whom I presume you and I serve, and are made for serving.

And truly I may say this also: That as the thing will deserve deliberation, the utmost deliberation and consideration on my part, so I shall think myself bound to give as speedy an answer to these things as I can.*

[1] *Subaudi*, but do not insert, "which you profess."
[2] Means "your choice in regard to such purpose:" speaks delicately in an oblique way.
[3] "or may be:" this of the Kingship
* Burton's Diary, i. 413-16.

SPEECH VIII.

Friday, 3rd April, 1657. Three days after the foregoing Speech, there comes a Letter from his Highness to Mr. Speaker, the purport of which we gather to have been, that now if a Committee will attend his Highness, they shall have answer to the Petition and Advice. Committee is nominated, extensive Committee of persons already engaged in this affair, among whom are Lord Broghil, General Montague, Earl of Tweeddale, Whalley, Desborow, Whitlocke and others known to us; they attend his Highness at three o'clock that afternoon; and receive what answer there is,—a negative, but none of the most decided.[1]

My Lords,

I am heartily sorry that I did not make this desire of mine known to the Parliament sooner; 'the desire' which I acquainted them with, by Letter, this day. The reason was, Because some infirmity of body hath seized upon me these last two days, Yesterday and Wednesday. [It is yet but three days, your Highness.]

I have, as well as I could, taken consideration of the things contained in the Paper, which was presented to me by the Parliament, in the Banqueting-House, on Tuesday last; and sought of God that I might return such an answer as might become me, and be worthy of the Parliament. I must needs bear this testimony to them, That they have been zealous of the two greatest Concernments that God hath in the world. The *one* is that of Religion, and of the just preservation of the professors of it; to give them all due and just Liberty; and to assert the Truth of God;—which you have done, in part, in this Paper; and do refer it more fully to be done by yourselves and me. And as to the Liberty of men professing Godliness, you have done that which was never done before! And I pray it may not fall upon the People of God as a fault in them, in any sort of them, if they do not put such a value upon this that is now done as never was put on anything since Christ's time, for such a Catholic interest of the People of God. [Liberty in non-essentials; Freedom to all peaceable Believers in Christ to worship in such outward form as they will; a very "Catholic interest" indeed.] The *other* thing cared for is the Civil Liberty and Interest of the Nation. Which though it is, and indeed I think ought to be, subordinate to the more peculiar Interest of God,—yet it is the *next best* God hath given men in this world; and if well cared for, it is better than any rock to fence men in their other interests. Besides, if any whosoever think the Interest of Christians and the Interest of the Nation inconsistent, 'or two different things,' I wish my soul may never enter into *their* secrets! [We will take another course than theirs, your Highness!]

These are things I must acknowledge Christian and honourable; and they are provided for by you like Christian men and also men of honour,—like yourselves, English men. And to this I must and shall bear my testimony, while I live, against all gainsayers whatsoever. And upon these Two Interests, if God shall account me worthy, I shall live and die. And I must say, If I were to give an account before a greater Tribunal than any earthly one; if I were asked, Why I have engaged

[1] Commons Journals, vii. 519, 20; Burton, i. 417,

all along in the late War, I could give no answer that were not a wicked one if it did not comprehend these Two ends!—Meanwhile only give me leave to say, and to say it seriously (the issue will prove it serious), that you have one or two considerations which do stick with me. The one is, You have named me by another Title than I now bear. [What SHALL I answer to that!]

You do necessitate my answer to be categorical; and you have left me without a liberty of choice save as to all. [Must accept the whole Petition and Advice, or reject the whole of it.] I question not your wisdom in doing so; I think myself obliged to acquiesce in your determination; knowing you are men of wisdom, and considering the trust you are under. It is a duty not to question the reason of anything you have done. [Not even of the Kingship: say Yes, then!]

I should be very brutish did I not acknowledge the exceeding high honour and respect you have had for me in this Paper. Truly, according to what the world calls good, it hath nothing but good in it,—according to worldly approbation of[1] sovereign power. You have testified your value and affection as to my person, as high as you could; for more you could not do! I hope I shall always keep a grateful memory of this in my heart;—and by you I return the Parliament this my grateful acknowledgment. Whatever other men's thoughts may be, I shall not own ingratitude.—But I must needs say, That that may be fit for you to offer, which may not be fit for me to undertake. [Profound silence.] And as I should reckon it a very great presumption, were I to ask the reason of your doing any one thing in this Paper,—(except 'in' some very few things, the 'new' Instrument, 'this Paper,' bears testimony to itself),—so you will not take it unkindly if I beg of you this addition to the Parliament's favour, love and indulgence unto me, That it be taken in tender part if I give such an answer as I find in my heart to give in this business, *without* urging many reasons for it, save such as are most obvious, and most to my advantage in answering: Namely, that I am not able for such a trust and charge. [Won't have it then!]

And if the "answer of the tongue" as well as the preparation of the heart be "from God," I must say my heart and thoughts ever since I heard the Parliament were upon this business—[Sentence breaks down]—'For' though I could not take notice of your proceedings therein without breach of your privileges, yet as a common person I confess I heard of it in common with others.—— I must say I have been able to attain no farther than this, That, seeing the way is hedged up so as it is to me, and I cannot accept the things offered unless I accept all, I have not been able to find it my duty to God and you to undertake this charge under that Title. [Refuses, yet not so very peremptorily!]

The most I said in commendation of the 'new' Instrument may be retorted on me;—as thus: "Are there such good things provided for 'in this Instrument;' will you refuse to accept them because of such an ingredient?" Nothing must make a man's conscience a servant. And really and sincerely it is my conscience that guides me to this answer. And if the Parliament be so resolved 'for the whole Paper or none of it,' it will not be fit for me to use any inducement to you to alter their resolution.

[1] Means "value for."

This is all I have to say. I desire it may, and do not doubt but it will, be with candour and ingenuity represented unto them by you.*

His Highness would not in all circumstances be inexorable, one would think!—No; he is groping his way through a very intricate business, which grows as he gropes; the final shape of which is not yet disclosed to any soul. The actual shape of it on this Friday afternoon, 3d April, 1657, I suppose he has, in his own manner, pretty faithfully, and not without sufficient skill and dignity, contrived to express. Many considerations weigh upon his Highness; and in itself it is a most unexampled matter, this of negotiating about being made a King! Need of wise speech; of wise reticence no less. Nay it is of the nature of a Courtship withal: the young lady cannot answer on the first blush of the business; if you insist on her answering, why then she must even answer, No!—

SPEECH IX.

Wednesday, 8th April, 1657. The Parliament justly interpreting this *No* of his Highness, has decided that it will adhere to its Petition and Advice, and that it will "present reasons to his Highness;" has got, thanks to our learned Bulstrode and others, its reasons ready;—and, this day, "at three in the afternoon," walks over in a body to the Banqueting-House, Speaker Widdrington carrying in his hand the Engrossed Vellum and a written Paper of "Reasons," to present the same.[1] What Speaker Widdrington spoke on the occasion, is happily lost, but his "Reasons," which are very brief, remain on the Record;[2] and will require to be transcribed. They are in the form of a Vote or Resolution, of date yesterday, 7th April, 1657:

"*Resolved*, That the Parliament having lately presented their Humble Petition and Advice to your Highness, whereunto they have not as yet received satisfaction; and the matters contained in that Petition and Advice being agreed upon by the Great Council and Representative of the Three Nations; which matters, in their judgment, are most conducing to the good of the People thereof both in Spiritual and Civil concernments: They have therefore thought fit

"To adhere to this Advice; and to put your Highness in mind of the great obligation which rests upon you in respect of this Advice; and again to desire you to give your assent thereunto."

Which brief Paper of Reasons, Speaker Widdrington having read, and then delivered to his Highness, with some brief touches of mellifluous eloquence still happily lost, his Highness, with a look I think of more than usual seriousness, thus answers the Assembled Parliament and him.

MR. SPEAKER,

No man can put a greater value than I hope I do, and shall do, upon the desires and advices of the Parliament. I could in my own heart aggravate, both concerning the Persons advising and concerning the Advice;—readily acknowledging that it is the Advice of

* Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 6125: printed in *Burton*, i. 417; and *Parliamentary History*, xxiii. 161.

[1] Commons Journals, vii. 520, 521 (6, 8 April); Burton, i. 421.

[2] Ibid.

the Parliament of these Three Nations. And if a man could suppose it were *not* a Parliament to some; [Malignants there are who have such notions]—yet doubtless it should be to me, and to us all that are engaged in this common Cause wherein we have been engaged. I say surely it ought to be a Parliament to us! Because it arises as a result of those issues, and determinations of Settlement, that *we* have laboured to arrive at! And therefore I do most readily acknowledge the weight of authority 'you have' in advising these things.

I can aggravate also to myself the general notion of the Things Advised-to; as being things which tend to the settlement of the chiefest Interests [1] that can fall into the hearts of men to devise or endeavour-after. And at such a time, 'too;' when truly, I may think, the Nation is big with expectation of something that may add to their 'security of' Being.—I therefore must needs put a very high esteem 'upon' and have a very reverent opinion of anything that comes from you.

And so I have had of this Instrument:—and, I hope, so I have expressed. And what I have expressed, hath been,—if I flatter not myself,—from a very honest heart towards the Parliament and the Public. I say not these things to compliment you. For we are all past complimenting, and all considerations of that kind! [Serious enough his Highness is, and we all are; the Nations and the Ages, and indeed the MAKER of the Nations and the Ages, looking on us here!] We must all be very real now, if ever we will be so!—

Now, howbeit your title and name you give to this Paper [Looking on the Vellum] makes me think you intended "Advice;" and I should transgress against all reason, should I make any other construction than that you did intend Advice: 'yet'—!—[Still hesitates, then?]—I would not lay a burden on my beast but I would consider his strength to bear it! And if you lay a burden upon a man that is conscious of his own infirmity and disabilities, and doth make some measure of counsels which may seem to come from Heaven, counsels from the Word of God (who leaves room for charity, and for men to consider their own strength),—I hope it will be no evil in me to measure your "Advice" with my own Infirmities. And truly these will have some influence upon conscience! Conscience in him that receives talents [2] to know how he may answer the trust of them. And such a conscience have I had 'in this matter;' and still have; and therefore when I thought I had an opportunity to make an Answer, I made that Answer. [The unemphatic Negative; truest "Answer" your Higness then had:—can it not grow an Affirmative?]—and am a person that have been, before and then and since, lifting up my heart to God, To know *what* might be my duty at such a time as this, and upon such an occasion and trial as this was to me! [Deep silence: Old Parliament casts down its eyes.]—

Truly, Mr. Speaker, it hath been heretofore, I think, a matter of philosophical discourse, That great places, great authority, are a great burden. I know it so. And I know a man that is convinced in his conscience, Nothing less will enable *him* to the discharge of it than

[1] "things" again, *in orig.*

[2] Meaning "charges," "offices."

Assistance from above. And it may very well require in such a one, so convinced and so persuaded, That he be right with the Lord in such an undertaking !—And therefore, to speak very clearly and plainly to you: I had, and I have, my hesitations as to that individual thing. [Still negative, your Highness?] If I undertake anything *not* in Faith, I shall serve you in my own Unbelief;—and I shall then be the most unprofitable Servant that People or Nation ever had !

Give me leave, therefore, *to ask counsel*. I am ready to render a reason of my apprehensions; which haply may be overswayed by better apprehensions. I think, so far I have deserved no blame; nor do I take it you will lay any upon me. Only you mind me of the duty that is incumbent upon me. And truly the same answer I have as to the point of duty one way, the same consideration have I as to duty another way.[1]—I would not urge to you the point of "Liberty." Surely you have provided for Liberty,—I have borne my witness to it,—Civil and Spiritual ! The greatest provision that ever was made have you made, 'for Liberty' to all,—and I know that you do not intend to exclude *me*. The "Liberty" I ask is, To vent my own doubts, and my own fears, and my scruples. And though haply, in such cases as these are, the world hath judged that a man's conscience ought to know no scruples; yet surely mine doth, and I dare not dissemble. And therefore—!—

They that are knowing in the ground of their own Action will be best able to measure advice to others. [Will have us reason, in Free Conference, with him?] There are many things in this 'Instrument of' Government besides that one of the Name and Title, that deserve much to be elucidated[2] as to my judgment. It is you that can capacitate me to receive satisfaction in them ! Otherwise, I say truly,—I must say, I am not persuaded to the performance of 'this' as my trust and duty, nor 'sufficiently' informed. 'Not persuaded or informed;' and so not actuated 'by a call of *duty*,' as I know you intend I should be,—and as every man in the Nation should be. You have provided for 'every one of' them as a Free Man, as a man that is to act possibly,[3] rationally and conscientiously !—And therefore I cannot tell what other return to make to you than this:

I am ready to give a reason, if you will, I say, capacitate me to do it; and 'capacitate' yourselves to receive it;—and to do what other things may inform me a little more particularly than this Vote which you have passed Yesterday, and which has now been read by you to me.

Truly I hope when 'once' I understand the ground of these things,—the whole being 'meant' neither for your good nor mine, but for the good of the Nation,—there will be no doubt but we may, even in these particulars, find out what[4] may answer our duty. Mine, and all our duties, to those whom we serve. And this is that that I do, with a great deal of affection and honour and respect, offer now to you.*

Thus has the Honourable House gone a second time in a body, and not yet prevailed. We gather that his Highness has doubts, has

1 Bound to regard your "Advice;" and yet in doing so, not to disregard a Higher.
2 "deserve much information," *in orig.*
3 Means "in a way possible for him:" "*does* possibly" is the phrase *in orig.*
4 "those things" *in orig.*
* Old Pamphlet (in Parliamentary History. xxiii., Appendix, pp. 164-6).

scruples ; on which, however, he is willing to be dealt with, "to receive satisfaction,"—has intimated, in fact, that though the answer is still No, the Courtship may continue.

Committee to give satisfaction is straightway nominated : Whitlocke, Lord Chief-Justice Glenn, Lord Broghil, Fiennes, Old-Speaker Lenthall, Ninety-nine of them in all ;[1] and is ready to confer with his Highness. At this point, however, there occurs an extraneous Phenomenon which unexpectedly delays us for a day or two : a rising of the Fifth-Monarchy, namely. The Fifth-Monarchy, while men are meditating earthly Kingship, and Official Persons are about appointing an earthly tyrannous and traitorous King, thinks it ought to bestir itself, now or never ;—explodes accordingly, though in a small way ; testifying to us how electric this element of England now is.

Tuesday, 9th April. The Fifth-Monarchy, headed mainly by one Venner a Wine-Cooper, and other civic individuals of the old Feak-and-Powel species whom we have transiently seen emitting soot and fire before now, has for a long while been concocting under ground ; and Thurloe and his Highness have had eye on it. The Fifth-Monarchy has decided that it will rise this Thursday ; expel carnal sovereignties ; and call on the Christian population to introduce a Reign of Christ,—which it is thought, if a beginning were once made, they will be very forward to do. Let us rendezvous on Mile-End Green this day, with sword and musket, and assured heart ; perhaps General Harrison, Colonel Okey, one knows not who, will join us,—perhaps a miracle will be wrought, such as Heaven might work in such a case, and the Reign of Christ actually take effect.

Alas, Heaven wrought no miracle : Heaven and his Highness sent a Troop of Horse into the Mile-End region early in the morning ; seized Venner, and some Twenty Ringleaders, just coming for the rendezvous ; seized chests of arms, many copies of a flaming Pamphlet or War-manifesto with title *A Standard set up ;* seized also a War-flag with Lion Couchant painted on it, Lion of the Tribe of Judah, and this motto, "Who shall rouse him up?" O Reader, these are not fictions, these were once altogether solid facts in this brick London of ours ; ancient resolute individuals, busy with wine-cooperage and otherwise, had entertained them as very practicable things !—But in two days time, these ancient individuals and they are all lodged in the Tower ; Harrison, hardly connected with the thing, except as a well-wisher, he and others are likewise made secure : and the Fifth-Monarchy is put under lock and key.[2] Nobody was tried for it : Cooper Venner died on the scaffold, for a similar attempt under Charles Second, some two years hence. The Committee of Ninety-nine can now proceed with its "satisfaction to his Highness ;" his Highness is now at leisure for them again.

This Committee did proceed with its satisfactions ; had various Conferences with his Highness,—which unfortunately are not lost ; which survive for us, in *Somers Tracts* and the old Pamphlets, under the Title of *Monarchy Asserted ;* in a condition, especially his Highness's part of

[1] List in Commons Journals, vii. 528 ; in Somers Tracts, vi. 351.
[2] Narrative in Thurloe, vi. 184-6.

them, enough to drive any Editor to despair! The old Pampleteer, as we remarked, was intent only on the learned law-arguments in favour of Kingship; and as to what his Highness said, seems to have taken it very easy; printing what vocables he found on his Note-paper, with or without meaning, as it might chance. Whom new unchecked Printers and Imaginary-Editors following, and making the matter ever worse, have produced at last in our late time such a Coagulum of Jargon as was never seen before in the world! Let us not speak of it; let us endeavour to get through it,—through this also, now since we have arrived at it, and are not yet permitted to burn it! Out of this sad monument of Human Stupor too the imprisoned Soul of a Hero must be extricated. Souls of Heroes,—they have been imprisoned, enchanted into growing Trees, into glass Phials, into leaden Caskets sealed with Solomon's signet, and sunk in the deep sea;—but to this of *Somers Tracts* there wants yet a parallel! Have not we English a talent of musical utterance? Here are men consummating the most *epic* of acts, Choosing their King; and it is with such melodious elegancies that they do it; it is in such soft-flowing hexameters as the following that the Muse gives record of it!—

My reader must be patient; thankful for mere Dulness, thankful that it is not Madness over and above. Let us all be patient; walk gently, swiftly, lest we awaken the sleeping Nightmares! We suppress, we abridge, we elucidate; struggle to make legible his Highness's words, —dull but not insane. Notes where not indispensable are not given. The curious reader can, in all questionable places, refer to the Printed Coagulum of Jargon itself, and see whether we have read aright.

SPEECH X.

PROPERLY an aggregate of many short Speeches, and passages of talk: his Highness's part in this First Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine. His Highness's part in it; the rest, covering many pages, is, so far as possible, strictly suppressed. One of the dullest Conferences ever held, on an epic subject, in this world. Occupied, great part of it, on mere preliminaries, and beatings about the bush; throws light, even in its most elucidated state, upon almost nothing. Oliver is here—simply what we have known him elsewhere. Which so soon as Mankind once understand to be the fact, but unhappily not till then,—the aid of *fire* can be called in, as we suggested.

Fancy, however, that the large Committee of Ninety-nine has got itself introduced into some Council-room, or other fit locality in Whitehall, on Saturday, 11th April, 1657, "about nine in the morning;" has made its salutations to his Highness, and we hope been invited to take seats;—and all men are very uncertain how to act. Who shall begin? His Highness wishes much *they* would begin; and in a delicate way urges and again urges them to do so; and, not till after great labour and repeated failures, succeeds. Fancy that old scene; the ancient honourable Gentlemen waiting there to do their epic feat; the ponderous respectable Talent for Silence, obliged to break up and become a kind of Utterance in this thick-skinned manner:—really rather strange to witness, as dull as it is!—

The Dialogue has gone on for a passage or two, but the Reporter considers it mere preliminary flourishing, and has not taken it down. Here is his first Note,—in the abridged lucidified state :[1]

LORD WHITLOCKE. "Understands that the Committee is here only to receive what his Highness has to *offer;* such the letter and purport of our Instructions; which I now read. [Reads it.] Your Highness mentions 'the Government that now is,' seems to hint thereby: The Government being well now, why change it? If that be your Highness's general objection, the Committee will give you satisfaction."

THE LORD PROTECTOR. Sir, I think both parties of us meet here with a very good heart to come to some issue in this great business; and truly that is what I have all the reason in the world to move me to. And I am exceeding ready to be ordered by you as to the manner of proceeding. Only I confess, according to the thoughts I have,—in preparing my thoughts for so great a work, I formed this notion to myself: —That the Parliament having already done me the honour of Two Conferences;[2] and now sent you again, their kind intention to me evidently is no other than this, That I should receive satisfaction. They might have been positive in the thing; might have declared their Address itself to be enough, and insisted upon Yes or No to that. But I perceive that it is really and sincerely the satisfaction of my doubts that they aim at; and there is one clause in the Paper itself, 'quoted by my Lord Whitlocke,' which doth a little warrant that: "To offer such reasons for his satisfaction," &c.—Now, Sir, it's certain the occasion of all this 'Conference' is the Answer I already made; that's the occasion of your having to come hither again. And truly, Sir, I doubt whether by your plan— —If you will *draw out my reasons from me*, I will offer them to you: but on my own part, I doubt, if you should proceed that other way, it would a little put me out of the method of my own thoughts. And it being mutual satisfaction that is endeavoured, if you will do me the favour—["To go by my method," his Highness means; "to offer me YOUR Reasons, and DRAW me out, rather than oblige me to COME out"] I shall take it as a favour if it please you! I will leave you together to consider your own thoughts of it. [Motioning to go.]

LORD WHITLOCKE. "This Committee, being sent to wait upon your Highness, I do suppose cannot undertake to give the *Parliament's* reasons for what the Parliament hath done. But any gentleman here may give for your Highness's satisfaction his own particular apprehension of them. And if you will be pleased to go in the way you have propounded, and on any point *require* a satisfaction from the Committee, I suppose we shall be ready to do the best we can to give you satisfaction." [Bar Practice! Is not yet what his Highness wants.]

THE LORD PROTECTOR. If this be so, then I suppose nothing can be said by you but what the Parliament hath dictated to you?—However, I think it is clearly expressed that the Parliament intends satisfac-

[1] Somers Tracts, vi. 352.

[2] Two Conferences with the whole Parliament, and one Conference with a Committee. Speeches VII. (31 March), IX. (8 April), and VIII. (3 April).

tion. Then it is *as* clear that there must be reasons and arguments which have light and conviction in them, in order to satisfaction! I speak for myself in this; I hope you will not take it otherwise.[1] I say it doth appear to me you have the liberty of giving your own reasons. If I should write down any of *them*, I could not call that "the reason of Parliament." [Whitlocke, in a heavy manner, smiles respectful assent.] But in Parliamentary and other such conclusions the efficient "reason" is diffused over the general body, and every man hath his particular share of it; yet when they have determined such and such a thing, certainly it was reason that led them up into it. And if you shall be pleased to make me partaker of some of that "reason"—!—I do very respectfully represent to you that I have a general dissatisfaction at the thing [Glancing at the Engrossed Vellum; but meaning the Kingship]; and do desire to be informed of the grounds that lead you, whom I presume to be all satisfied with it and with every part of it. And if you will be pleased, if you so think fit,—I will not urge it farther upon you,—to proceed in that way, it will be a favour to me. Otherwise, I deal plainly with you, it doth put me out of the method of my own conceptions: and in that case I shall beg that we may have an hour's deliberation, and meet again in the afternoon.

Lord Chief-Justice Glyn,—one of the old expelled Eleven, whom we saw in great straits in 1647; a busy man from the beginning, and now again busy; begs to say in brief: "The Parliament has sent us to give all the satisfaction which it is in our understandings to give. Certainly we will try to proceed according to what method your Highness finds best for that end. The Paper or Vellum Instrument, however, is general, consisting of many heads; and we can give but general satisfaction."

The Lord Protector. If you will please to give me leave. [Clearing his throat to get under way.] I do agree, truly, the thing is a general; for it either falls under the notice of Settlement, which is a general consisting of many particulars; or if you call it by the name it bears in the Paper, "Petition and Advice," that again is a general; it is advice, desires and advice. What in it I have objected to is as yet, to say truth, but one thing. Only, the last time I had the honour to meet the Parliament,[2] I did offer to them that they might put me in the way of getting satisfaction as to particulars, 'any or all particulars.' Now, no question I might easily offer something particular for debate, if I thought that would answer the end. [What curious pickeering, flourishing, and fencing backwards and forwards, before the parties will come to close action. As in other affairs of courtship.] For truly I know my end and yours is the same: To bring things to an issue one way or the other, that we may know where we are,—that we may attain the general end, which is Settlement. [Safe ground here, your Highness!] The end is in us both! And I durst contend with any one person in the world that it is not more in his heart than in mine!——I would go into some particulars [Especially one particular, the King-

[1] As if I meant to dictate to you, or tutor you in your duties.
[2] Wednesday last, 8 April, Speech IX

ship.] to ask a question, to ask a reason of the alteration 'made;' which might well enough let you into the business,—that it might.[1] Yet, I say, it doth not answer me. [I had counted on being drawn out, not on COMING out: I understood I was the young lady, and YOU the wooer!] I confess I did not so strictly examine the terms of your Order from the Parliament, 'which my Lord Whitlocke cites;' whether I even read it or no I cannot tell.—[Pause.]—If you will have it that way, I shall, as well as I can, make such an objection as may occasion some answer, 'and so let us into the business;'—though perhaps I shall object weakly enough! I shall very freely submit to you.

GLYN (with official solemnity). "The Parliament hath sent us for that end, to give your Highness satisfaction."

LORD COMMISSIONER FIENNES,—Nathaniel Fiennes, alias Fines alias Fenys, as he was once called when condemned to be shot for surrendering Bristol; second son of "Old Subtlety" Say and Sele: and now again a busy man, and Lord Keeper—opens his broad jaw, and short snub face full of hard sagacity,[2] to say: "Looking upon the Order, I fmd that *we* may offer your Highness *our* reasons, if your Highness's dissatisfaction be to the alteration of the Government whether in general or in particular."—So that His Highness may have it his own way after all? Let us hope the preliminary flourishing is now near complete! His Highness would like well to have it his own way.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I am very ready to say, I have no dissatisfaction that it hath pleased the Parliament to find out a way, though it be of alteration, for bringing these Nations into a good Settlement. Perhaps you may have judged the Settlement we hitherto had was not so favourable to the great end of Government,—the Liberty and Good of the Nations, and the preservation of all honest Interests that have been engaged in this Cause. I say I have no objection to the general 'fact,' That the Parliament hath thought fit to take consideration of a new Settlement or Government. But you having done it in such way, and rendered me so far an interested party in it by making such an Overture to me [As this of the Kingship, which modesty forbids me to mention],—I shall be very glad 'to learn,' if you please to let me know it, besides the *pleasure* of the Parliament, somewhat of the *reason* they had for interesting me in this thing, by such an Overture.

Truly I think I shall, as to the other particulars, have less to object.[3] I shall be very ready to specify objections, in order to clear for you whatsoever it may be better to clear; 'in order' at least to help myself towards a clearer understanding of these things;—for better advantage 'to us all,' for that, I know, is in your hearts as well as mine. Though I cannot presume that I have anything to offer calculated to convince you; yet, if you will take it in good part, I shall offer somewhat to every particular.

'And now,' if you please,—As to the *first* of the things [Kingship], I am clear as to the ground of the thing, being so put to me as it hath

[1] A favourite reduplication with his Highness; that it is!

[2] Good Portrait of him in Lord Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden*.

[3] "shall, as to the other particulars, swallow this" *in orig.*

been put.[1] And I think that some of the reasons which moved the Parliament to do it, would, 'if they were now stated to me,' lead us into such objections or doubts as I may offer; and would be a very great help to me in that. And if you will have me offer this or that or the other doubt which may arise methodically, I shall do it.

Whereupon LORD WHITLOCKE, summoning into his glassy coal-black eyes and ponderous countenance what animation is possible, lifts up his learned voice, and speaks several pages;[2]—which we abridge almost to nothing. In fact the learned pleadings of these illustrious Official Persons, which once were of boundless importance, are now literally shrunk to zero for us; it is only his Highness's reply to them that is still something, and that not very much. Whitlocke intimates,

"That perhaps the former instrument of Government having originated in the way it did, the Parliament considered it would be no worse for sanctioning by the Supreme Authority; such was their reason for taking it up. 'Their intentions I suppose were'—this and that, at some length. As for the new Title, that of *Protector* was not known to the Law; that of *King* is, and has been for many hundreds of years. If we keep the title of Protector, as I heard some argue, our Instrument has only its own footing to rest upon; but with that of *King* 'it will ground itself in all the ancient foundations of the Laws of England,'" &c. &c.

MASTER OF THE ROLLS,—Old Sly-face Lenthall, once Speaker of the Long Parliament; the same whom Harrison helped out of his Chair,—him also the reader will conceive speaking for the space of half an hour:

"'May it please your Highness,' Hum-m-m! Drum-m-m! 'Upon due consideration you shall find that the whole body of the Law is carried upon this wheel' of the Chief Magistrate being called King. Hum—m—m! [Monotonous humming for ten minutes.] 'The title of Protector is not *limited* by any rule of Law that I understand;' the title of King is. Hum—m—m! King James wanted to change his Title, and that only from *King of England* to *King of Great Britain;* and the Parliament could not consent, so jealous were they of new titles bringing new unknown powers. Much depends upon a title! The long Parliament once thought of changing its Title to *Representative of the People;* but durst not. Hum—m—m! '*Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.*' Drum—m—m! '*Vox populi:* it is the voice of the Three Nations that offers your Highness this Title.' Drum—m—m!" — —Such, in abbreviated shape, is the substance of Lenthall's Speech for us.[3] At the ending of it, a pause.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I cannot deny but the things that have been spoken have been spoken with a great deal of weight. And it is not fit for me to ask any of you if you have a mind to speak farther of this. But if such had been your pleasure, truly then I think it would have put me into a way of more preparedness, according to the method and way I had con-

[1] In our last Conference, 2 April, now happily lost.
[2] Somers, vi. 335.
[3] Somers, vi. 356, 7.

ceived for myself, to return some answer. And if it had not been to you a trouble—Surely the business requires, from any man in the world in any case, and much more from me, that there be given to it serious and true answers! I mean such answers as are not feigned in my own thoughts; but such wherein I express the truth and honesty of my heart. [Seems a tautology, and almost an impertinence, and ground of suspicion, your Highness;—but has perhaps a kind of meaning struggling half-developed in it. Many answers which call and even THINK themselves "true" are but "feigned in one's own thoughts" after all; from that to "the truth and honesty of heart" is still a great way; —witness many men in most times; witness almost all men in such times as ours.] That is what I mean by true answers.

I did hope that when I had heard you, so far as it might be your pleasure to speak on this head, I should then, having taken some short note of it as I do [Glancing at his Note-paper], have been in a condition, this afternoon [Would still fain be off!],—if it had not been a trouble to you,—to return my answer, upon a little advisement with myself. But seeing you have not thought it convenient to proceed that way,—truly I think I may very well say, I shall need to have a little thought about the thing before returning answer to it: lest our Debate should end on my part with a very vain discourse, and with lightness; as it is very like to do. [A Drama COMPOSING itself as it gets ACTED, this; very different from the blank-verse Dramas.]

I say therefore, if you had found good to proceed farther in speaking of these things, I should have made my own short animadversions on the whole, this afternoon, and have made some short reply. And this would have ushered me in not only to give the best answer I could, but to make my own objections 'too.' [An interrogative look: evidently some of us must speak! Glyn steps forward.]

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE GLYN steps forward, speaks largely; then SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY steps forward; and NATHANIEL FIENNES steps forward; and LORD BROGHIL (Earl of Orrery that is to be) steps forward; and all speak largely: whom, not to treat with the indignity poor Lenthall got from us, we shall abridge down to *absolute* nothing. Good speaking too; but without interest for us. In fact it is but repetition, under new forms, of the old considerations offered by heavy Bulstrode and the Master of the Rolls. The only idea of the slightest novelty is this brought forward by Lord Broghil n the rear of all:[1]

LORD BROGHIL. "By an Act already existing (the 11th of Henry VII.), all persons that obey a 'King *de facto*' are to be held guiltless; not so if they serve a Protector *de facto*. Think of this.—And then 'in the 7th and last place,' I observe: The Imperial Crown of this country and the Pretended King are indeed divorced; nevertheless persons divorced may come together again; but if the person divorced be married to another, there is no chance left of that!"— —

Having listened attentively to perhaps some three hours of this, his Highness, giving up the present afternoon as now hopeless, makes brief answer.

[1] Somers, p. 362.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I have very little to say to you at this time I confess I shall never be willing to deny or defer those things[1] that come from the Parliament to the Supreme Magistrate, [He accepts then?] if they come in the bare and naked authority of such an Assembly as is known by that name, and is the Representative of so many people as a Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland is. I say this ought to have its weight; and it hath so, and ever will have with me.

In all things a man is free to grant desires coming from Parliament. I may say, inasmuch as the Parliament hath condescended so far as to do me this honour (a very great one added to the rest) of giving me the privilege of counsel from so many members of theirs, so able, so intelligent of the grounds of things—[Sentence breaks down]—This is, I say, a very singular honour and favour to me; and I wish I may do, and I hope I shall do, what becomes an honest man in giving an answer to these things,—according to such insight[2] either as I have, or as God shall give me, or as I may be helped into by reasoning with you. But indeed I did not in vain allege conscience in the first answer I gave you. [Well!] For I must say, I should be a person very unworthy of such favour if I should prevaricate in saying things did stick upon my conscience. Which I must still say they do! Only, I must 'also' say, I am in the best way I could be 'in' for information; and I shall gladly receive it.

Here have been divers things spoken by you to-day, with a great deal of judgment and ability and knowledge. I think the arguments and reasonings that have been used were upon these three heads:[3] *First*, Speaking to the thing simply, to the abstract notion of the Title, and to the positive reasons upon which it stands. Then '*secondly*, Speaking' comparatively of it, and of the foundation of it; in order to shew the goodness of it comparatively, 'in comparison with our present title and foundation.' It is alleged to be so much better than what we now have; and that *it* will do the work which this other fails in. And *thirdly*, Some things have been said by way of precaution; which are not arguments from the thing itself, but are considerations drawn from the temper of the English People, what will gratify them, 'and so on;'—which is surely considerable. As also 'some things were said' by way of anticipation of me in my answer; speaking to some objections which others have made against this proposal. These are things, in themselves, each of them considerable. [The "objections?" or the "Three heads" in general? Uncertain; nay it is perhaps uncertain to Oliver himself! He mainly means the objections, but the other also is hovering in his head,—as is sometimes the way with him.]

To answer objections, I know is a very weighty business; and to make objections is very easy; and that will fall to my part. And I am sure I shall make them to men who know somewhat how to answer them,—'to whom they are not strange,' having already in part been suggested to them by the Debates already had.

But upon the whole matter, I having as well as I could taken those

[1] Means "anything,—the Kingship for one thing."
[2] "desire" *in orig.*: but there is no sense in that. "accounts" *v. orig.*

things [Looking at his Notes] that have been spoken,—which truly are to be acknowledged as very learnedly spoken,—I hope you will give me a little time to consider of them. As to when it may be the best time for me to return hither and meet you again, I shall leave that to your consideration.

LORD WHITLOCKE. "Your Highness will be pleased to appoint your own time."

THE LORD PROTECTOR. On Monday at nine of the clock I will be ready to wait upon you.*

And so, with many bows, *exeunt*.—Thus they, doing their epic feat, not in the hexameter measure, on that old Saturday forenoon, 11 April 1657; old London, old England, sounding manifoldly round them;—the Fifth-Monarchy just locked in the Tower.

Our learned friend Bulstrode says: "The Protector often advised about this" of the Kingship "and other great businesses with the Lord Broghil, Pierrepoint" (Earl of Kingston's Brother, an old Long-Parliament man, of whom we have heard before), with "Whitlocke, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Thurloe; and would be shut up three or four hours together in private discourse, and none were admitted to come in to him. He would sometimes be very cheerful with them; and laying aside his greatness, he would be exceeding familiar; and by way of diversion would make verses with them," play at crambo with them, "and every one must try his fancy. He commonly called for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take tobacco himself;" which was a very high attempt. "Then he would fall again to his serious and great business" of the Kingship; "and advise with them in those affairs. And this he did often with them; and their counsel was accepted and" in part "followed by him in the most of his greatest affairs,"—as it deserved to be.[1]

SPEECH XI.

ON Monday, April 13th, at Whitehall, at nine in the morning[2] according to agreement on Saturday last, the Committee of Ninety-nine attend his Highness, and his Highness there speaks;—addressing Whitlocke as reporter of the said Committee:

MY LORD,

I think I have a very hard task on my hand. Though it be but to give an account of *myself*, yet I see I am beset on all hands here. I say, but to give an account of "myself:" yet that is a business very comprehensive of others;—'comprehending' us all in some sense, and, as the Parliament have been pleased to shape it, comprehending all the interests of these Three Nations!

I confess I have two things in view. The *first* is, To return some answer to what was so well and ably said the other day on behalf of the Parliament's putting that Title in the Instrument of Settlement. [This

* Somers Tracts, vi. 351-365.

[1] Whitlocke, p. 647.

[2] at "eight," say the Journals, vii. 422.

is the First thing; what the Second is, does not yet for a long while appear.] I hope it will not be expected I should answer everything that was then said: because I suppose the main things that were spoken were arguments from ancient Constitutions and Settlements by the Laws; in which I am sure I could never be well skilled,—and therefore must the more ask pardon for what I have already transgressed 'in speaking of such matters,' or shall now transgress, through my ignorance of them, in my 'present' answer to you.

Your arguments, which I say were chiefly upon the Law, seem to carry with them a great deal of necessary conclusiveness, to inforce that one thing of Kingship. And if your arguments come upon me to inforce upon me the ground of necessity,—why, then, I have no room to answer: for what must be must be! And therefore I did reckon it much of my business to consider whether there *were* such a necessity, or would arise such a necessity, from those arguments.—It was said: "Kingship is not a Title, but an Office, so interwoven with the fundamental Laws of this Nation, that they cannot, or cannot well, be executed and exercised without 'it,'—partly, if I may say so, upon a supposed ignorance which the Law hath of any other Title. It knows no other; neither doth any know another. And, by reciprocation,—this said Title, or Name, or Office, you were farther pleased to say, is understood; in the dimensions of it, in the power and prerogatives of it; which are by the Law made certain; and the Law can tell when it [Kingship] keeps within compass, and when it exceeds its limits. And the Law knowing this, the People can know it also. And the People do love what they know. And it will neither be *pro salute populi*, nor for our safety, to obtrude upon the People what they do not nor cannot understand."

It was said also, "That the People have always, by their representatives in Parliament, been unwilling to vary names,—seeing they love settlement and known names, as was said before." And there were two good instances given of that: the one, in King James's time, about his desire to alter somewhat of the Title: and the other in the Long Parliament, where they being otherwise, rationally moved to adopt the word "Representative" instead of "Parliament," refused it for the same reason. [Lenthall tries to blush.]—It was said also, "That the holding to this word doth strengthen the 'new' settlement; and hereby there is not anything *de novo* done, but merely things are revolved into their old current." It was said "That it is the security of the Chief Magistrate, and that it secures all who act under him."—Truly these are the principal of those grounds that were offered the other day, so far as I do recollect.

I cannot take upon me to refel those grounds; they are so strong and rational. But if I am to be able to make *any* answer to them, I must not grant that they are necessarily conclusive; I must take them only as arguments which perhaps have in them much conveniency, much probability towards conclusiveness. For if a remedy or expedient may be found, they are not *of necessity*, they are not inevitable grounds: and if not necessary or concluding grounds, why then they will hang upon the reason of expediency or conveniency. And if so, I shall have a little liberty 'to speak;' otherwise I am concluded before I speak.—Therefore

it will behove me to say what I can, Why these are not *necessary* reasons; why they are not— why *it*[1] is not (I *should* say) so intervoven in the Laws but that the Laws may still be executed as justly, and as much to the satisfaction of the people, and answering all objections equally well, without such a Title as with it. And then, when I have done that, I shall only take the liberty to say a word or two for my own grounds.[2] And when I have said what I can say as to that 'latter point,'—I hope you will *think* a great deal more than I say. [Not convenient to SPEAK everything in so ticklish a predicament; with Deputations of a Hundred Officers, and so many "scrupulous fellows," "considerable in their own conceit," glaring into the business, with eyes much sharper than they are deep!]

Truly though Kingship be not a 'mere' Title, but the Name of an Office which runs through the 'whole of the' Law; yet it is not so *ratione nominis*, by reason of the name, but by reason of what the name signifies. It is a Name of Office plainly implying a Supreme Authority: is it more; or can it be stretched to more? I say, it is a name of Office plainly implying the Supreme Authority: and if so, why then I should suppose,—I am not peremptory in anything that is matter of deduction or inference of my own,—but I should suppose that whatsoever name hath been or shall be the Name under which the Supreme Authority acts—[Sentence abruptly stops; the conclusion being visible without speech!] Why, I say, if it had been those Four or Five Letters, or whatever else it had been—! That signification goes to the *thing*, certainly it does; and not to the name. [Certainly!] Why, then, there can no more be said but this: As such a Title hath been fixed, so it may be unfixed. And certainly in the right of the Authority, I mean the Legislative Power,—in the right of the Legislative Power, I think the Authority that could christen it with such a name could have called it by another name. Therefore the name is only derived from that 'Authority.' And certainly they, 'the primary Legislative Authority,' had the disposal of it, and might have detracted 'from it,' changed 'it:'—and I hope it will be no offence to say to you, as the case now stands, "So may you." And if it be so that you may, why then I say, there is nothing of *necessity* in your argument; and all turns on consideration of the expedience of it. [Is the Kingship expedient?]

Truly I had rather, if I were to choose, if it were the original question, —which I hope is altogether *out* of the question [His Highness means, afar off, in a polite manner, "YOU don't pretend that I still need to be made Protector by you or by any creature!"],—I had rather have any Name from this Parliament than any other Name without it: so much do I value the authority of the Parliament. And I believe all men are of my mind in that; I believe the Nation is very much of my mind,—though it be an uncertain way of arguing, *what* mind *they* are of.[3] I think we may say it without offence; for I would give none!

1 The Kingship: his Highness finds that the grammar will require to be attended to.

2 "Grounds" originating with myself independently of yours. Is this the "second" thing, which his Highness had in view, but did not specify after the "first," when he started? The issue proves it to be so.

3 Naturally a delicate subject: some assert the Nation has never recognised his Highness, his Highness himself being of a very different opinion indeed!

[No offence to you, Honourable Gentlemen; who are here, by function, to interpret and signify the Mind of the Nation. It is very difficult to do !]—Though the Parliament be the truest way to know what the mind of the Nation is, yet if the Parliament will be pleased to give me a liberty to reason for myself; and if that be one of your arguments—["That:" what, your Highness? That the mind of the Nation, well interpreted by this Parliament, is really for a King? That our Laws cannot go on without a King?—His Highness means the former mainly, but means the latter too; means several things together, as his manner sometimes is, in abstruse cases !]—I hope I may urge against it that the reason of my own mind is not quite to that effect. But I do say undoubtingly (let us think about other things, 'about the mind of the Nation and such like,' what we will), What the Parliament settles is what will run, 'and have currency,' through the Law; and will lead the thread of Government through this Land equally well as what hath been. For I consider that what hath been was upon the same account, 'by the same authority.' Save that there hath been some long continuance of the thing [This thing of Kingship], it is but upon the same account! It had its original somewhere! And it was with consent of the whole,—there is the original of it. And consent of the whole will 'still,' I say, be the needle that will lead the thread through all; [The same tailor-metaphor a second time.] and I think no man will pretend right against it, or wrong!

And if so, then, under favour to me, I think these arguments from the Law are all *not* as of *necessity*, but are to be understood as of *conveniency*. It is in your power to dispose and settle; and beforehand we can have confidence that what you do settle will be as authentic as the things that were of old,—especially as this individual thing, the Name or Title,—according to the Parliament's appointment. 'Is not this so? It is question not of necessity; we have power to settle it as conveniency directs.' Why then there will (with leave) be way made for me to offer a reason or two to the other considerations you adduced: otherwise, I say my mouth is stopped! [His Highness is plunging in deep brakes and imbroglios; hopes, however, that he now sees daylight athwart them.]

There are very many inforcements to carry on this thing. [Thing of the Kingship.] But I suppose it will 'have to' stand on its expediency —Truly I should have urged one consideration more which I forgot [Looks over his shoulder in the jungle, and bethinks him !],—namely the argument not of reason only, but of *experience*. It is a short one, but it is a true one (under favour), and is known to you all in the fact of it (under favour) [A damnable iteration; but too characteristic to be omitted]; That the Supreme Authority going by *another* Name and under another Title than that of King hath been, why it hath been already twice complied with! [Long Parliament, called "Keepers of the Liberties of England," found compliance; and now the "Protectorate" finds.] 'Twice:' under the *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*, and also since I exercised the place, it hath been complied with. And truly I may say that almost universal obedience hath been given by all ranks and sorts of men to both. Now this, 'on the part of both these Autho-

rities,' was a beginning with the highest degree of Magistracy at the first alteration; and 'at a time' when that 'Kingship' was the name 'established:' and the new Name, though it was the name of an invisible thing, the very Name, I say, was obeyed, did pass current, was received and did carry on the 'Public' Justice of the Nation. I remember very well, my Lords the Judges were somewhat startled: yet upon consideration,—if I mistake not,—I believe so,—they, there being among them (without reflection) as able and as learned as have sat there,—though they did I confess, at first, demur a little,—*they* did receive satisfaction, and did act, as I said before. [Untwist this extraordinary WITHE of a sentence; you will find it not inextricable, and very characteristic of Oliver!] And as for my own part [My own Protectorate], I profess I think I may say: Since the beginning of *that* change,—though I should be loath to speak anything vainly,—but since the beginning of that change to this day, I do not think there hath been a freer procedure of the Laws, not even in those years called, and not unworthily, the "Halcyon Days of Peace," from the Twentieth of Elizabeth to King James's and King Charles's time. I do not think but the Laws have proceeded with as much freedom and justice, and with less of private solicitation, since I came to the Government, as they did in those years so named,—'Halcyon.' I do not think, under favour,—[His Highness gets more emphatic]—that the Laws had a freer exercise, more uninterrupted by any hand of Power, in those years than now; or that the Judge has been less solicited by letters or private interpositions either of my own or other men's, in *double* so many years in all those times 'named' "of Peace!" [Sentence involving an incurable Irish-bull; the head of it eating the tail of it, like a Serpent-of-Eternity; but the meaning shining very clear through its contortions nevertheless!] And if more of my Lords the Judges were here than now are, they could tell us perhaps somewhat farther.[1]— — And, therefore, I say, under favour: These two Experiences do manifestly shew that it is not a *Title*, though never so interwoven with our Laws, that makes the Law to have its free passage and to do its office without interruption (as we venture to think it is now doing): 'not a Title, no;' and if a Parliament shall determine that another Name run through the Laws, I believe it will run with as free a passage as this 'of King ever did.' Which is all I have to say upon that head.

And if this be so, then truly other things may fall under a more indifferent consideration:[2] and so I shall arrive 'at the Second thing I had in view,' at some issue of answering for *myself* in this great matter. And all this while, nothing that I say doth any way determine as to my final resolution, or 'intimate any' thought against the Parliament's wisdom in this matter; but 'endeavoureth' really and honestly and plainly towards such an answer as may be fit for me to give. The Parliament desires to have this Title. It hath stuck with me, and doth yet stick. And truly, as I hinted the other day,[3] it seemed as if your arguments to me did partly give positive grounds for what was to be

[1] Reform of Chancery; improvements made in Law.

[2] "Other things," your other arguments, may lose a great deal of their formidable air of cogency, as if Necessity herself were backing them.

[3] Saturday last, day before Yesterday.

done, and partly comparative grounds; stating the matter as you were then pleased to do,—for which I gave no cause that I know of, that is, for comparing the effects of Kingship with those of such a Name as I at present bear, with 'those of' the Protectorship 'to wit.' I say I hope it will not be understood that I contend for the name; or for any name, or any thing 'of a merely extraneous nature;' but truly and plainly 'for the substance of the business,'—if I speak as in the Lord's presence; ay, in all right things, as a person under the disposal of the Providence of God,—neither "naming" one thing nor other; but only endeavouring to give fit answer as to this proposed Name or Title.[1] For I hope I do not desire to give a rule to anybody—'much less to the Parliament.' I professed I had not been able,—and I truly profess I have not yet been able,—to give a rule to myself 'in regard to your Proposal.' I would be understood in this. [Yes, your Highness. "That it is not doubt of the Parliament's wisdom; that it is not vain preference or postponence of one 'name' to another; but doubt as to the substantial expediency of the thing proposed, uncertainty as to God's will and monition in regard to it,—that has made and still makes me speak in this uncomfortable, haggling, struggling and wriggling manner. It is no easy thing forcing one's way through a jungle of such depth! An affair of Courtship moreover, which grows and has to grow by the very handling of it! I would not be misunderstood in this."]

I am a man standing in the Place I am in [Clearly, your Highness]; which Place I undertook not so much out of hope of doing any good, as out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil [Note this],—which I did see was imminent on the Nation. I say, we were running headlong into confusion and disorder, and would necessarily 'have' run into blood; and I was passive to those that desired me to undertake the Place which I now have. [With tones, with a look of sorrow, solemnity, and nobleness; the brave Oliver!] A Place, I say, not so much of doing good,—which a man lawfully *may*, if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience,—a man *may* (I say) lawfully, if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience; a man may lawfully, as the case may be (though it is a very tickle case), desire a Place to do good in! [Window once more into his Highness! "Tickle" is the old form of TICKLISH: "a tickle case indeed," his Highness candidly allows; yet a case which does occur,—shame and woe to him, the poor cowardly Pedant, tied up in cobwebs and tape-thrums, that neglects it when it does!] I profess I had not that apprehension, when I undertook the Place, that I could so much do good; but I did think I might prevent imminent evil.—And therefore I am not contending for one "name" compared with another;—and therefore have nothing to answer to any arguments that were used for preferring 'the name' Kingship to Protectorship. For I should almost think any "name" were better than my "Name;" and I should altogether think any person fitter than I am for such business; [Your Highness?—But St. Paul too professed himself "the chief of sinners,"—and has not been altogether thought to "cant" in doing so!]—and I compliment not, God knows it! But this I should say, That I do think,

[1] The original (*Somers*, vi. 368) unintelligible, illegible except with the powerfullest *lenses*, yields at last,—with some slight changes of the points and so forth,—this sense as struggling at the bottom of it.

you, in the settling of the peace and liberties of this Nation, which cries as loud upon you as ever Nation did for somewhat that may beget a consistence, 'ought to attend to that;' otherwise the Nation will fall in pieces! And in that, so far as I can, I am ready to serve not as a King but as Constable 'if you like!' For truly I have, as before God, often thought that I could not tell what my business was, nor what I was in the place I stood in, save comparing myself to a good Constable set to keep the peace of the Parish. [Hear his Highness!] And truly this hath been my content and satisfaction in the troubles I have undergone, That you yet have peace.

Why now, truly,—if I may advise,—I wish to God you may but be so happy as to keep the peace still![1] If you cannot attain to such perfection as to accomplish this 'that we are now upon,' I wish to God we may still have peace,—that I do! But "the fruits of righteousness" are shewn in "meekness;" a better thing than we are aware of!— —I say therefore, I do judge for myself there is no such necessity of this Name of King; for the other Names may do as well. I judge for myself. I must say a little (I think I have somewhat of conscience to answer as to the matter), why I cannot undertake this Name. [We are now fairly entered upon the Second head of method.] And truly I must needs go a little out of the way, to come to my reasons. And you will be able to judge of them when I have told you them. And I shall deal seriously, as before God.

If you do not all of you, I am sure some of you do, and it behoves me to say that I do, "know my calling from the first to this day." I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater; from my first being a Captain of a Troop of Horse; and did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust; and God blessed me 'therein' as it pleased Him. And I did truly and plainly,—and in a way of foolish simplicity, as it was judged by very great and wise men, and good men too,—desire to make my instruments help me in that work. And I will deal plainly with you: I had a very worthy Friend then; and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all,—Mr John Hampden. [Hear, hear;—a notable piece of History!] At my first going out into this engagement,[2] I saw our men were beaten at every hand. I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's Army, of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you; God knows I lie not.[3] "Your troops," said I, "are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and," said I, "their troops are Gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen,

1 If I may advise, I should say the purport and soul of our whole inquiry at present ought to be that of keeping the peace.

2 Enterprise.

3 A notable clause of a sentence, this latter too; physiognomic enough;—and perhaps very liable to be misunderstood by a modern reader. The old phrase, still current in remote quarters, "It's no lie," which signifies an emphatic and even courteous assent and affirmation, must be borne in mind.

that have honour and courage and resolution in them?" Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did tell him: "You must get men of a spirit: and take it not ill what I say,—I know you will not,—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go:—or else you will be beaten still." I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. [Very natural in Mr Hampden, if I recollect him well, your Highness! With his close thin lips, and very vigilant eyes; with his clear official understanding; lively sensibilities to "unspotted character," "safe courses," &c. &c. A very brave man; but formidably thick-quilted, and with pincer-lips, and eyes very vigilant. —Alas, there is no possibility for poor Columbus at any of the Public Offices, till once he become an Actuality, and say, "Here IS the America I was telling you of!"] Truly I told him I could *do* somewhat in it. I did so—'did this somewhat:' and truly I must needs say this to you, 'The result was,'—impute it to what you please,—I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did; [The Ironsides; yea!] and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually. [Yea!] And truly this is matter of praise to God:—and it hath some instruction in it, To own men who are religious and godly. And so many of them as are peaceably and honestly and quietly disposed to live within 'rules of' Government, and will be subject to those Gospel rules of obeying Magistrates and living under Authority—[Sentence catches fire abruptly, and explodes here]—I reckon no Godliness without that circle! Without that spirit, let it pretend what it will, it is diabolical, it is devilish, it is from diabolical spirits, from the depth of Satan's wickedness[1]—[Checks himself]—Why truly I need not say more than to apply all this[2] 'to the business we have in hand.'

I will be bold to apply this to our present purpose, because it is my all! I could say as all the world says, and run headily upon any thing; but I must tender this 'my present answer' to you as a thing that sways upon my conscience; or else I were a knave and a deceiver. 'Well;' I tell you there are such men in this Nation; godly men of the same spirit, men that will not be beaten down by a worldly or carnal spirit while they keep their integrity. And I deal plainly and faithfully with you, 'when I say;' I cannot think that God would bless an undertaking of anything, 'Kingship or whatever else,' which would, justly and with cause, grieve *them*. True, they may be troubled *without* cause;—and I must be a slave if I should comply with any such humour as that. [Leaves the matter open still!] But I say there are honest men and faithful men, true to the great things of the Government, namely the Liberty of the People, giving them what is due to them, and protecting this Interest (and I think verily God will bless you for what you have done in that)—[Sentence broken; try it

[1] Not "height of Jotham's wickedness," as the lazy Reporter has it. Jotham was not "wicked" at all (*Judges* c. 9). Nay the lazy Reporter corrects himself elsewhere,—if he had not been asleep! Compare p. 369 line 16, of *Somers*, with p. 385 line 2.

[2] "this" of my old proposal to Mr Hampden; and how good it is to "own men who are religious and godly."

another way]—But if I know, as indeed I do, that very generally good men do not swallow this Title,—though really it is no part of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a Parliament shall settle over them, yet I must say, it is my duty and my conscience to beg of you that there may be no hard things put upon me; things, I mean, hard to *them*, which they cannot swallow. [The Young Lady will and she will not!] If the Nation may be as well provided for without these things we have been speaking of [Kingships, &c.] as, according to my apprehension, it may,—'then' truly I think it will be no sin in you, it will be to you as it was to David in another case,[1] "no grief of heart in time coming," that you have a tenderness even possibly (if it be their weakness) to the weakness of those who have integrity and honesty and uprightness, and who are not carried away with the hurries I see some taken with—["A Standard lifted up," the other day!—We have had to turn the key upon them, in Chepstow, in the Tower and elsewhere]—that think their virtue lies in despising Authority, in opposing it! I think you will be the better able to root out of this Nation that 'disobedient' spirit and principle,—and to do so is as desirable as anything in this world,—by complying, indulging, and being patient to the weakness and infirmities of men who have been faithful, and have bled all along in this Cause;—and who *are* faithful, and will oppose all oppositions (I am confident of it) to the things that are Fundamentals in your Government, in your Settlement for Civil and Gospel Liberties. [Not ill said, your Highness; and really could not well be better thought!—The moral is; "As my old Ironsides, men fearing God, proved the successful soldiers; so in all things it is men fearing God, that we must get to enlist with us. Without these we are lost: with these, if they will be soldiers with us (not noisy mutineers like Wildman, Harrison and Company, but true soldiers, rational persons that will learn discipline),—we shall, as heretofore, hope to prevail against the whole world and the Devil to boot, and 'never be beaten at all,' no more than the Ironsides were. See, therefore, that you do not disaffect THEM. Mount no foolish cockade or Kingship which can convert THEM, rational obedient men, true in all essential points, into mutineers."]

I confess, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you—[Young Lady now flings a little weight into the other scale,—and the Sentence trips itself once or twice before it can get started]—I must confess I would say—I hope I may not be misunderstood in this, for indeed I must be tender in what I say to such an audience:—I say I would have it understood, That in this argument I do not make a parallel between men of a different mind, 'mere dissentient individuals,' and a Parliament, 'as to,' Which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison. Nor can it be urged upon me that my words have the least colour that way. For the Parliament seems to have given me liberty to say whatever is on my mind to you; as that 'indeed' is a tender of my humble reasons and judgment and opinion to *them:* and now if I think these objectors to the Kingship [2] are such 'as I describe,' and 'that they' will be such; 'if I think' that they are

[1] Nabal's and Abigail's case (1 Samuel, xxv. 31).

[2] "they" *in orig.*

faithful servants and will be so to the Supreme Authority, and the Legislative wheresoever it is,—if, I say, I should *not* tell you, knowing their minds to be so, then I should not be faithful. I am bound to tell it you, to the end you may report it to the Parliament. [Parliament very jealous lest the Army be thought of greater weight than it. We try to carry the scales even.]

I will now say something for *myself*. As for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words, or names, or such things. I have not 'hitherto clear direction'[1]—But as I have the Word of God, and I hope shall ever have, for the rule of my conscience, for my information and direction; so truly, if men have been led into dark paths [As this matter of the Kingship is to me even now; very "dark" and undecidable!] through the providence and dispensations of God—why surely it is not to be objected to a man? For who can *love* to walk in the dark? But Providence doth often so dispose. And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to Providence *sinfully*,—yet this must be at a man's own peril. The case may *be* that it is the Providence of God that doth lead men in darkness! I must needs say I have had a great deal of experience of Providence; and though such experience is no rule without or against the Word, yet it is a very good expositor of the Word in many cases. [Yes, my brave one!]

Truly the Providence of God hath laid aside this Title of King providentially *de facto:* and that not by sudden humour or passion; but it hath been by issue of as great deliberation as ever was in a Nation. It hath been by issue of Ten or Twelve Years Civil War, wherein much blood hath been shed. I will not dispute the justice of it when it was done; nor need I tell you what my opinion is in the case were it *de novo* to be done. [Somewhat grim expression of face, your Highness!] But if it be at all disputable; and a man comes and finds that God in His severity hath not only eradicated a whole Family, and thrust them out of the land, for reasons best known to Himself, but also hath made the issue and close of that to be the very eradication of a Name or Title—! Which *de facto* is 'the case.' It was not done by me, nor by them that tendered me the Government I now act in: it was done by the Long Parliament,—that was it.[2] And God hath seemed Providential, 'seemed to appear as a Providence,' not only in striking at the Family but at the Name. And, as I said before, it is blotted out: it is a thing cast out by an Act of Parliament; it hath been kept out to this day. And as Jude saith, in another case, speaking of abominable sins that should be in the Latter Times,[3]—he doth farther say, when he comes to exhort the Saints, he tells them,—they should "hate even the *garments* spotted with the flesh."[4]

I beseech you think not that I bring this as an argument to prove anything. God hath seemed so to deal with the Persons and the

[1] Coagulated Jargon (*Somers*, p. 370) is almost worth looking at here:—never was such a Reporter since the Tower of Babel fell.

[2] Oliverian republication of the phrase—accent on *was*.

[3] Very familiar with this passage of Jude; see Speech II. p. 532.

[4] Grammar a little imperfect. Really one begins to find Oliver would, as it were, have needed a *new* Grammar. Had all men been *Olivers*, what a different set of *rules* would Lindley Murray and the Governesses now have gone upon!

Family that He blasted the very Title. And you know when a man comes, *a parte post*, to reflect, and see this *done*, this Title laid in the dust,—I confess I can come to no other conclusion. ["But that God seems to have blasted the very Title;"—this, however, is felt to need some qualifying.] The like of this may make a strong impression upon such weak men as I am;—and perhaps upon weaker men (if there be any such) it will make a stronger. I will not seek to set up that which Providence hath destroyed, and laid in the dust; I would not build Jericho again! And this is somewhat to me, and to my judgment and my conscience. This, in truth, it is this that hath an awe upon my spirit. [Hear!] And I must confess, as the times are,—they are very fickle, very uncertain, nay God knows you had need have a great deal of faith to strengthen you in your work, you had need look at Settlement! —I would rather I were in my grave than hinder you in anything that may be for Settlement of the Nation. For the Nation needs it, never needed it more! And therefore, out of the love and honour I bear you, I am forever bound, whatever becomes of me, to do 'what is best for that;'—'and' I am forever bound to acknowledge you have dealt most honourably and worthily with me, and lovingly, and have had respect for one who deserves nothing.

Indeed, out of the love and faithfulness I bear you, and out of the sense I have of the difficulty of your work, I would not have you lose *any* help [Help of the Name "King;" help of the scrupulous Anti-King people:—it is a dark case!] that may serve you, that may stand in stead to you. I would willingly be a sacrifice [King, Protector, Constable, or what you like], that there might be, so long as God shall please to let this Parliament sit, a harmony, and better and good understanding between all of you. And,—whatever any man may think,—it equally concerns one of us as another to go on to Settlement: and where I meet with any that is of another mind, indeed I could almost curse him in my heart. And therefore, to deal heartily and freely I would have you lose nothing [Not even the Scrupulous.] that may stand you in stead in this way. I would advise, if there be 'found' any of a froward, unmannerly or womanish spirit,—I would not that you should lose them! I would not that you should lose any servant or friend who might help in this Work; that any such should be offended by a thing that signifies no more to me than I have told you it does. That is to say: I do not think the thing necessary; I do not. I would not that you should lose a friend for it. If I could help you to many 'friends,' and multiply myself into many, that would be to serve you in regard to Settlement! And therefore I would not that any, especially any of these who indeed perhaps are men that do think themselves engaged to continue with you, and to serve you, should be anywise disobliged from you.

'I have now no more to say.' The truth is, I did indicate this as my conclusion to you at the first, when I told you what method I would speak to you in.[1] I may say that I cannot, with conveniency to myself,

1 "This was my *second* head of method; all this about myself and my own feelings in regard to the Kingship,—after I had proved to you in my first head that it was not *necessary*, that it was only *expedient* or *not expedient*. I am now therefore got to the end of my second head to my conclusion."

nor good to this service which I wish so well to, speak out all my arguments as to the safety of your Proposal, as to its tendency to the effectual carrying on of this Work. [There are many angry suspicious persons listening to me, and every word is liable to different misunderstandings in every different narrow head!] I say, I do not think it fit to use all the thoughts I have in my mind as to that point of safety. But I shall pray to God Almighty that He would direct you to do what is according to His will. And this is that poor account I am able to give of myself in this thing.*

And so enough for Monday, which is now far spent: "till tomorrow at three o'clock"[1] let us adjourn; and diligently consider in the interim.

His Highness is evidently very far yet from having made up his mind as to this thing; the undeveloped Yes still balancing itself against the undeveloped No, in a huge dark intricate manner, with him. Unable to "declare" himself; there being in fact nothing to declare hitherto, nothing but what he does here declare,—namely darkness visible. An abstruse time his Highness has had of it, since the end of February, six or seven weeks now; all England sounding round him, waiting for his Answer. And he is yet a good way off the Answer. For it is a considerable question this of the Kingship: important to the Nation and the Cause he presides over; to himself not unimportant,—and yet to himself of very minor importance, my erudite friend! A Soul of a Man in right earnest about its own awful Life and Work in this world; much superior to "feathers in the hat," of one sort or the other, my erudite friend!—Of all which he gives here a candid and honest account; and indeed his attitude towards this matter is throughout, what towards other matters it has been, very manful and natural.

However, on the morrow, which is Tuesday, at three o'clock, the Committee cannot see his Highness; attending at Whitehall, as stipulated, they find his Highness indisposed in health;—are to come again to-morrow, Wednesday, at the same hour. Wednesday they come again; "wait for above an hour in the Council-Chamber;"—Highness still indisposed, "has got a cold:" Come again to-morrow, Thursday! "Which," says the writer of the thing called *Burton's Diary*, who was there, "did strongly build up the faith of the Contrariants,"—He will not dare to accept, think the Contrariants. The Honourable House in the meanwhile has little to do but denounce that Shoreditch Fifth-Monarchy Pamphlet, the *Standard set up*, which seems to be a most incendiary piece;—and painfully adjourn and re-adjourn, till its Committee do get answer. A most slow business;—and the hopes of the Contrariants are rising.

Thursday, 16th April 1657, Committee attending for the third time, the Interview does take effect: Six of the Grandees, Glyn, Lenthall, Colonel Jones, Sir Richard Onslow, Fiennes, Broghil, Whitlocke, take up in their order the various objections of his Highness's former Speech of Monday last, and learnedly rebut the same,—in a learned and to us insupportably wearisome manner; fit only to be entirely omitted

* Somers Tracts, vi. 365-371.

[1] Burton, ii. 2.

Whitlocke urges on his Highness That, in refusing this Kingship, he will do what never any that were actual Kings of England did, reject the advice of his Parliament.[1] Another says, It is his duty; let him by no means shrink from his duty!—Their discoursings, if any creature is curious on the subject, can be read at great length in the distressing pages of *Somers*,[2] and shall be matter of imagination here. His Highness said, These were weighty arguments; give him till to-morrow to think of them.[3] "To-morrow at three: *spero!*" says the writer of the thing called *Burton's Diary*, who is not one of the Contrariants.

SPEECH XII.

ALAS, to-morrow at three his Highness proves again indisposed; which doth a little damp our hopes, I fancy! Let us appoint Monday morning: Monday ten o'clock, "at the old place," Chamber of the Council-of-State in Whitehall. And so, on Monday 20th April, 1657, at the set place and hour, the Committee of Ninety-nine is once more in attendance, and his Highness speaks,—answering our arguments of Thursday last, and indicating still much darkness.

'MY LORDS,'

I have, as well as I could, considered the arguments used by you, the other day, to enforce your conclusion as to that Name and Title, which has been the subject of various Debates and Conferences between us. I shall not now spend your time nor my own much, in recapitulating those arguments, or giving answers to them. Indeed I think they were 'mainly' but the same we formerly had, only with some additional inforcements by new instances: and truly, at this rate of debate, I might spend your time, which I know is very precious; and unless I were 'to end in being' a satisfied person, the time would spin out, and be very unprofitably spent,—so it would. I will say a word or two to that only which I think was new.

'You were pleased to say some things as to the power of Parliament, as to the force of a Parliamentary sanction in this matter.'[4] What comes from the Parliament in the exercise of their Legislative power, as this Proposal does,—I understand this to be an exercise of the *Legislative* power, and the Laws formerly were always passed in this way 'of Proposal or Conference,' and the way of Bills is of a newer date,—I understand that, I say; but — — [In short, the Sentence falls prostrate, and we must start again.]—You said "that what was done by the Parliament now, and simply made to hang upon this Legislative power, 'as any Title but that of King will do,' might seem partly as if it were a thing *ex dono*, not *de jure*; a thing that had not the same weight, nor the same strength, as if it bore a reference to 'the general Body of' the Law that is already in being." I confess there is some argument in that,—that is there! But if the degree of strength will be as good without Parliamentary sanction, 'then'—[Sentence pauses, never gets started again.] — — Though *it* too, 'this Title of Kingship,' comes as a gift from you! I mean as a thing which you either provide for the people or else it will never come to them; so in a sense it comes from

[1] Somers, p. 386. [2] Ibid. vi., 371-387. [3] Burton, ii. 5.
[4] Glyn, Lenthall, Broghil, Whitlocke, (*Somers*,' pp. 371.2, 384-6.

you, it is what *they* cannot otherwise arrive at; therefore in a sense it is *ex dono;* for whoever helps a man to what he cannot otherwise attain, doth an act that is very near a gift; and you helping *them* to this Title, it were a kind of gift to them, since otherwise they could not get it 'though theirs'—[This Sentence also finds that it will come to nothing, and so calls halt.]—But if you do it simply by your Legislative power—[Halt again.—In what bottomless imbroglios of Constitutional philosophy and crabbed Law-logic, with the Fifth-Monarchy and splenetic Contrariants looking on, is his poor Highness plunging! A ray of natural sagacity now rises on him with guidance.]—The question, "What makes such a thing as this more firm?" is not the manner of the settling of it, or the manner of your 'or another's' doing of it; there remains always the grand question after that; the grand question lies, In the *acceptance* of it by those who are concerned to yield obedience to it and accept it! [Certainly, your Highness; that is worth all the Law-logic in the world!] And therefore if a thing [Like this Protectorate, according to your argument,—not altogether to mine] hath but, for its root, your Legislative sanction — — If I may put a "But" to it, 'to that most valid sanction!'. I will not do so: for I say, It is as good a foundation as that other, 'which you ascribe to the Kingship, howsoever "grounded in the body of Law."' And if that thing, 'that Protectorate' be as well accepted, and the other be less well—? Why, then truly *it*, I shall think, is the better;—and then all that I say is founded upon Law too!—

Your arguments founded upon the Law do all make for the Kingship. Because, say you, it doth agree with the Law; the Law knows,—the People know it, and are likelier to receive satisfaction that way. Those were arguments that have ["had" is truer, but less polite] been used already; and truly I know nothing that I have to add to them. And therefore, I say, those arguments also may stand as we found them and left them already;—except, truly, this 'one point.' It hath been said to me [Saluting my Lord Whitlocke slightly with the eye, whose heavy face endeavours to smile in response] that I am a person who meditate to do what never any that were actually Kings of England did: "Refuse the Advice of Parliament." I confess, that runs deep enough, 'that runs' to all; that may be accounted a very great fault in me; and may rise up in judgment against me another time,—if my case be not different from any man's that ever was in the Chief Command and Government of these Nations before. But truly I think, all they that have been in this Office before, and owned in right of Law, were inheritors coming to it by birthright,—or if owned by the Authority of Parliament, they yet had some previous pretence of title or claim to it. And so, under favour, I think I deserve less blame than any of them would have done, if I cannot so well comply with this Title, and 'with' the desire of Parliament in regard to it, as these others might do. For they when they were *in*, would have taken it for an injury *not* to be in. Truly such an argument, to *them*, might be very strong, Why they should not refuse what the Parliament offered! But 'as for me,' I have dealt plainly with you: and I have not complimented with you 'in saying' I have not desired, I have no title to, the Government of these

Nations. 'No title,' but what was taken up in a case of necessity, and as a temporary means to meet the actual emergency; without which we must needs—[Have gone you know whither!]—I say we had been all 'topsy-turvying now' at the rate of the Printed Book 'you have just got hold of' [Shoreditch STANDARD SET UP, and Painted Lion there], and at the rate of those men that have been seized going into arms,—if that expedient had not been taken! That was visible to me as the day, unless I undertook it. And so, it being put upon me, I being then General, as I was General by Act of Parliament,—it being 'put' upon me to take the power into my hand after the Assembly of Men that was called together had been dissolved— —["I took it, as you all know:" but his Highness blazing off here, as his wont is when that subject rises, the Sentence explodes]— ! —

Really the thing would have issued itself in this Book:—for the Book I am told, knows an Author [Harrison, they say, is Author]; he was a Leading Person in that Assembly! And now when I say (I speak in the plainness and simplicity of my heart, as before Almighty God), I did out of necessity undertake that 'Business,' which I think no man but myself would have undertaken,—it hath pleased God that I have been instrumental in keeping the peace of the Nation to this day. And have kept it under a Title [Protector] which, some say, signifies but a keeping of it to another's use—to a better use; 'a Title' which may improve it to a better use! And this I may say: I have not desired the continuance of my power or place either under one Title or another,—that have I not! I say it: If the wisdom of the Parliament could find where to place things so as they might save this Nation and the Interests of it,—the Interest of the People of God in the first place; of those Godly honest men,—for such a character I reckon them by, who live in the fear of God, and desire to hold forth the excellency 'of Christ' and a Christian course in their life and conversation—[Sentence may be said to burst asunder here for the present, but will gather itself together again perhaps!] I reckon *that* proceeds from Faith, and 'from' looking to our duties towards Christians, and our humanity to men as men; and to such Liberties and Interests as the People of this Nation are of:—and 'I' do look upon that as a standing truth of the Gospel; and whoso lives up to that is a Godly Man in my apprehension! [Looks somewhat animated.]— —And therefore I say, If the wisdom of this Parliament,—I speak not this vainly or as a fool, but as to God,—if the wisdom of this Parliament should have found a way to settle the Interests of this Nation, upon the foundations of justice and truth and liberty, to the people of God, and concernments of men as Englishmen [Voice risen into a kind of recitative],—I would have lain at their feet, or at anybody else's feet, that things might have run in such a current! [Your Highness can't get out; no place for you now but here or in the grave! —His Highness fetches a deep breath.]—I say I have no pretensions to things for myself; to ask this or that, or to avoid this or that. I know the censures of the world may quickly pass upon me, 'and are already passing:' but I thank God I know where to lay the weight that is laid upon me,—I mean the weight of reproach and contempt and scorn that hath been cast upon me! [Ends, I think, in a kind of snort,—and the look partly as of an injured dove, partly as of a couchant lion.]—

I have not offered you any Name in competition with Kingship. I know the evil spirits of men may easily obtrude upon a man, That he would have a Name which the Laws know not, and which is boundless and is one under which he may exercise more arbitrariness: but I know there is nothing in that argument; and if it were in your thoughts to offer any name of that kind, I think, whatsoever it was, you would bound it and limit it sufficiently. I wish it were come to that, That no favour should be shewed to me; but that the good of these Nations should be consulted;—as 'indeed' I am confident it will be by you in whatsoever you do.—But I may say a word to another thing which doth a little pinch upon me: That it is my duty 'to accept this Title.' I think it can be no man's duty but between God and himself, if he be conscious of his own infirmities, disabilities and weakness; 'conscious that he perhaps is not able to encounter with it,—although he may have a little faith too, for a little exercise. I say I do not know what way it can be imputed to me for a fault, or laid upon me as a duty. Except I meant to gripe at the Government of the Nations without a legal consent,—as I say I have done in time past upon principles of Necessity, 'but have no call now to do again.' And I promise I shall think whatever is done towards Settlement, without authority of Parliament, will neither be very honest, nor to me very comprehensible at this stage of the business. I think we have fought for the Liberties of the Nation and for other Interests!—[Checks himself.]—

You will pardon me that I speak these things in such a 'desultory' way as this. I may be borne withal, because I have not truly well stood the exercise that hath been upon me these three or four days,—I have not, I say. [Besides your Highness is suffering from the dregs of a cold, and I doubt still somewhat feverish!]—I have told you my thoughts, and have laid them before you. You have been pleased to give me your grounds, and I have given you mine. And truly I do purposely refuse to mention those arguments that were used when ye were last here; but rather tell you what since (as I say) lies upon my heart,—'speaking to you' out of the abundance of difficulty and trouble that lies upon me. [His Highness, sick of body, feverish, unequal to such a jungle of a subject and its adjuncts, is really weltering and staggering like a wearied man, in the thickets and puddles.] And therefore you having urged me, I mean offered reasons to me, and urged them in such way as did occur to you; and I having told you, the last time we met, that the satisfaction from them did not reach to me so as wholly to convince me of my duty,—I have thought rather to answer today by telling you my grief, and the trouble I am under. [Poor Sovereign Man!]

And truly my intentions and purposes, they are honest to the Nation,—and shall be, by the Grace of God. And I have it *not* in view, upon collateral pretences, 'either by asking this Kingship or by refusing it'—to act towards things that may be destructive to the liberties of this Nation! ["I am worn and weary; let me be as clay in the hands of the potter!"]——Any man may give me leave *to die;* every one may give me leave to be as a dead man,—when God takes away the spirit and life and activity that are necessary for the carrying on of such a

work! [Poor Highness, still somewhat feverish, suffering from the dregs of a cold!]—

And therefore I do leave the former Debates as they were, and as we had them;—and will let you know that I have looked a little upon the Paper [Petition and Advice], the Instrument, I would say, in the other parts of it, 'unconnected with this of the Kingship.' And considering that there are very many particulars in this Instrument [Holding it in his hand], some of a general reference and others specific, and all of weight (let this business of the Title be decided as it may) to the concernment of the Nations,—I think I may desire that those 'particulars' may be really such as will serve their object,—let the "Title" we *fix* upon be one or the other. They might be such as the People have no cause—[Sentence checking itself]—But I am confident your care and faithfulness need neither a spur nor an admonition to that!—I say reading in your Order, the Order of the Parliament to this Committee, I find mention there of "divers particulars," concerning which, if I do make any scruple of them, I am to have the freedom with this Committee to cast[1] my doubts.

The truth of it is, I have a Paper here in my hands[2] that doth contain divers things with relation to the Instrument; which, I hope, have a Public aspect in them; therefore I cannot presume but they will be very welcome to you. Therefore I shall desire that you will read them. [Hands Whitlocke the Paper.] I should desire, if it please you, the liberty,—which I submit to your judgment whether you think I have or no,—that I might tender these few things; and some others which I have in preparation. And truly I shall reduce them to as much brevity as I can:—they are too large here, 'these in the Paper are diffuse.'[3] And if it please you, Tomorrow in the afternoon at three o'clock I may meet you again. And I hope we shall come to know one another's minds; and shall agree to that that may be for the glory of God and for the good of these nations.*

So much for Monday the 20th;—noontide and the hour of dinner being now nigh. Herewith *exeunt* till tomorrow at three.

We returned "much unsatisfied with the Lord Protector's Speech," says the Writer of *Burton;* it is "as dark and promiscuous as before;" nobody can know whether he will have the Kingship or not. Sometimes the "Contrariants" are up in hope, and sometimes again we,[4]—and the bets, if betting were permitted under Gospel Ordinances, would fluctuate not a little.

Courage, my Lord Protector! Blake even now, though as yet you know it not, is giving the Spaniards a terrible scorching for you, in the Port of Santa Cruz!—Worth noting: In those very minutes while the Lord Protector is speaking as above, there goes on far off, on the Atlantic brine, under shadow of the Peak of Teneriffe, one of the fieriest

[1] canvass, shake out.

[2] A paper of Objections by his Highness; repeatedly alluded to in the Journals; "unhappily altogether lost now," say the Parliamentary History, and the Editor of *Burton*,—not very unhappily, say my readers and I.

[3] He gave them the complete Paper *on the morrow* (Burton, ii. 7).

* Somers, vi. 387-389.

[4] See Burton, ii. 7 *et seqq.*

actions ever fought by land or water; this action of the Sea-king Blake, at the Port of Santa Cruz. The case was this. Blake cruising on the coast of Spain, watching as usual for Plate Fleets, heard for certain that there was a Fleet actually coming, actually come as far as the Canary Isles, and now lying in the Bay of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe there. Blake makes instant sail thither; arrives there still in time, this Monday morning early; finds the Fleet fast moored in Santa Cruz Bay; rich silver-ships, strong war-ships, sixteen as we count them; stronger almost than himself,—and moored here under defences unassailable apparently by any mortal. Santa Cruz Bay is shaped as a horse-shoe: at the entrance are Castles, in the inner circuit are other Castles, Eight of them in all, bristling with great guns; war-ships moored at the entrance, war frigates moored all round the beach, and men and gunners at command: one great magazine of sleeping thunder and destruction: to appearance, if you wish for sure suicide to run into, this must be it. Blake, taking measure of the business, runs into it, defying its loud thunder; much out-thunders it, mere whirlwinds of fire and iron hail, the old Peak never heard the like;—silences the Castles, sinks or burns every sail in the Harbour; annihilates the Spanish Fleet; and then, the wind veering round in his favour, sails out again, leaving Santa Cruz Bay much astonished at him.[1] It is the last action of the brave Blake; who, worn out with toil and sickness and a cruise of three years, makes homewards shortly after; dies within sight of Plymouth.[2]

On the whole, the Spanish Antichrist finds his Highness a rough enemy. In these same April days, Six-thousand men are getting mustered here, "furnished with new red coats" and other equipments, to join French Turenne in the Low Countries, and fight the Spaniard by land too. For our French Treaty has become a French League Offensive and Defensive,[3] to last for one year; and Reynolds is to be Land-General, and Montague to help him as Sea-General: of whom by and by there may be tidings.—But meanwhile this matter of the Kingship must be settled. All men wish it settled; and the present Editor as much as any! They have to meet tomorrow again, Tuesday 21st, at three o'clock: they for their uncertain airy talking, while so much hard fighting and solid work has to be managed withal.

SPEECH XIII.

His Highness this Tuesday, we find, has deserted the question of the Kingship; occupies himself with the other points of the New Instrument, what he calls the "essentials" of it; leaving that comparatively empty unessential one to hang undecided, for the present. The Writer of *Burton's Diary*, Nathaniel Bacon or another, is much disappointed. The question of the Kingship not advanced a whit by this long Discourse, one of the most tedious we have yet listened to from his Highness. "Nothing but a dark speech," says he,[4] "more promiscuous than before!"—A sensible Speech too, in some respects, Mr. Bacon. His Highness once more elucidates as he best can his past conduct, and the course of Providence in bringing us all hither to the very respectable

[1] Heath's Chronicle, pp. 720, 1. [2] 7 Aug. 1657, in his Fifty-ninth year (Biog. Brit. *in voce*).
[3] Signed 23 March 1656-7 (Godwin, iv. 540). [4] Burton, ii. 7.

pass we now stand in ;—explains next what are the *essential* elements of keeping us safe here, and carrying as farther, as checking of Public Immorality, attention wiser and wiser to the Preaching Clergy, and for one indispensable thing, additional Provision of Cash ;—and terminates by intimating with soft diffuseness, That when he has heard their answer as to these essential things (not that he makes them "conditions," that were terribly ill-judged !), he will then be prepared, in regard to unessential things, to King's Cloaks, Titles, and such-like frippery and feathers in the cap, which are not without use say the Lawyers, but which irritate weak brethren,—to give such answer as may reasonably be expected from him, as God may set him free to do.—Let us listen, us and Whitlocke who also has to report, the best we can.

MY LORD,

I think you may well remember what the issue was of the last Conference I had with you 'yesterday,' and what the stick[1] then was. I confess I took liberty 'at that time,' from the Order of Parliament ; whereby they give me power to speak with you about those things that were in the body of that Instrument and Desire which you have been pleased to speak with me 'upon ;' that I might confer with you about those particulars, and might receive satisfaction from you as to them. Whether there will a good issue be to all these affairs or no, is only in the hands of God. That is a great secret ;—and secrets belong to God. To us belong things revealed ;—and such things are the subject-matter of this Instrument of yours : and 'the course is,' so far as they may have relation to me, That you and I shall consider what may be for the public good 'therein,' that so they may receive such an impression[2] as can humanly be given them.

I would be well understood in that I say, The former Debates and Conferences have been upon the Title ; and that rests as it did. But seeing, as I said before, your Order of Commitment, 'your Order to Committee,' doth as well reach to the particulars contained in the Instrument 'generally' as to that of the Title,—I did offer to you that I should desire to speak with you about *them* also. That so we may come to an understanding one with another, not What the things in their parts are, but What is in the whole conduceable to that end we ought all to aim at,—which is a general Settlement upon good foundations.

Truly, as I have often said to the Parliament itself when they did me the honour to meet me in the Banqueting-House, so I may now say to you who are a Committee, a very considerable representation of the Parliament : I am hugely taken with the word *Settlement ;* with the thing, and with the notion of it. 'And indeed' I think he is not worthy to live in England who is not ! No ; I will do my part, so far as I am able, to expel that man out of the Nation who desireth not that in the general we come to a Settlement. Because indeed it is the great misery and unhappiness of a Nation to be without such : it is like a house (and so much worse than a "house") divided against itself ; it "cannot stand" without Settlement !—And therefore I hope, so far, we are all at a good point ; and the spirit of the Nation, I hope in the generality of

[1] stop. [2] impulse and decision.

it, is so far at a good point: we are all contending for *a* Settlement. That is sure. But the question is, *De modo*, and Of those things 'and conditions' that will make it a good Settlement if possible. It's no fault to aim at perfection in Settlement! And truly I have said, and I say it again: That I think this 'present proposed Form of Settlement' doth tend to the making of the Nation enjoy the things we have 'all along' declared for; and I would come upon that issue with all men, or with any man. The things we have declared for, which have been the ground of our quarrelling and fighting all along,—the securing of these is what will accomplish the general work. Settlement is the general work. That which will give to the Nation to enjoy their civil and religious liberties; that which will conserve the liberties of every man, and not rob any man of what is justly his! I think these two things make up Settlement. I am sure they acquit us before God and man; having endeavoured, as we have done, through some streamings of blood, to attain that end.

I may tell you my 'own' experience in this business, and offend no good man who loves the Public before what is personal. Truly I shall, a little, shortly recapitulate to you what my observations and endeavours and interest have been to this end. And I hope no man that hath been interested in transactions all along[1] will blame me. And he shall have no cause to blame me: because I will take myself into the number of the Culpable Persons (if there be any such),—though perhaps apt enough, from the self-love I have, to be willing to be 'reckoned' innocent where I am so! And yet as willing withal to take my reproach, if anybody will lay it upon me, where I am culpable! And truly I have, through the Providence of God, endeavoured to discharge a poor duty; having had, as I conceive, a clear call to the stations I have acted in through all these affairs;—and I believe very many are sufficiently satisfied in that. I shall not go about saying anything to clear it to you; [No, your Highness, let it stand on its own feet.]—but must exercise myself in a little short Chronology. To come to that 'issue,' [Not the "Chronology," but what the Chronology will help to teach us!] I say, is really all our business at present; and the business of this Nation: To come upon clear grounds; To consider the Providence of God, how He has led us hitherunto.

After it pleased God to put an end to the War of this Nation; a final end; which was done at Worcester, in the determination and decision that was there by the hand of God,—for other War we have had none that deserves the name of War, since that time, which is now six years gone September 'last;'—I came up to the Parliament that then was. And truly I found the Parliament, as I thought, very 'well' disposed to put a good issue to all those Transactions which had been in the Nation; and I rejoiced at it. And though I had not been well skilled in Parliamentary affairs, having been near ten years in the Field; yet, in my poor measure, my desires did tend to the same issue; believing verily that all the blood which had been shed, and all the distemper which God had suffered to be among us, which in some sense God had raised among us,—'believing, I say,' that surely Fighting was not the

[1] Not polite to add, "as I have been."

end, but the *means*, which had an end, and was in order to somewhat! Truly the end, then, was, I thought, Settlement; that is, that men might come to some consistencies. And to that end I did endeavour to add my mite,—which was no more than the interest any one mem r there might have, after I was returned again to that capacity. And I did,—I shall tell you no fable, b things 'of' which divers persons here can tell whether they be true or no, [Threatening to blaze up again?]—I did endeavonr it. I would make the best interpretation of all that: but yet it is a truth, and nothing of a discovery on my part, but a fact which everybody knows to be true, That the Parliament, having done those memorable things—[Sentence explodes; and even launches off into a panegyric of the Long Parliament,—preparatory to EXECUTION]—They had done things of honour, and things of necessity; things which, if at this day you have any judgment that there lieth a possibility upon you to do any good, and to bring this Nation to any foot of Settlement, I may say you are all along, in a good manner, beholden to that Parliament 'for.' But yet truly as men who contend for the Public Interest are not like to have the applause of all men, nor justification from all hands, so it was with them. And truly, when they had made preparations which might have led to the issuing in some good for the Settlement of these Nations, in point of liberty, in point of freedom from tyranny and oppression and from hazard of our religion,—To throw it all away upon men who designed by innovations to introduce Popery, and by complying with some notions introduce Arbitrariness upon a Civil account—["Royalist Malignants, in 1647, 1648, and Crypto-Royalists; with their 'notions' that of all things indispensable, a Stuart King was indispensablest? That would never have done! The Long Parliament did need a Pride's Purge; could not"—But the Sentence here, in its hasty impatience, as is usual, bursts]—Why they had more enemies than friends, 'that Long Parliament had;' they had so all along! And this made them careful, [In 1648, trying to bargain with Charles, they were "full of care;" and even afterwards they could not decide all at once on granting a new Free Parliament and General Election; no!]—upon principles of Nature, which do sometimes suggest the best. And upon the most undeniable grounds, they did think that it was not fit for them presently to go and throw themselves, and all this Cause, into hands that perhaps had no heart nor principle 'in common' with them to accomplish the end *they* had aimed at. [In short, they, very properly, decided on sitting still for a while.]

I grant, perhaps through infirmity they did desire to have continued themselves; to have perpetuated themselves upon that Act.[1] An Act which was justly enough obtained, and necessarily enough obtained, when they did get it from the King. But though truly it was good in the first obtaining of it; yet it was, by most men who had ventured their lives in this Cause, judged not fit to be perpetuated, but rather a thing that was to have an end when it had finished its course! Which was certainly the true way of doing,—in subserviency to the bringing-in of what might be a good and honest

[1] Act, 10 May, 1641, That we are not to be dissolved without our own consent. Necessary in all ways; the City would not lend money otherwise,—not even money could be had otherwise (*Antea*, vol. i. p. 88).

Settlement to the Nation.—I must say to you that I found them very willing to perpetuate themselves! And truly this is not a thing of reflection upon *all*, for perhaps some were not so;—I can say it of some. The sober men whom I had converse with, were not for continuing; but the major part, I think, did overrule in-that they would have continued. This is true that I say to you: I was entreated to comply with the plan, and advised to it; and it was to have been accomplished by this medium, 'They were' to have sent into the country to have got their number reinforced, and the Parliament filled up by new elections. And it had this excuse, That it would not be against the Liberty of the People, nor against a *succession* of men coming into rule and government; because as men died out of the House, so they should be supplied again. [Like Sir John Cockle's silk hose; which always, after infinite darnings, could remain the same hose, though not a thread of the original silk was now left in them: a perennial pair of stockings. Such was the plan of the Rump.] And this was the best answer they could give to all objections, 'this,' "That the proper way to govern is to have *successive* men in such great bodies as Parliaments; to have men learning to know how to obey as well as how to govern."[1] And truly the expedient they then offered was what I tell you.

The truth of it is, this did not satisfy a company of poor men, [Certain insignificant individuals,—mentioned elsewhere by the same name!] who thought they had ventured their lives, and had some interest to inquire after these things! And the rather, because really they had been invited out, 'first of all, into this War,' upon principles of honesty, conscience and religion; "for Spiritual Liberties;" as many as would come. 'Yes;' when the Cause was a little doubtful, there had issued forth a Declaration 'of that purport,' which was very inviting; and men did come in 'and enlist' upon that invitation;—and did thereby think themselves not to be mercenary men, but men who had wives and children in the Nation, and 'who' therefore might a little look after satisfaction in what would be the Issue of the Business! [They told us always, We were soldiers, sworn as our first duty to obey; but we answered (and it was intrinsically a fact), We were the most peculiar Soldiers that had ever handled steel in England; whereby our first, and also our second and third, duties had become modified a good deal!]

And when this thing was thus pressed, and perhaps overpressed 'by us,' That a period might be put, and some ascertainment made, and a time fixed,—why then truly the extreme ran another way. '*Parliament would not go at all*, that had been the one extreme; *Parliament shall go straightway*, that was now the other.' This is very true that I tell you; although it shame me. 'Extremes give rise to their opposite extremes; and are honourable to nobody!' I do not say it shames all that were of the House, for I know all were not of that mind; but truly when this was urged, they on their side did fall into another extreme. And what was that? Why truly then it was: Seeing this Parliament could not be perpetual, yet *a* Parliament might always be sitting. And to that end there was a Bill framed, That Parliaments might always be sitting; that

[1] The "Rota *Club*" (see Wood, iv. 1119, 1120, sec. Harrington) had not started in 1653, but this doctrine, it would seem, was already afloat;—not much patronised by his Highness at any time.

as soon as one Parliament went out of place, another might leap in.[1] When we saw this, truly we thought it did but make a change in pretence; and did not remedy the thing!—However, it was pursued with such heat 'in the House,' I dare say there was more progress in it in a month than had ever been with the like business in four; 'so eager were they' to hasten it to an issue, to get such a Parliament brought in;—to bring the state of the Nation into this, *A continual sitting of Parliament.*

We did think, who were plain men, and I do think it still, That that had been, according to the old foolish proverb, "out of the frying-pan into the fire!" For, looking at the Government you would then have had, it was 'still' a "Commonwealth's" Government. [Not entirely the Ideal of a Government, your Highness thinks?] Why, we should have had fine work then! We should have had a Council of State, and a Parliament of Four-hundred men, executing arbitrary government [As the Long Parliament did] without intermission, except some change of a part of them; one Parliament stepping into the seat of another, just left warm for them; the same day that the one left, the other was to leap in!—Truly I did think, and I do think, however much some are enamoured with that kind of Government—[Style getting hasty, hot; the Sentence breaks]— —Why it was no more but this, That Committees of Parliament should take 'all' upon them, and be instead of the Courts at Westminster! Perhaps some will think there had been no hurt in that arbitrariness of Committees? Where a man can neither come to prove nor to defend,—nor to know his judges; because there are one set of men who judge him to-day, and another set of men to-morrow! Thus was to have been the Law of England; and thus was to have been the way of judging this Nation. And truly I thought that it was an ill way of "judging." For I may say to you, with truth in regard to that, After it pleased God, your poor Army, those poor contemptible men, came up hither,—it did prove so. An outcry here in this place, 'then an outcry there in that,' to get some cause determined and judged. [The way of Parliaments, your Highness, with their caballings and committeeings, and futile jargonings, and Babel outbabbled!] And Committees erected to fetch men from the extremest parts of the Nation to London, to attend Committees 'set' to determine all things. And without any manner of satisfaction. Whether a man travel with never such right or never such wrong, he must come,—and he must go back again, as wise as he came. This truly was the case [Fancy an old Ironside who had stood Dunbar and Worcester, and Marston and Naseby, dancing attendance here!], and our condition. And truly I must needs say, Take all that was in the practices there,—[Better not, your Highness!]—I am sorry to tell the story of it!—Though there was indeed some necessity for such a thing. A necessity for some Committees to

[1] This arrangement, of a Parliament constantly sitting, his Highness and the company of poor men did by no means consider a good "Issue of the Business. It leads almost infallibly to "arbitrariness," argues his Highness (*Antea*, Speech III. pp 548.), leads to &c. &c.—in fact, as in these days of ours is everywhere becoming too apparent, leads to "Nothing," to self-cancelment (like that of the Kilkenny Cats) and peaceable *Zero*. Which in very few epochs of the world's history is the desirable thing! His Highness's logic-arguments, here and in his other Speech, are none of the best; but instincts and inarticulate insights much deeper than logic taught him well that "a Parliament always sitting" was not the Balm of Gilead we had all been fighting for.

look to Indemnity, 'and such like:' but no necessity for Committees instead of Courts of Justice! However, so it was; and this was the case of the People of England at that time; the Parliament assuming to itself the authority of the *Three* Estates that were before. It had so assumed that authority: and if any man had come and said, "What rules do you judge by?"—"Why, we have none! We are supreme, 'we, in Legislature and in Judicature!"

Such was the state of the case. And I thought, and we thought, and I think so still, That this was a pitiful remedy, 'this that they proposed.' [This of a Perpetual Parliament, *new-darned*, like Sir John's Perpetual Pair of Stockings:—a bad article in itself, whether new or new-darned, if you make it the exclusive one!] And it will always be so when and whensoever a Perpetual Legislative is exercised; where the Legislative and Executive Powers are always the same.—Truly I think the Legislature might almost as well be in the Four Courts of Westminster Hall! If they could make Laws and Judges too, you would have excellent Laws: and the Lawyers would be able to give excellent counsel! And so it was then. This was our condition, without scruple or doubt; and I shall say no more to it. But the offer was made by us with a true and honest spirit; the desire, the entreaty that we might have a Settlement. And there is our "Settlement:" that is what they propose for a Settlement!—

It was desired then, it was offered and desired, that the Parliament would be pleased, either of their own body or of any else to choose a certain number of men [The Puritan Notables; ah yes!] to settle the Nation: "This," said we, "is unsettlement, this is confusion!" For give me leave, if any body now have the face to say,—and I would die upon this [Sentence catching fire]—if any man in England have the impudence [Ah!] or face to say, That the reluctance of the Parliament to dissolve themselves was their fear of hasty throwing of the Liberties of the People of God, and of the Nation, into the hands of a bare Representative of the People,—which was then the business *we* opposed: if any man have the face to say this *now*, who did *then* judge it, 'that last measure of theirs,' and I will say more, ought then to have judged it, to be a confounding of the whole Cause we had fought for,—which it was,—I would look upon that man's face! I would be glad to see such a man![1] I do not say there is any such here: but if any such should come to me,—see if I would not look upon him, and tell him he is an hypocrite! I dare say it, and I dare die for it, 'he is an hypocrite;'—knowing the spirit that hath been in some men to me. They come and tell me, They do not like my being Protector. Why do you not?—"Why, because you will exercise arbitrary government."—Why, what is it you want me to do?—"Pray, turn those Gentlemen 'of the Long Parliament'

[1] A dangerous spectator, your Highness, with that thundery countenance of yours!—His Highness's anger is exceedingly clear; but the cause of it, in this intricate sentence, much more in the distracted coagulum of jargon which the Original here offers, is by no means so clear. On intense inspection, he discovers himself to be (as above) reproaching certain parties who now affect to regret the Long Parliament, which while it existed they had been sufficiently loud in condemning. You say: "They were afraid to fling the whole Cause into the lottery of a general Parliament:"—*They*? while *we* opposed that; and while that was the very thing they at last were recklessly doing! I should like to see the face of a man brazen enough for a story like this!

all in again; then we will like you exceedingly well!"—[Inarticulate interjection; snort or "Humph!"]—I was a child in swaddling clouts![1] I cannot go beyond the Instrument of Government. I cannot do anything but in coordination with the Council. They fear, 'these objectors, "arbitrary government" by *me* in that way; but if arbitrary government were restored to be general 'by reinstatement of the Long Parliament,' then they are not afraid of it! Such things as these are, such hypocrisies as these are, should they enter into the heart of any man that hath truth or honesty in him?——

Truly that was our case:—and finding our case to be thus, we did press the Parliament, as I told you, That they would be pleased to select some Worthy Persons who had loved this Cause, and the liberties of England, and the interest of England: and we told them we would acquiesce and lie at *their* 'the Worthy Persons'' feet; but that to be thrown into Parliaments which should sit perpetually, though but for three years 'each,' we had experience of that! An experience which may remain to this day, to give satisfaction to honest and sober men!—Why, truly this might have satisfied, this proposal of ours; but it did not. And, therefore, we did think that it was the greatest of dangers, 'thus' to be overwhelmed, and brought under a slavery by our own consent, and "Iniquity to become a Law."[2] And there was our ground we acted upon at that time. And truly they had perfected their Bill for perpetuating of Parliaments to the last Clause; [Hear!] and were resolved to pass it as a Bill in Paper, 'not even engrossed on Parchment as the wont was,' rather than comply with any expedient. [We then entered upon them; bade them with emphasis, Go about their business! That's no lie!]—If your own experience add anything to you in this, 'if you ever individually had to do with a Long-Parliament Committee, and know its ways'—in this point, "Whether or no, in cases civil and criminal, if a Parliament assume an absolute power, without any control, to determine the interests of men in property and liberty; whether or no *this* be desirable in a Nation?"—if you have any sense, ["General openness of perception;" not exactly our modern word: but a questionable expression, as his Highness immediately sees: "any sense."]—as I believe you have,—you have more than I,——'then' I think you will take it for a mercy that *that* did not befall England at that time! And this is all I will say of it.

Truly I will now come and tell you a story of my own weakness and folly. [The Little Parliament.] And yet it was done in my simplicity, I dare avow it was: and though some of my companions—["May dislike my mentioning the story?"—The Sentence in its haste has no time to END.]—And truly this is a story that should not be recorded, that

[1] So tied up with restrictions in that first Instrument; had not the smallest power to do "arbitrary government."

[2] "The Throne of Iniquity, which frameth mischief by a *Law*," (Psalm xciv. 20). A fearful state of matters; shadowed forth by old Prophets as the fearfullest of all; but entirely got rid of in these modern days,—if Dryasdust and the general course of *new* Prophecy may be credited, to whom Law *is* Equity, and the mere want of "Law," with its three readings, and tanned pieces of sheepskin written over in bad English, is Iniquity,—O Dryasdust, thy works in this world are wonderful. Thy notions of this world, thy ideas, what thou namest ideas, perhaps defy all ages, even ages when Witchcraft was believed in,—or when human creatures worshipped Leeks, and considered that the Founder of this Universe was one Apis, a sacred Prize-Ox! I begin to be weary of thee.

should not be told, except when good use may be made of it. I say, It was thought then that men of our own judgment, who had fought in the Wars, and were all of a piece upon that account;—'it was thought,' "Why surely these men will hit it, and these men will do it to the purpose, whatever can be desired!" And truly we did think, and I did think so,—the more blame to me. And such a Company of Men were chosen; [The Little Parliament;—Convention of the Puritan Notables.] and did proceed to action. And truly this was the naked truth, That the issue was not answerable to the simplicity and honesty of the design. [Poor Puritan Notables!]

What the issue of that Meeting would have been 'seemed questionable,' and was feared: upon which the sober men of that Meeting did withdraw; and came and returned my power as far as they could,—they did actually the greater part of them,—into my hands; professing and believing that the issue of that Meeting would have been The subversion of your Laws and of all the Liberties of this Nation, the destruction of the Ministers of this Nation; in a word, the confusion of all things. 'Confusion of all things:' To set up, instead of Order, the Judicial Law of Moses, in abrogation of all our administrations; to have had administered the Judicial Law of Moses *pro hic et nunc*, according to the wisdom of any man that would have interpreted the Text this way or that—!—And if you do not believe that these Persons, 'thereupon sent home,' were sent home by the major part 'of themselves,' who were judicious and sober and learned (the minority being the worser part upon this account), and with my consent *a parte post*,—you will believe nothing! [Somewhat tart.] For the persons that led in that Meeting were Mr. Feake and his Assemblage in Blackfriars. [We know "Feake," and other foul chimneys on fire, from of old!—As for "Mr. Squib," he sits now with Venner and the Fifth-Monarchy, safe locked in the Tower.] 'Mr. Feake,' Major-General Harrison, and the rest that associated with him at one Mr. Squib's House. There were all the resolutions taken that were acted in that House 'of Parliament' day by day. And this was so *de facto*; I know it to be true. And that such must naturally be the product of it, I do but appeal to that Book I told you of the other day ["Standard set up."], That all Magistracy and Ministry is Antichristian, wherefore all these things ought to be abolished. Which we are certain must have been the issue of that Meeting. [A failure, that poor Convention of the Puritan Notables!]

So that you have been delivered, if I think aright, from two evils. The *one*, a secular evil, which would have swallowed up all religious and civil interest, and brought us under the horridest arbitrariness that ever was exercised in the world: To have had Five or Six hundred "Friends,"[1] with *their* friends, 'the Feakes, &c.,' entrusted with the judgment of all causes, and to judge of them without rule; thinking that "the Power which swallowed up all other Lawful Powers in the Nation" hath all the power *they* ever had, both Legislative and Judiciary! In short, a thing which would have swallowed both the Civil and Religious Interest. And the *other* evil—[His Highness has already inextricably caudled the two together, and here merely gives them

[1] The name of Quakers already budding in 1653,—now, in 1657, budded and blown.

another stir.]—merely under a Spiritual Interest, would have swallowed up all again in another extreme,—'no stated Ministry being allowed. All our Civil and Religious Interest; and had made our Ministry, and all the things we were beholding to God for, 'of no account!' Truly we think we ought to value *this* Interest above all the interests in the world: but if this latter had not as surely been destroyed as the former, I understood nothing.—

And having told you these two things, 'two Failures in getting Settlement'—truly it makes me in love with this Paper; and with all the things in it; and with the additions I have now to tender you thereto; and with *Settlement* above all things in the world!—Except 'only' that, where I left you last time; ["The Kingship!" Committee of Ninety-nine look alert]—for that, I think, we have debated. [Look dumpish again.] I have heard your mind, and you have heard mine 'as to that;' I have told you my heart and judgment; and the Lord bring forth His own issue. [His Highness produces the Engrossed Vellum.]

I think we are now to consider, not what we are in regard to our Footing and that of the Government which called this Parliament. [No: our First foolish Parliament spent all their time on that; not you, my wiser Friends.] Our Footing and Government is, till there be an end put to it,—that that hath existence! [What other definition of it can be given, or need?] And so I shall say nothing to *it*. If it accomplisheth the end of our Fighting, and all those blessed ends and aims that we should aim at; if it do,—I would we might keep it, and remain where we are. If it do not, I would we might have a better!—Which[1] truly I do come out of myself to tell you, That as to the substance and body of your Instrument, I do look upon it as having things in it,—If I may speak freely and plainly; I may, and we all may!—I say, the things that are provided for in this 'Act of' Government [Handling the Vellum] do secure the Liberties of the People of God so as they never before had them! And he must be a pitiful man who thinks the People of God ever had the like Liberty either *de facto* or *de jure*;—*de jure* from God, I think they have had it from the beginning of the world to this day, and have it still,—but asserted by a *jus humanum*, I say, they never had it so as they have it now. I think you have provided for the Liberty of the People of God, and 'for the Liberty' of the Nation. And I say he sings sweetly that sings a song of reconciliation betwixt those two Interests! And it is a pitiful fancy, like wisdom and ignorance, to think they are *in*consistent. Certainly they may consist! And I speak my conscience of this 'Act of' Government, I think you have made them to consist.

And therefore, I must say, in that, and in other things, you have provided well,—that you have. And because I see the Rule of the Parliament, 'your written Order here,' gives you leave to speak with me about the particulars (I judge the Parliament doth think that any member it has is not to be neglected in offering of anything that may be of additional good),—therefore, I having a little surveyed the Instrument, I have a Paper here to offer you upon that account. [Handles a Paper of his own.] And truly I must needs say and think that, in such a case

[1] Ungrammatical, but unalterable. Means "On which hint."

as this, where so new a work and so strange a work as this is before you, it will not be thought ill [Not at all, your Highness,—only get on!] if I do with a little earnestness press you for some explanations in some things. 'A few explanations' that may help to complete the business, and leave me—(for it is only handled with *me* 'and for *my* behoof' at this time, not with you and the Parliament whom you represent):—I say, I would be glad that you might leave me, and all opposers, without excuse; as well as glad that you should settle this Nation to the uttermost advantage for it;—in all the things I have to offer you. They are not very weighty; they may tend to the completion of the business; and therefore I shall take the freedom to read them to you.

[First, however, this Editor, with your Highness's leave, will read to the Moderns a certain excerpt or abstract from the Engrossed Vellum itself, which he has obtained sight of,[1] that they also may understand what your Highness will animadvert upon. Let the Moderns pay what attention they can.

"Article *fourth* of the Petition and Advice is taken up with describing who are to be Electors to Parliament and Eligibles,—or rather who not; for it is understood that, except the classes of persons here specified, all who had such a privilege by the old Laws are still entitled to vote and to be voted for.

"The classes excluded from electing or being elected are the following:—

"1. All who have been concerned in the rebellion of Ireland; or who, with or without concern in said Rebellion, are or shall become Papists.—All who have advised, abetted or assisted in any War against the Parliament since the first of January 1641-2,—unless they have since given signal proofs of repentance, by bearing arms *for* the Parliament,—or in some other 'signal' manner, difficult to define. The defining of which has occasioned great debates in Parliament.[2] This excludes all English and other Malignants.—All who have ever been engaged in any Plot against the Person of his Highness; or, apart from that, have been engaged in any Insurrection in England or Wales 'since 16th December 1653,' beginning of the Protectorate.

"2. In Scotland all who have been in arms against the Parliament of England or the Parliament of Scotland before the first of April 1648. This excludes the Montrose Party and Royalists Proper of Scotland,—except such as have given 'signal' &c. But then follows this clause in favour of the Hamilton Engagers, and the Dunbar and Worcester people, which attracts his Highness's animadversion in the present Discourse: 'Nor any' (shall elect or be elected) 'who *since* the First of April 1648 have been in arms, or otherwise aided, abetted' &c. (which includes all the Preston, and all the Dunbar and Worcester people; with, however, a most *un*important *exception*)—'except such as since the First day of March 1651-2 have *lived peaceably*,'—as they might very well do, having been all smashed to powder, six months before, at Worcester Fight, and their 'Chief Malignant,' whom they had set up as King, being now sent on his travels, somewhat in the style of a King

[1] Whitlocke, p. 648 *et seqq.*; Parliamentary History xxi. 129 *et seqq.* [2] Burton's Diary.

of the Gipsies!" His Highness cannot but animadvert on this with some tartness.

With these exceptions, and one "proviso for Ireland" to be speedily noticed, all Freeholders of Counties, according to the old definition, shall vote; and all Burgesses and Citizens of Towns,—nay, I think, there is in this latter department a tendency towards the *Potwalloper* System; but modified of course by the established custom of each several locality in that respect.

And now let us hear his Highness in regard to Paragraph Second, Article Fourth:]

In the Fourth Article and Second Paragraph, you have something that respects the calling of members to Parliament 'for Scotland.' You would not have those excluded that were under Duke Hamilton, and made that invasion.[1] Because it hath been said to you, perhaps, that if you should exclude all 'such,' you would have no members from that Nation? I hope there be persons of that Nation who will be ready to give a better testimony of their country than admit that argument! And I hope it is no argument; but if it be one, then truly, to meet with the least certainty as to qualifications, you should indeed exclude men of your own country upon better 'defined' crimes; you should hold them off upon stricter characters 'than those given!' It is thought, the qualification there which saith, of their "good testimony," That they are to be men who have given good testimony by their quiet living—Why, truly, for divers years, they have not been willing to do other; they have not had an easy possibility to do otherwise, than to live quietly! [Not since the taming they got at Worcester, your Highness!] Though perhaps 'at bottom' many of them have been the same men:—and yet 'certainly too' I know many of them are good men, worthy men.—And therefore whether it be not fit, in that place, to explain somewhat farther, and put some other character[2] upon what may really be regarded as "a good testimony" of their *being* otherwise minded, of their *being* now of another judgment? I confess I have not anything here to supply this defect with: but certainly if the description so stand as it now is in your Article,—those men, though they be never so indisposed, enemies and remain so, yet if they have "lived peaceably," where they could neither will nor choose 'to live otherwise,' they are to be admitted. I only tell you so, being without any amendment for it; and when done, I shall leave it all with yourselves. This is for the Second Paragraph.

[For the Second Paragraph his Highness is "without any amendment" of his own; offers us nothing to "supply the defect:" indeed it is difficult to supply well, as that Nation stands and has stood. Besides they send but Fifty Members in all, poor creatures; it is no such vital matter! Paragraph Second remains *un*altered.—And now let the Moderns attend for an instant to Paragraph Third:

"Article *Fourth*, Paragraph *Third:* A proviso as to Ireland 'that no English or Scotch Protestant in Ireland who before the First of March 1649-50' (just about the time his own Highness, then Lord General, was quitting Ireland, having entirely demolished all chance of

[1] Which met its due at Preston. [2] description.

opposition there) 'have borne arms *for* the Parliament or your Highness, or otherwise given signal testimony' &c. 'shall be excluded.'" This also to his Highness seems worthy of animadversion.]

In the Third Paragraph of the same Article, whereas it is said, "That all persons in Ireland be made capable to elect or to be elected who, before the First of March 1649, have borne arms for the Parliament, or otherwise given testimony of their good affections to the Parliament and continued faithful *to the Parliament:*"—and yet perhaps many of them are since revolted 'against us!'—Whether it be not necessary that this be more clearly expressed? For it seems to capacitate all those who revolted from the Parliament;[1] if they have borne arms for the State before the First of March 1649, it seems to restore them. But if *since* then they have revolted, as I doubt many of our English-Irish have done, why then the question is, Whether those men who lately[2] have been angry and have flown to arms; Whether you will think their having borne arms formerly on the Parliament's side shall be an exemption to them? This is but tendered to you, for some worthy person here to give an answer unto?

[Very rational and irrefragable. It is accordingly altered: "Signal testimony of their good affection to the *Commonwealth or your Highness, and continued*" *&c.*—And now let us look at Paragraph Fifth; concerning the last item of which his Highness has a word to say:

"Article *Fourth*, Paragraph *Fifth*. All who are atheistical, blasphemous, 'married to Popish wives,' who train or shall train any child to be Popish, or consent that a son or daughter of theirs shall marry a Papist;—who are scoffers of religion, or can be proved to have scoffed any one for being religious; who deny the Scriptures to be God's Word; who deny Sacraments, Ministry or Magistracy to be ordinances of God (Harrison's set); who are Sabbath-breakers, swearers, haunters of taverns or ale-houses;—in short demonstrably unchristian men. All who are Public Preachers too." Concerning this latter clause his Highness has a remark to make.

"Following in the rear of which, in the same Third Paragraph, is an Article which still more merits consideration. For securing the 'Freedom of Parliament' as well as its Purity, there are to be Forty-one Commissioners appointed 'by Act of Parliament with your Highness's consent,' who are to examine and certify whether the Persons returned by these rules are, after all, qualified to sit." So that it is not to be by the Council of State henceforth, and by "Nathaniel Tayler Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery" with his *Certificate* in the Lobby, that Honourable Gentlemen are to be turned back at the door of the House, and sent to redact *Protests*, as in the case of this present Parliament! Forty-one Commissioners are now to do it. His Highness on this also will have a word to say.]

In the Fifth Paragraph of the same Article, you have incapacitated Public Preachers from sitting in Parliament. And truly I think your intention is 'of' such 'only' as have Pastoral Function; such as are actually real Ministers. For I must say to you, in behalf of our Army,

[1] The Ormonde Royalists almost all;—Malignant enough many of them [2] in late years.

—in the next place of their fighting *they* have been very good "Preachers:" and I should be sorry they should be excluded from serving the Commonwealth because they have been accustomed to "preach" to their troops, companies and regiments:—which I think has been one of the blessings upon them to the carrying on of the great Work. I think you do not mean so 'that they should be excluded:' but I tender it to you that, if you think fit, there may be a consideration had of it. There may be some of us, it may be, who have been a little guilty of that, who would be loath to be excluded from sitting in Parliament 'on account of it!' ["I myself have been known, on occasion, to exhort my troops with Bible texts and considerations; to 'preach,' if you like to call it so! What has my whole Life been but a 'Sermon' of some emphasis; preached with tongue and sword, with head and heart and right hand, and soul and body and breeches-pocket,—not without results, one would venture to hope!"—This Clause, the Committee, expressly or tacitly, will modify as desired.]

In the same Paragraph, there is care taken for the nominating of Commissioners to *try* the Members who are chosen to sit in Parliament. And truly those Commissioners are uncertain Persons; and it is hard to say what may happen. I hope they will be always good men;—but if they should be bad, then perhaps they will keep out good men! Besides we think,—truly, if you will give us leave to help as to the "freedom of Parliament," this 'of the Commissioners' will be something that may go rather harshly down than otherwise! Very many reasons might be given: but I do only tender it to you. I think, If there were *no* Commissioners, it might be never a whit the worse:—if you make qualifications 'for Membership,' and any man presume to sit without those qualifications, you may deal with him. A man without qualification, sitting there, is as if he were not chosen; and if he sit without being *chosen*, without having qualification,—I am sure the old custom was to send him to the Tower, [That will settle him!] to imprison such a one! If any sit there that have not right to sit,—if any stranger come in upon a pretended title of *election*, perhaps it is a different case,—but if any sit there upon a pretence of *qualification* in him, you may send *him* to prison without more ado. Whether you think fit to do so or no, is parliamentary business:—I do but hint it to you. I believe, If any man had sat in former Parliaments without, 'for instance,' taking the oaths &c. that were prescribed, it would have been fault enough in him. I believe something of that kind 'instead of your Forty-one Commissioners,' might be equivalent to any other way, if not better.

[The Honourable House does not want any more concern with Nathaniel Tayler and his *Certificates*. This Paragraph remains unaltered. Forty-one Commissioners, Fifteen a quorum; future Parliaments to name a future set when they like: the Examinations as to Members are to be by oath of informer in writing, with copies left &c., and rigorous enough formalities.—Let us now glance at Article Fifth:

"Article *Fifth* relates to the 'Other House;' a new House of Lords we are getting up. No more than Seventy of them, not fewer than Forty: they are to be nominated by your Highness and approved by this House: all classes excluded by the preceding Article from our

body are of course excluded from theirs." His Highness has a remark to make on this also.]

In that Article, which I think is the Fifth Article [Yes], which concerns the Nomination of the Other House,—in the beginning of that Article it stands, That the House is to be nominated as you there design it,[1] and the approbation is to be from This House,—I would say, from the Parliament. It stands so. But then now, if any shall be subsequently named, after the Other House *is sat*, upon any accidental removal or death,—you do not say 'How.' Though it seems to refer to the same 'rule' as the first 'original' selection doth; yet it doth not so clearly intimate this, That the nomination shall be, where it was, with the Chief Officer,[2] and the approbation of the "Other House." If I do express clearly what you—Pardon me: but I think that is the aim of it; and it is not clearly expressed there;—as I think you will be able to judge whether it be or no.

[Article Fifth ruled as his Highness wishes. And now take Article Seventh:

"Article *Seventh* promises, but does not say how, that there shall be a yearly revenue of 1,300,000*l.*; one million for Navy and Army, 300,000*l.* for the support of the Government. No part of it by a Land-tax. Other temporary supplies to be granted by the Commons in Parliament,—and neither this Revenue nor any other charge whatever to be laid upon the subject except according to the Parliament's direction and sanction." Such yearly Revenue the Parliament promises in this Petition and Advice, but does not specify in what way it shall be raised: which omission also his Highness fails not to comment on.]

In the Seventh Article, which concerns the Revenue, that is, the Revenue which you have appointed for the Government; wherein you have distributed Three-hundred-thousand pounds of it to the Maintenance of the Civil Authority, and One-million to the maintenance of your Forces by Sea and Land:—you have indeed in your Instrument said so, 'that there shall be such a Revenue,' and we cannot doubt of it: but yet you have not made it certain; nor yet those "temporary supplies" which are intended for the peace and safety of the Nations. It is desired, That you will take this into your thoughts, and make the general and temporary allowances of Revenue *certain*, both as to the sum and to the time those "Supplies" are to be continued. [Let us know what ground we stand on.] And truly I hope I do not curry favour with you: but another thing is desired, and I may very reasonably desire it, That these monies, whatever they are;—that they may not, if God shall bring me to any interest in this business,[3] as lieth at His disposal;—that these monies, 'I say,' may *not* be issued out by the authority of the Chief Magistrate, but by the advice of his Council. You have made in your Instrument a co-ordination 'of Council and Chief Magistrate,' in general terms; 'but I could wish' that this might be a specified thing, That the monies were not to be distributed 'except by authority of both.' It will be a safety to whosoever is your Supreme Magistrate, as well as a security to the Public, that the monies be issued out by advice

[1] "as you there design it:" polite for "by me."
[2] Cannot say "me"
[3] If I live, and continue to govern.

of the Council, and that the Treasurers who receive these monies be accountable every Parliament, within a certain time limited by yourselves ;—'that' every new Parliament, the Treasurer be accountable to the Parliament for the disposing of the Treasury.

["Article *Ninth:* Judges, Principal Officers of State, Commanders in Chief by Sea or Land, all chief officers civil and military, 'are to be approved of by both Houses of Parliament.'"]

There is mention made of the Judges in your Ninth Article. It is mentioned that the Officers of State and the Judges are to be chosen with the approbation of Parliament. But now if there be no Parliament sitting, should there be never so great a loss of Judges, it cannot be supplied. And whether you do not intend that, in the intervals of Parliament, it should be by the choice—[Omit "of the Chief Magistrate," or politely mumble it into indistinctness],—with the consent of the Council ; to be *afterwards* approved by Parliament?

[Certainly, your Highness ; reason so requires it. Be it tacitly so ruled.—And now for Article Twelfth :

"Article *Twelfth* (Let us still call it Article *Twelfth*, though in the ultimate Redaction it has come to be marked *Thirteenth*):—Classes of persons incapable of holding any office. Same, I think, as those excluded from elections,—only there is no penalty annexed. His Highness makes some remarks upon this, under the Title of 'Article Twelfth ;'—a new article introduced for securing Purchasers of Church Lands, which is now Article Twelfth,[1] has probably pushed this into the Thirteenth place."]

The Twelfth Article relates to several qualifications that persons must be qualified with, who are put into places of Public Office and Trust. [Treats all of DISqualifications, your Highness ; which, however, comes to the same thing.] Now if men shall step into Public Places and Trust who are not so qualified, 'I do not see but hereby still' they may execute them. "Office of Trust" is a very large word ; it goeth almost to a Constable, if not altogether ;—it goeth far. Now if any shall come in who are not so qualified, they certainly do commit a breach upon your rule :—and whether you will not think in this case that if any shall take upon him an Office of Trust, there shall not some *Penalty* be put upon him, where he is excepted by the general rule? Whether you will not think it fit in that respect to deter men from accepting Offices and Places of Trust, contrary to that Article?

[Nothing done in this. The "Penalty," vague in outline, but all the more terrible on that account, can be sued for by any complainant in Westminster Hall.

"Article *Thirteenth* suddenly provides that your Highness will be pleased to consent that 'Nothing in this Petition and Advice, or the assent thereto, shall be construed to extend to—the dissolving of this present Parliament!'"—"Oh, no!" answers his Highness in a kind of bantering way ; "not in the least!"]

The next 'Article' is fetched, in some respects, I may say, by head

[1] Whitlocke, p. 659.

and shoulders into your Instrument! Yet in some sense it hath an affinity 'with the rest, too;' I may say, I think it is within your general scope[1] upon this account;—'yes,' I am sure of it: There is mention made in the last parts of your Instrument [Looking in the Paper; Article Eighteen] of your purpose to do many good things:—I am confident, *not* like the gentleman who made his last will, and set down a great number of names of men who were to receive benefit by him, and there was no sum at the latter end! ["You cannot do these 'many good things' if I dissolve you! That will be a Will, with many beneficiary legatees, and no sum mentioned at the end!' His Highness wears a pleasant bantering look;—to which the countenances of the others, even Bulstrode's leaden countenance, respond by a kind of smile.]

I am confident you are resolved to deal effectually in these things at the latter end; and I should wrong my own conscience if I thought otherwise. I hope you *will* think sincerely, as before God, "That the Laws be regulated!"[2] I hope you will. We have been often talking of them:—and I remember well, at the old Parliament [Whitlocke and Glyn look intelligence], we were three months, and could not get over the word "Incumbrances" [Hum—m—m!]: and we thought there was little hope of "regulating the Law" where there was such difficulty as to that. But surely the Laws need to be regulated! And I must needs say, I think it were a sacrifice acceptable to God upon many accounts. And I am persuaded it is one of the things that God looks for, and would have. [Alas, your Highness!]—I confess, if any man should ask me, "Why, how would you have it done?" I confess I do not know How. But I think verily, at the least, the Delays in Suits, and the Excessiveness in Fees, and the Costliness of Suits, and those various things which I do not know what names they bear—I heard talk of "Demurrers" and such-like things, which I scarce know—[Sentence is wrecked]!—But I say certainly, The people are greatly suffering in this respect; they are so. And truly if this whole business of Settlement, whatever be the issue of it, if it come, which I am persuaded it doth, as a thing that would please God;—'then,' by a sacrifice 'to God' in it, or rather as an expression of our thankfulness to God, I am persuaded that *this* will be one thing that will be upon your hearts, to do something that is honourable and effectual in this. ["Reforming of the Law!" Alas, your Highness!]—

'Another thing' that—truly I say that it is not in your Instrument—[Nothing said of it there, which partly embarrasses his Highness; who is now getting into a small Digression]!—Somewhat that relates to the Reformation of Manners,—you will pardon me!—My Fellow Soldiers 'the Major-Generals,' who were raised up upon that just occasion of the Insurrection, not only to "secure the Peace of the Nation," but to see that persons who were least likely to help-on "peace" or to continue it, but rather to break it—["These Major-Generals, I say, did look after the restraining of such persons; suppressed their horse-racings, cock-fightings, sinful roysterings; took some charge of 'REFORMATION OF MANNERS,' they:"—but his Highness is off elsewhither, excited by this 'tickle subject,' and the Sentence has evaporated]—Dissolute loose

[1] "order" *in orig.*

[2] One of their concluding promises (Article Eighteen)

persons that can go up and down from house to house,—and they are Gentlemen's sons who have nothing to live on, and cannot be supplied with means of living to the profit of the Commonwealth : these I think had a good course taken with them. [Ordered to fly-away their game-cocks, unmuzzle their bear-baitings : fall to some regular livelihood, some fixed habitat, if they could,—and, on the whole, to duck low, keep remarkably quiet, and give no rational man any trouble with them which could be avoided!] And I think what was done to them was honourably and honestly and profitably done. And, for my part, I must needs say, It [1] shewed the dissoluteness which was then in the Nation ;—as indeed it springs most from that Party of the Cavaliers! Should that Party run on, and no care be taken to reform the Nation ; to prevent, perhaps, abuses which will not fall under *this* head alone—! [Not under Reformation of MANNERS alone : what will the consequence be?]

We send our children into France before they know God or Good Manners ; [2] and they return with all the licentiousness of that Nation. Neither care taken to educate them before they go, nor to keep them in good order when they come home! Indeed this makes the Nation not only commit those abominable things, most inhuman things, but hardens men to justify those things ;—as the Apostle saith, " Not only to do wickedly themselves, but to take pleasure in them that do so." And truly, if something be not done in this kind, 'in the way of reforming public morals,' without sparing that condition of men, without sparing men's sons, though they be Noblemen's sons—! [Sentence breaks down]—Let them be who they may that are deboist, it is for the glory of God that nothing of outward consideration should save them in their debauchery, from a just punishment and reformation! And truly I must needs say it, I would much bless God to see something done in that matter heartily, not only as to those persons mentioned, but to all the Nation ; that some course might be taken for Reformation ; that there might be some stop put to such a current of wickedness and evil as this is! And truly, to do it heartily, and nobly and worthily! The Nobility of this Nation, they especially, and the Gentry, would have cause to bless you. And likewise that some care might be taken that those good Laws already made for punishing of vice might be put in execution.

This I must needs say of our Major-Generals who did that service : I think it was an excellent good thing ;—I profess I do! [Yes ; though there were great outcries about it.] And I hope you will not think it unworthy of you 'to consider' that though we may have good Laws against the common Country disorders that are everywhere, yet Who is to execute them 'now, the Major-Generals being off?' Really a Justice of the Peace,—he shall by the most be wondered at as an owl, if he go but one step out of the ordinary course of his fellow Justices in the reformation of these things! [Cannot do it ; not he.] And therefore I hope I may represent this to you as a thing worthy your consideration, that something may be found out to repress such evils. I am persuaded

[1] The course taken with them ; the quantity of coercion they needed, and of complaint made thereupon are all loosely included in this "It."

[2] Morals.

you would glorify God by this as much as by any one thing you could do. And therefore I hope you will pardon me.

[His Highness looks to the Paper again, after this Digression. Article *Fifteenth* in his Highness's copy of the Paper, as we understand, must have provided "That no part of the Public Revenue be alienated except by consent of Parliament:" but his Highness having thus remonstrated against it, the Article is suppressed, expunged; and we only gather by this passage that such a thing had ever been.]

I cannot tell, in this Article that I am now to speak unto, whether I speak to anything or nothing! There is a desire that 'no part of' "the Public Revenue be alienated except by consent of Parliament." I doubt "Public Revenue" is like "*Custodes Libertatis Angliæ;*" a notion only; and not to be *found* that I know of! [It IS all alienated; Crown Lands, &c. are all gone, long ago. A beautiful dream of our youth, as the "Keepers of the LIBERTY of England" were,—a thing you could nowhere lay hands on, that I know of!] But if there be any,—and if God bless us in our Settlement, there will be Public Revenue accruing,—the point is, Whether you will subject this to any alienation without consent of Parliament?

[We withdraw the question altogether, your Highness: when once the chickens are *hatched*, we will speak of selling them!—Let us now read Article Sixteenth:

Article *Sixteenth*, in his Highness's copy of the Paper, "Provides that no Act or Ordinance already extant, which is not contrary to this Petition and Advice, shall be in the least made void hereby."—His Highness, as we shall see, considers this as too indefinite, too indistinct;—a somewhat vague foundation for Church-land estates (for example), which men purchased with money, but hold only in virtue of Writs and Ordinances issued by the Long Parliament.—A new Article is accordingly added, in our Perfect-copy; specifying, at due breadth, with some hundreds of Law vocables, that all is and shall be safe, according to the common sense of mankind, in that particular.]

Truly this thing that I have now farther to offer you,—it is the last in this Paper; it is the thing mentioned in the Sixteenth Article: That you would have those Acts and Ordinances which have been made since the late Troubles, and during the time of them, 'kept unabrogated;' that they should, if they be not contrary to this Advice,[1]—that they should remain in force, in such manner as if this Advice had not been given. Why, what is doubted is, Whether or no this will be sufficient to keep things in a settled condition?[2] Because it is but an implication 'that you here make;' it is not determined. You do pass-by the thing, without such a foundation as will keep those people, who are now in possession of Estates upon this account, that their titles be not questioned or shaken,—if the matter be not explained. Truly I believe you intend very fully in regard to this 'of keeping men safe who have purchased on that footing.' If the words already 'used' do not suffice —That I submit to your own advisement.

[1] *Petition* and Advice; but we politely suppress the former part of the name.
[2] It was long debated; see *Burton*.

But there is in this another very great consideration, There have been since the present Government 'began,' several Acts and Ordinances, which have been made by the exercise of that Legislative Power that was exercised since we undertook this Government: [Very cumbrous phraseology, your Highness;—for indeed the subject is somewhat cumbrous. Questionable, to some, whether one CAN make Acts and Ordinances by a mere Council and Protector!] And I think your Instrument speaks a little more *faintly* 'as' to these, and dubiously, than to the other! And truly, I will not make an apology for anything: but merely two persons, two sorts of them, 'very extensive sorts,' will be merely concerned upon this account: They who exercised that authority, and they who were objects of its exercise! This wholly dissettles them; wholly, if you be not clear in your expressions. It will dissettle us very much to think that the Parliament doth not approve well of what hath been done 'by us' upon a true ground of necessity, in so far as the same hath saved this Nation from running into total arbitrariness. 'Nay, if not,' why subject the Nation to a sort of men who perhaps would do so.[1] We think we have in that thing deserved well of the State. [Do not "dissettle" his Highness! He has, "in that thing" of assuming the Government, and passing what Ordinances &c. were indispensable, "deserved well."—Committee of Ninty-nine agree to what is reasonable.]

If any man will ask me, "But ah, Sir, what have you done *since?*"—Why, ah,—as I will confess my fault where I am guilty, so I think, taking things as they 'then' were, I think we have done the Commonwealth service! We have therein made great settlements,—that have we. We have settled almost all the whole affairs in Ireland; the rights and interests of the Soldiers there, and of the Planters and Adventurers. And truly we have settled very much of the business of the Ministry;—["Triers," diligent here, "Expurgators" diligent everywhere; much good work completed.] and I wish that be not an aggravation of our fault;[2] I wish it be not! But I must needs say, If I have anything to rejoice in before the Lord in this world as having done any good or service, 'it is this.' I can say it from my heart; and I know I say the truth, let any man say what he will to the contrary,—he will give me leave to enjoy my own opinion on it, and my own conscience and heart: and 'to' dare bear my testimony to it, There hath not been such a service to England since the Christian Religion was perfect in England! I dare be bold to say it; however there may have, here and there, been passion and mistakes. And the Ministers themselves, take the generality of them—["are unexceptionable, nay exemplary as Triers and as Expurgators:" but his Highness, blazing up at touch of this tender topic, wants to utter three or four things at once, and his "elements of rhetoric" fly into the ELEMENTAL state! We perceive he has got much blame for his Two Church Commissions; and feels that he has deserved far the reverse.]—They will tell 'you,' it is beside their instructions, 'if they have

1 Why subject the Nation to *us*, who perhaps would drive it into arbitrariness, as your non-approval of us seems to insinuate?

2 "be not to secure the grave men" (Scott's *Somers*, p. 399) is unadulterated nonsense: for *grave men* read *gravamen*, and we have dubiously a sense as above: "an aggravation of our fault with some objectors"

fallen into "passion and mistakes," if they have meddled with civil matters, in their operations as Triers!' And we did adopt the thing upon that account; we did not trust upon doing what we did *virtute Instituti*, as if 'these Triers were' *jure divino*, but as a civil good. But —[Checks himself]—so we end in this: We 'knew not and' know not better how to keep the Ministry good, and to augment it in goodness, than by putting such men to be Triers. Men of known integrity and piety; orthodox men and faithful. We knew not how better to answer our duty to God and the Nation and the People of God, in that respect, than by doing what we did.

And, I dare say, if the grounds upon which we went will not justify us, the issue and event of it doth abundantly justify us; God having had exceeding glory by it,—in the generality of it, I am confident, forty-fold! For as heretofore the men that were admitted into the Ministry in times of Episcopacy—alas what pitiful Certificates served to make a man a Minister! [Forty-fold better now.] If any man could understand Latin and Greek, he was sure to be admitted;—as if he spake Welsh; which in those days went for Hebrew with a good many! [Satiracal. "They studied Pan, Bacchus, and the Longs and Shorts, rather than their Hebrew Bible, and the Truths of the Living Jehovah!"] Certainly the poorest thing in the world would serve a turn; and a man was admitted upon such an account [As this of mere Latin and Greek, with a suspicion of Welsh-Hebrew]; ay, and upon a less.—I am sure the admission granted to such places *since* has been under this character as the rule: That they must not admit a man unless they were able to discern something of the Grace of God in him. [Really it is the grand primary essential, your Highness. Without which, Pan, Bacchus, Welsh-Hebrew, nay Hebrew itself, must go for nothing, nay, for less, if we consider well. In some points of view, it is horrible!] 'Grace of God;' which was to be so inquired for, as not foolishly nor senselessly, but so far as men could judge according to the rules of Charity. Such and such a man, of whose good life and conversation they could have a very good testimony from four or five of the neighbouring ministers who knew him,—he could not yet be admitted unless he could give a very good testimony of the Grace of God in him. And to this I say, I must speak my conscience in it,[1]—though a great many are angry at it, nay if all are angry at it,—for how shall you please everybody?

Then say some, None must be admitted except, perhaps, he will be baptised 'again.' That is their opinion. [Anabaptists.] They will not admit a man into a Congregation to be Minister, except he commence by being so much *less*. The Presbyterians 'again,' they will not admit him unless he be "ordained." Generally *they* will not go to the Independents:—truly I think, if I be not partial, I think if there be a freedom of judgment, it is there. [With the Independents: that is your Highness's opinion.] Here are Three sorts of Godly Men whom you are to take care for: whom you have provided for in your Settlement. And how could you put the selection upon the Presbyterians without by possibility excluding all those Anabaptists, all those Independents? And so now you have put it into this way, That though a man be of any

[1] "I do approve it" is modestly left out.

of those three judgments, if he have the root of the matter in him, he many be admitted. [Very good, your Highness !] This hath been our care and work : both by some Ordinances of ours, laying the foundations of it, and by many hundreds of Ministers being 'admitted' in upon it. And if this be a "time of Settlement," then I hope it is now a time of shaking ;—and therefore I hope you will be pleased to settle this business too : and that you will neither "shake" the Persons [Us] who have been poorly instrumental in calling you to this opportunity of settling this Nation, and of doing good to it ; nor shake those honest men's interests who have been thus settled. And so I have done with the offers to you,—'with these my suggestions to you.'—

[His Highness looks now on the Paper again ; looks at Article Seventh there, "That the Revenue shall be 1,300,000*l.*;" and also at a Note by himself of the Current Expenses :—much wondering at the contrast of the two ; not having Arithmetic enough to reconcile them.]

But here is somewhat that is indeed exceedingly past my understanding ; for I have as little skill in Arithmetic as I have in Law. These are great sums ; it is well if I can count them to you. [Looking on his Note.] The present charge of the Forces both by Sea and Land will be 2,426,989*l.* The whole present Revenue in England, Scotland, and Ireland is about 1,900,000*l.*; I think this was reckoned the most, as the Revenue now stands. Why, now, towards this you settle, by your Instrument, 1,300,000*l.* for the Government ; and out of that "to maintain the Force by Sea and Land," and "without Land-tax," I think : and this is short of the Revenue which now can be raised by the 'present Act of' Government 600,000*l.* ! [A grave discrepancy !] Because, you see, the present Government has 1,900,000*l* ; and the whole sum which can be raised comes 'short' of the present change by 542,689*l.*,—[So his Highness says ; but, by the above data, must be mistaken or misreported : 526,989*l.* is what "Arithmetic" gives.] And although an end should be put to the Spanish War, yet there will be a necessity, for preserving the peace of the three Nations, to keep up the present established Army in England, Scotland and Ireland ; also a considerable Fleet for some good time, until it shall please God to quiet and compose men's minds, and bring the Nation to some better consistency. So that, considering the Pay of the Army, which comes to upwards of 1,100,000*l. per annum*, and the "Support of the Government" 300,000*l.*, it will be necessary for some convenient time,—seeing you find things as you do, and it is not good to think a wound healed before it be,—that there be raised, over and above the 1,300,000*l.*, the sum of 600,000*l. per annum ;* which makes up the sum of 1,900,000*l.* And likewise that the Parliament declare, How far they will carry on the Spanish War and for what time ; and what farther sum they will raise for carrying on the same, and for what time. [Explicit, and undeniable !] And if these things be not ascertained,—as one saith "Money is the Cause," and certainly whatever the Cause is, if Money be wanting, the business will fall to the ground,—all our labour will be lost. And therefore I hope you will have a care of our undertakings !—[Most practical paragraph.]

And having received expressions from you which we may believe, we need not offer these things to you ; 'we need not doubt' but these things

will be cared for. Those things have 'already in Parliament' been made overture of to you; and are before you:—and so has likewise the consideration of the Debts, which truly I think are apparent.

And so I have done with what I had to offer you,—I think I have, truly, for my part. ["Nothing of the Kingship, your Highness?" Committee of Ninety-nine looks expectant]—And when I shall understand where it lies on me to do farther; and when I shall understand your pleasure in these things a little farther;—we have answered the Order of Parliament in considering and debating of those things that were the subject-matter of debate and consideration;—and when you will be pleased to let me hear farther of your thoughts in these things, *then* I suppose I shall be in a condition to discharge myself, [Throws no additional light on the Kingship at all!] as God shall put in my mind. And I speak not this to evade; but I speak in the fear and reverence of God. And I shall plainly and clearly, I say,—when you shall have been pleased among yourselves to take consideration of these things, that I may hear what your thoughts are of them,—I do not say that as a *condition* to anything—but I shall then be free and honest and plain to discharge myself of what, in the whole and upon the whole, may reasonably be expected from me, and 'what' God shall set me free to answer you in.*

Exeunt the Ninety-nine, much disappointed; the Moderns too look very weary. Courage, my friends, I now see land!—

This Speech forms by far the ugliest job of *buckwashing* (as Voltaire calls it) that his Highness has yet given us. As printed in the last edition of *Somers*, it is perhaps the most unadulterated piece of coagulated nonsense that was ever put into types by human kind. In order to educe some sense out of it as above, singularly few alterations, except in the punctuation, have been required; no change that we could detect has been made in the style of dialect, which is physiognomic and ought to be preserved; in the meaning, as before, all change was rigorously forbidden. In only one or two places, duly indicated, did his Highness's sense, on earnest repeated reading, continue dubious. And now the horrid buck-basket is reduced in some measure to clean linen or buckabuck: thanks be to Heaven!—

For the next ten days there is nothing heard from his Highness; much as must have been *thought* by him in that space. The Parliament is occupied incessantly considering how it may as far as possible fulfil the suggestions offered in this Speech of his Highness; assiduously perfecting and new-polishing the Petition and Advice according to the same. Getting Bills ready for "Reformation of Manners,"—with an eye on the "idle fellows about Piccadilly," who go bowling and gambling, with much tippling too, about "Piccadilly House" and its green spaces.[1] Scheming out how the Revenue can be raised:—"Land-tax" alas, in spite of former protest on that subject; "tax on new buildings" (Lincoln's Inn Fields for one place), which gives the public some trouble afterwards. Doing

* Somers Tracts, vi. 389-400.

[1] Dryasdust knows a little piece of Archæology: How "piccadillies" (*quasi* Spanish *peccadillos*, or *little-sins*, a kind of notched linen-tippet) used to be sold in a certain Shop there whence &c. &c.

somewhat also in regard to "Triers for the Ministry;" to "Penalties" for taking Office when disqualified by Law; and very much debating and scrupling as to what Acts and Ordinances (of his Highness and Council) are to be confirmed.

Finally, however, on Friday 1st of May, the Petition and Advice is again all ready; and the Committee of Ninety-nine wait upon his Highness with it,[1]—who answers briefly, "speaking very low," That the things are weighty and will require meditation; that he cannot just at present say On what day he will meet them to give his final answer, but will so soon as possible appoint a day.

So that the Kingship remains yet a great mystery! "By the generality" it is understood that he will accept it. But to the generality, and to us, the interior consultations and slow-formed resolutions of his Highness remain and must remain entirely obscure. We can well believe with Ludlow, sulkily breathing the air in Essex, who is incorrect as to various details, That in general a portion of the Army were found averse to the Title; a more considerable portion than the Title was worth. Whereupon, "for the present," as Bulstrode indicates, "his Highness did decide to"—in fact speak as follows.

SPEECH XIV.

BANQUETING-HOUSE, Whitehall, Friday forenoon, 8th May 1657, the Parliament in a body once more attends his Highness; receives at length a final Answer as to this immense matter of the Kingship. Which the reader shall now hear, and so have done with it.

The Whitlocke Committee of Ninety-nine had, by appointment, waited on his Highness yesterday, Thursday May 7th; gave him "a Paper,"—some farther last-touches added to their ultimate painfully revised edition of the Petition and Advice, wherein all his Highness's suggestions are now, as much as possible, fulfilled;—and were in hopes to get some intimation of his Highness's final answer then. Highness, "sorry to have kept them so long," requested they would come back next morning. Next morning, Friday morning: "We have been there; his Highness will see you all in the Banqueting-House even now."[2] Let us shoulder our Mace, then, and go.—"Petition of certain Officers," that Petition which Ludlow[3] in a vague erroneous manner represents to have been the turning-point of the business, is just "at the door:" we receive it, leave it on the table, and go. And now hear his Highness.

MR. SPEAKER,

I come hither to answer That that was in your last Paper to your Committee you sent to me 'yesterday;' which was in relation to the Desires that were offered me by the House in That they called their Petition.

I confess, that Business hath put the House, the Parliament, to a great deal of trouble, and spent much time.[4] I am very sorry for that. It hath cost me some 'too,' and some thoughts: and because I have been the unhappy occasion of the expense of so much time, I shall spend little of it now.

[1] Burton, ii. 101.
[2] Report by Whitlocke and Committee: in Commons Journals (8 May, 1657), vii. 531.
[3] ii. 588, &c., the vague passage always cited on this occasion.
[4] 23 Feb.—8 May: ten weeks and more.

I have, the best I can, revolved the whole Business in my thoughts: and I have said so much already in testimony to the whole, I think I shall not need to repeat what I have said. I think it is 'an Act of' Government which, in the aims of it, seeks the Settling of the Nation on a good foot, in relation to Civil Rights and Liberties, which are the Rights of the Nation. And I hope I shall never be found one of them that go about to rob the Nation of those Rights:—but 'always' to serve it what I can to the attaining of them. It has also been exceedingly well provided there for the safety and security of honest men in that great natural and religious liberty, which is Liberty of Conscience.—These are the great Fundamentals; and I must bear my testimony to them; as I have done, and shall do still, so long as God lets me live in this world: That the intentions and the things are very honourable and honest, and the product worthy of a Parliament.

I have only had the unhappiness, both in my Conferences with your Committees, and in the best thoughts I could take to myself, not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing which hath been so often insisted on by you,—to wit, the Title of King,—as in itself so necessary as it seems to be apprehended by you. And yet I do, with all honour and respect, testify that, *cæteris paribus*, no private judgment is to be in the balance with the judgment of Parliament. But in things that respect particular persons,—every man who is to give an account to God of his actions, he must in some measure be able to prove his own work, and to have an approbation in his own conscience of that which he is to do or to forbear. And whilst you are granting others Liberties, surely you will not deny *me* this; it being not only a Liberty but a Duty, and such a Duty as I cannot without sinning forbear,—to examine my own heart and thoughts and judgment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in or for.

I must confess therefore, though I do acknowledge all the other 'points,' I must be a little confident in this, That what with the circumstances which accompany human actions,—whether they be circumstances of time or persons [Straitlaced Republican Soldiers that have just been presenting you their Petition], whether circumstances that relate to the whole, or private and particular circumstances such as compass any person who is to render an account of his own actions,—I have truly thought, and I do still think, that, at the best, if I should do anything on this account to answer your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtingly. And certainly whatsoever is so is not of faith. And whatsoever is not so, whatsoever is not of faith, is sin to him that doth it,—whether it be with relation to the substance of the action about which that consideration is conversant, or whether to circumstances about it [Thinskinned Republicans, or the like "circumstances"], which make all indifferent actions good or evil. I say "Circumstances" [Yes]; and truly I mean "good or evil" to him that doth it. [Not to you Honourable Gentlemen who have merely advised it in general.]

I, lying under this consideration, think it my duty—Only I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the House, who have laid such infinite obligations on me [With a kind glance over these honourable faces: all silent as if dead, many of them with their mouths open]; I

wish I had done it sooner for your sake, and for saving time and trouble; and for the Committee's sake, to whom I must acknowledge I have been unreasonably troublesome! But truly this is my answer, That (although I think the Act of Government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but that one thing, of the Title as to me) I should not be an honest man, if I did not tell you that I cannot accept of the Government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it—as to which I have a little more experimented than everybody what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts, and in such undertakings—[Sentence irrecoverable]—I say I am persuaded to return this answer to you, That I cannot undertake this Government with the Title of King. And that is mine answer to this great and weighty Business.*

And so *exeunt* Widdrington and Parliament: "Buzz, buzz!—Distinct at last!"—and the huge buzzing of the public mind falls silent, that of the Kingship being now ended;—and this Editor and his readers are delivered from a very considerable weariness of the flesh.

"The Protector," says Bulstrode, "was satisfied in his private judgment that it was fit for him to accept this Title of King, and matters were prepared in order thereunto. But afterwards, by solicitation of the Commonwealth's-men," by solicitation, representation and even denunciation from "the Commonwealth's-men" and "many Officers of the Army," he decided "to attend some better season and opportunity in the business, and refused at this time."[1] With which summary account let us rest satisfied. The secret details of the matter are dark, and are not momentous. The Lawyer-party, as we saw, were all in favour of the measure. Of the Soldier-party, Ex-Major-Generals Whalley, Goffe, Berry are in a dim way understood to have been for it; Desborow and Fleetwood strong against it; to whom Lambert, much intriguing in the interim, had at last openly joined himself.[2] Which line of conduct, so soon as it became manifest, procured him from his Highness a handsome dismissal. Dismissal from all employment; but with a retiring pension of 2000*l.*: which mode of treatment passed into a kind of Proverb, that season; and men of wooden wit were wont to say to one another, "I will *Lambertise* you."[3] The "great Lord Lambert," hitherto a very important man, now "cultivated flowers at Wimbledon;" attempted higher things, on his own footing, in a year or two, with the worst conceivable success; and in fact had at this point, to all reasonable intents, finished his public work in the world.

The rest of the Petition and Advice, so long discussed and conferenced upon, is of course accepted;[4] a much improved Frame of Government; with a Second House of Parliament; with a Chief Magistrate who is to "nominate his successor," and be King in all points except the name. News of Blake's victory at Santa Cruz reach us in these same days,[5] whereupon is Public Thanksgiving, and voting of a Jewel to General

* Commons Journals, vii. 533; as reported by Speaker Widdrington, on Tuesday the 12th. Reported too in *Somers* (pp. 400-1), but in the form of coagulated nonsense there. The Commons Journals give it as here with no variation worth noticing, in the shape of sense.

[1] Whitlocke, p. 646. [2] Godwin, iv. 352, 367 [3] Heath's Chronicle.

[4] Commons Journals, vii. 358 (25 May, 1657); Whitlocke, p. 648.

[5] 28 May (Commons Journals, vii. 54; Burton, ii. 142).

Blake: and so, in a general tide of triumphant accordance, and outward and inward prosperity, this Second Protectorate Parliament advances to the end of its First Session.

SPEECH XV., LETTERS CCIII.—CCVIII.

THE Session of Parliament is prosperously reaching its close; and during the recess there will be business enough to do. Selection of our new House of Lords; carrying-on of the French League Offensive against Spain; and other weighty interests. Of which the following small documents, one short official Speech, and six short, mostly official Letters are all that remain to us.

SPEECH XV.

PARLIAMENT has passed some Bills; among the rest, some needful money-Bills, Assessment of 340,000*l.* a-month on England, 6,000*l.* on Scotland, 9,000*l.* on Ireland;[1] to all which his Highness, with some word of thanks for the money, will now signify his assent. Unexceptionable word of thanks, accidentally preserved to us,[2] which, with the circumstances attendant thereon, we have to make conscience of reporting.

Tuesday morning, 9th June, 1657, Message comes to the Honourable House, That his Highness, in the Painted Chamber, requires their presence. They gather up their Bills; certain Money-Bills "for an assessment towards the Spanish War;" and "divers other Bills, some of public, some of more private concernment," among which latter we notice one for settling Lands in the County of Dublin on Widow Bastwick and her four children, Dr. Bastwick's widow, poor Susannah, who has long been a solicitress in this matter: these Bills the Clerk of the Commons gathers up, the Sergeant shoulders his Mace; and so, Clerk and Sergeant leading off, and Speaker Widdrington and all his Honourable Members following, the whole House in this due order, with its Bills and apparatus, proceeds to the Painted Chamber. There, on his platform, in chair of state sits his Highness, attended by his Council and others. Speaker Widdrington at a table on the common level of the floor "finds a chair set for him, and a form for his clerk." Speaker Widdrington, hardly venturing to sit, makes a "short and pithy Speech" on the general proceedings of Parliament; presents his Bills, with probably some short and pithy words, such as suggest themselves, prefatory to each: "A few slight Bills; they are but as the grapes that precede the full vintage, may it please your Highness." His Highness in due form signifies assent; and then says:

MR. SPEAKER,

I perceive that, among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary support of the Commonwealth by those Bills for the levying of money, now brought to me, which I have given my consent unto. Understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been Chief Governors to acknowledge with thanks to

[1] Parliamentary History, xxi. 151; Commons Journals, vii. 554-7.
[2] Commons Journals, vii 551-2.

the Commons their care and regard of the Public, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein.*

The Parliament has still some needful polishing-up of its Petition and Advice, other perfecting of details to accomplish: after which it is understood there will be a new and much more solemn Inauguration of his Highness; and then the First Session will, as in a general peal of joy-bells, harmoniously close.

LETTER CCIII.

OFFICIAL Letter of Thanks to Blake, for his Victory at Santa Cruz on the 20th April last. The "small Jewel" sent herewith is one of 500*l.* value, gratefully voted him by the Parliament; among whom, as over England generally, there is great rejoicing on account of him. Where Blake received this Letter and Jewel we know not; but guess it may have been in the Bay of Cadiz. Along with it, "Instructions" went out to him to leave a squadron of Fourteen Ships there, and come home with the rest of the Fleet. He died, as we said above, within sight of Plymouth, on the 7th of August following.

'*To General Blake, at Sea.*'

SIR, Whitehall, 10th June, 1657.

I have received yours of 'the 20th of April last;'[1] and thereby the account of the good success it hath pleased God to give you at the Canaries, in your attempt upon the King of Spain's Ships in the Bay of Santa Cruz.

The mercy therein, to us and this Commonwealth, is very signal; both in the loss the Enemy hath received, and also in the preservation of our 'own' ships and men;[2]—which indeed was very wonderful; and according to the goodness and lovingkindness of the Lord, wherewith His People hath been followed in all these late revolutions; and doth call on our part, That we should fear before Him, and still hope in His mercy.

We cannot but take notice also how eminently it hath pleased God to make use of you in this service; assisting you with wisdom in the conduct, and courage in the execution 'thereof;'—and have sent you a small Jewel, as a testimony of our own and the Parliament's good acceptance of your carriage in this Action. We are also informed that the Officers of the Fleet, and the Seamen, carried themselves with much honesty and courage; and we are considering of a way to shew our acceptance thereof. In the meantime, we desire you to return our hearty thanks and acknowledgments to them.

Thus, beseeching the Lord to continue His presence with you, I remain,

Your very affectionate friend,

'OLIVER P.'†

Land-General Reynolds has gone to the French Netherlands, with Six-thousand men, to join Turenne in fighting the Spaniards there; and

* Commons Journals, vii. 552: Reported by Widdrington in the afternoon.

1 Blank in MS. 2 "50 slain outright, 150 wounded, of ours" (Burton, ii. 142).

† Thurloe, vi. 342. "Instructions to General Blake," of the same date, *ibid.*

Sea-General Montague is about hoisting his flag to coöperate with him from the other element. By sea and land there are many things passing;—and here in London is the loudest thing of all: not yet to be entirely omitted by us, though now it has fallen very silent in comparison. Inauguration of the Lord Protector; second and more solemn Installation of him, now that he is fully recognised by Parliament itself. He cannot yet, as it proves, be crowned King; but he shall be installed in his Protectorship with all solemnity befitting such an occasion.

Friday, 26th June, 1657. The Parliament and all the world are busy with this grand affair; the labours of the session being now complete, the last finish being now given to our new Instrument of Government, to our elaborate Petition and Advice, we will add this topstone to the work, and so, amid the shoutings of mankind, disperse for the recess. Friday at two o'clock, "in a place prepared," duly prepared with all manner of "platforms," "cloths of state," and "seats raised one above the other," "at the upper end of Westminster Hall." Palaceyard, and London generally, is all a-tiptoe, out of doors. Within doors, Speaker Widdrington and the Master of the Ceremonies have done their best; the Judges, the Aldermen, the Parliament, the Council, the foreign Ambassadors and domestic Dignitaries without end; chairs of state, cloths of state, trumpet-peals, and acclamations of the people—Let the reader conceive it; or read in old Pamphlets the "exact relation" of it with all the speeches and phenomena, worthier than such things usually are of being read.[1]

"His Highness standing under the Cloth of State," says Bulstrode, whose fine feelings are evidently touched by it, "the Speaker in the name of the Parliament presented to him: First, a *Robe* of purple velvet; which the Speaker, assisted by Whitlocke and others, put upon his Highness. Then he," the Speaker, "delivered to him the *Bible* richly gilt and bossed," an affecting Symbolic Gift: "After that, the Speaker girt the *Sword* about his Highness; and delivered into his hand the *Sceptre* of massy gold. And then, this done, he made a Speech to him on these several things presented;" eloquent mellifluous Speech, setting forth the high and true significance of these several Symbols, Speech still worth reading; to which his Highness answered in silence by dignified gesture only. "Then Mr. Speaker gave him the Oath;" and so ended, really in a solemn manner. "And Mr. Manton, by prayer, recommended his Highness, the Parliament, the Council, the Forces by land and sea, and the whole Government and People of the Three Nations, to the blessing and Protection of God."— And then "the people gave several great shouts;" and "the trumpets sounded; and the Protector sat in his chair of state, holding the Sceptre in his hand:" a remarkable sight to see. "On his right sat the Ambassador of France," on his left some other Ambassador; and all round, standing or sitting, were Dignitaries of the highest quality; "and near the Earl of Warwick, stood the Lord Viscount Lisle, stood General Montague and Whitlocke, each of them having a drawn sword in his hand,"—a sublime sight to some of us![2]

[1] An exact Relation of the manner of the solemn Investiture, &c. (Reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 152-160.)

[2] Whitlocke, p. 661.

And so this Solemnity transacts itself;—which at the moment was solemn enough; and is not yet, at this or any hollowest moment of Human History, intrinsically altogether other. A really dignified and veritable piece of Symbolism; perhaps the last we hitherto, in these quack-ridden histrionic ages, have been privileged to see on such an occasion.—The Parliament is prorogued till the 20th of January next; the new House of Lords, and much else, shall be got ready in the interim.

LETTER CCIV.

SEA-GENERAL MONTAGUE, whom we saw standing with drawn sword beside the chair of state, is now about proceeding to co-operate with Land-General Reynolds, on the despatch of real business.

For General Montague, on board the Naseby, in the Downs.

SIR, Whitehall, 11th August, 1657.

You having desired by several Letters to know our mind concerning your weighing anchor and sailing with the Fleet out of the Downs, we have thought fit to let you know, That we do very well approve thereof, and that you do cruise up and down in the Channel, in such places as you shall judge most convenient, taking care of the safety, interest, and honour of the Commonwealth.

I remain,

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

Under the wax of the Commonwealth Seal, Montague has written, *His Highness's letter, Aug^st. 11, 1657, to comand mee to sayle.*

LETTER CCV.

For my loving Friend, John Dunch, Esquire.

SIR, 'Hampton Court,' 27th August, 1657.

I desire to speak with you; and hearing a report from Hursley that you were going to your Father's in Berkshire, I send this express to you, desiring you to come to me at Hampton Court.

With my respects to your Father,[1]—I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.†

This is the John Dunch of Pusey; married, as we saw, to Mayor's younger Daughter, the Sister-in-law of Richard Cromwell: the Collector for us of those Seventeen Pusey Letters; of which we have here read the last. He is of the present Parliament, was of the former; seems to be enjoying his recess, travelling about in the Autumn Sun of those old days, and vanishes from History at this point, in the private apartments of Hampton Court.

LETTER CCVI.

GENERAL MONTAGUE, after a fortnight's cruising, has touched at the Downs again, "28th August, wind at S.S.W.," being in want of some

* Cromwelliana, p. 168. "Original Letter, in the possession of Thomas ListerParker, Esq.'—is now (1846) in the British Museum (Additional Ayscough MSS. in 12,098). Only the signature is Oliver's,—tragically physiognomic:—in letters long, thin, singularly straight in direction, but all notched and tremulous. [1] Father-in-law, Mayor. † Harris, p. 515.

instruction on a matter that has risen.[1] "A Flushinger," namely, "has come into St. Maloes; said to have twenty-five ton of silver in her;" a Flushinger there, and "six other Dutch Ships" hovering in the distance; which are thought to be carrying silver and stores for the Spaniards. Montague has sent Frigates to search them, to seize the very bullion if it be Spanish; but wishes fresh authority, in case of accident.

'*For General Montague, on board the Naseby, in the Downs.*'

SIR, Hampton Court, 30th August, 1657.

The Secretary hath communicated to us your Letter of the 28th instant; by which you acquaint him with the directions you have given for the searching of a Flushinger and other Dutch Ships which, as you are informed, have bullion and other goods aboard them belonging to the Spaniard, the declared Enemy of this State.

There is no question to be made but what you have directed therein is agreeable both to the Law of Nations and 'to' the particular Treaties which are between this Commonwealth and the United Provinces. And therefore we desire you to continue the said direction, and to require the Captains to be careful in doing their duty therein.

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

LETTER CCVII.

BY the new and closer Treaty signed with France in March last,[2] for assaulting the Spanish Power in the Netherlands, it was stipulated that the French King should contribute Twenty-thousand men, and the Lord Protector Six-thousand, with a sufficient Fleet; which combined forces were straightway to set about reducing the three Coast Towns, Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk; the former when reduced to belong to France, the two latter to England; if the former should chance to be the first reduced, it was then to be given up to England, and held as cautionary till the other two were got. Mardike and Dunkirk, these were what Oliver expected to gain by this adventure. One or both of which strong Haven-towns would naturally be very useful to him, connected with the Continent as he was,—continually menaced with Royalist Invasion from that quarter; and struggling, as the aim of his whole Foreign Policy was, to unite Protestant Europe with England in one great effectual league.[3] Such was the French Treaty of the 23d of March last.

Oliver's part of the bargain was promptly and faithfully fulfilled. Six-thousand well-appointed men, under Commissary-General Reynold's, were landed, "in new red coats," "near Boulogne on the 13th and 14th days of May" last; and a Fleet under Montague, as we observe, sufficient to command those seas, and prevent all relief by ships in any Siege, is actually cruising there. Young Louis Fourteenth came down to the coast to see the English Troops reviewed; expressed his joy and admiration over them;—and has set them, the Cardinal and he have set

[1] His Letter to Secretary Thurloe (*Thurloe*, vi. 489).

* Thurloe, vi. 489.

[2] 23 March, 1656-7: Authorities in Godwin (iv. 540-3).

[3] *Foreign Affairs in the Protector's Time* (in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 329-39), by some ancient anonymous man of sense, is worth reading.

them, to assault the Spanish Power in the Netherlands by a plan of their own! To reduce not "Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk," on the Coast, as the Treaty has it, but Montmédi, Cambray and I know not what, in the Interior;—the Cardinal doubling and shuffling, and by all means putting off the attack of any place whatever on the Coast! With which arrangement Oliver Protector's dissatisfaction has at length reached a crisis; and he now writes, twice on the same day, to his Ambassador, to signify peremptorily that the same must terminate.

Of "Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France" in these years, there were much more to be said than we have room for here. A man of distinguished qualities, of manifold adventures and employments; whose Biography, if he could find any Biographer with real industry instead of sham industry, and above all things with human *eyes* instead of pedant *spectacles*, might still be worth writing, in brief compass.[1] He is Scotch; of the "Lockharts of Lee" in Lanarkshire; has been in many wars and businesses abroad and at home;—was in *Hamilton's Engagement*, for one thing; and accompanied Dugald Dalgetty or Sir James Turner in those disastrous days and nights at Preston,[2] though only as a common Colonel then, and not noticed by anybody. In the next Scotch War, he received affronts from the Covenanted King; remained angrily at home, did not go to Worcester or elsewhither. The Covenanted King having vanished, and Lockhart's connexions being Presbyterian-Royalist, there was little outlook for him now in Scotland, or Britain; and he had resolved on trying France again. He came accordingly to London, seeking leave from the Authorities; had an interview with Oliver now newly made Protector,—who read the worth of him, saw the uses of him, advised him to continue where he was.

He did continue; married "Miss Robina Sewster," a Huntingdonshire lady, the Protector's Niece, to whom in her girlhood, we once promised a distinguished Husband; has been our Ambassador in France near two years now[3];—does diplomatic, warlike, and whatever work comes before him, in an effectual and manful manner. It is thought by judges that in Lockhart the Lord Protector had the best Ambassador of that Age. Nay, in spite of all considerations, his merits procured him afterwards a similar employment in Charles Second's time. We must here cease speaking of him; recommend him to some diligent succinct Biographer of insight, should such a one, by unexpected favour of the Destinies, turn up.

'*To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France.*'[4]

SIR, Whitehall, 31st August, 1657.

I have seen your last letter to Mr. Secretary, as also divers others: and although I have no doubt either of your diligence or ability to serve us in so great a Business, yet I am deeply sensible that

[1] Noble (ii. 233-73) has reproduced, probably with new errors, certain MS. "Family Memoirs" of this Lockhart, which are everywhere very vague, and in passages (that of Dunkirk, for example) quite *mythological*. Lockhart's own Letters are his best Memorial;—for the present, drowned, with so much else, in the deep slumber-lakes of *Thurloe*; with or without chance of recovery.

[2] *Antea*, vol. i. pp. 215.

[3] Since 30 Dec. 1655 ("Family Memoirs" in *Noble*, ii. 244.)

[4] Now with the Court at Peronne (Thurloe, vi. 482 487); soon after at Paris (*Ib* 496).

the French are very much short with us in ingenuousness[1] and performance. And that which increaseth our sense 'of this' is, The resolution we 'for our part' had, rather to overdo than to be behindhand in anything of our Treaty. And although we never were so foolish 'as' to apprehend that the French and their interests were the same with ours in all things, yet as to the Spaniard, who hath been known in all ages to be the most implacable enemy that France hath,—we never could doubt, before we made our Treaty, that, going upon such grounds, we should have been failed 'towards' as we are!

To talk of "giving us Garrisons" which are *inland*, as Caution for future action; to talk of "what will be done next Campaign,"—are but parcels of words for children. If they will give us Garrisons, let them give us Calais, Dieppe and Boulogne;—which I think they will do *as* soon as be honest in their words in giving us any one Spanish Garrison upon the coast into our hands! I positively think, which I say to you, they are afraid we should have any footing on that side 'of the Water,' though Spanish.

I pray you tell the Cardinal from me, That I think, if France desires to maintain its ground, much more to *get* ground upon the Spaniard, the performance of his Treaty with us will better do it than anything appears yet to me of any Design he hath!—Though we cannot so well pretend to soldiery as those that are with him; yet we think that, we being able by sea to strengthen and secure his Siege, and 'to' reinforce it as we please by sea, and the Enemy 'being' in capacity to do nothing to relieve it,—the best time to besiege that Place will be *now*. Especially if we consider that the French horse will be able so to ruin Flanders as that no succour can be brought to relieve the Place; and that the French Army and our own will have constant relief, as far as England and France can give it, without any manner of impediment,—especially considering the Dutch are now engaged so much to Southward[2] as they are.

I desire to let him know That Englishmen have had so good experience of Winter expeditions, they are confident, if the Spaniard shall keep the field, As he cannot impede this work, so neither will he be able to attack anything towards France with a possibility of retreat.[3] And what do all *delays* signify but 'even this:' The giving the Spaniard opportunity so much the more to reinforce himself; and the keeping our men another Summer to serve the French, without any colour of a reciprocal, or any advantage to ourselves!—

And therefore if this will not be listened unto, I desire that things may be considered of To give us satisfaction for the great expense we have been at with our Naval Forces and otherwise; which out of an honourable and honest aim on our part hath been incurred, thereby to answer the Engagements we had made. And 'in fine' That consideration may be had how our Men may be put into a position to be returned to us:—whom we hope we shall employ to a better purpose than to have them continue where they are.

[1] "ingenuity" as usual, *in orig.*

[2] Spain-ward: so much inclined to help the Spaniard, if Montague would let them: a thing worth Mazarin's consideration too, though it comes in irregularly here!

[3] You may cut off his retreat, if he venture that way.

I desire we may know what France saith, and will do, upon this point. We shall be ready still, as the Lord shall assist us, to perform what can be reasonably expected on our part. And you may also let the Cardinal know farther, That our intentions, as they have been, will be to do all the good offices we can to promote the Interest common to us.[1]

Apprehending it is of moment that this Business should come to you with speed and surety, we have sent it by an Express.

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

LETTER CCVIII.

SAME date, same parties: an afterthought, by the same Express.

'*To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France.*'

SIR, Whitehall, 31st August, 1657.

We desire, having written to you as we have, that the design be *Dunkirk* rather than Gravelines; and much *more* that it be:—but one of them rather than fail.

We shall not be wanting, To send over, at the French charge, Two of our old regiments, and Two-thousand foot more, if need be,—if Dunkirk be the design.[2] Believing that if the Army be well entrenched, and if La Ferté's Foot be added to it, we shall be able to give liberty to the greatest part of the French Cavalry to have an eye to the Spaniard,—leaving but convenient numbers to stand by the Foot.

And because this action will probably divert the Spaniard from assisting Charles Stuart in any attempt upon us, you may be assured that, if reality may with any reason be expected from the French, we shall do all reason on our part. But if indeed the French be so false to us as that they would not have us *have* any footing on that side the Water,—then I desire, as in our other Letter to you, That all things may be done in order to the giving us satisfaction 'for our expense incurred,' and to the drawing-off of our Men.

And truly, Sir, I desire you to take boldness and freedom to yourself in your dealing with the French on these accounts.

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.†

This Letter naturally had its effect: indeed there goes a witty sneer in France. "The Cardinal is more afraid of Oliver than of the Devil;"—he ought indeed to fear the Devil much more, but Oliver is the palpabler Entity of the two! Mardike was besieged straightway; girt by sea and land, and the great guns opened "on the 21st day of September" next: Mardike was taken before September ended; and due delivery to our General was had of Mardike. The place was in a weak state; but by sea and land all hands were now busy fortifying and securing it. An attempt to retake Mardike, by scalado or surprisal from the Dunkirk side, was made next month, by Don John with a great Spanish Force, among which his Ex-Royal Highness the Duke of York, with Four English-Irish emigrant Regiments he has now got raised for him on Spanish pay, was duly conspicuous: but it did not

* Thurloe, vi. 490.

[1] "thereof" *in orig.*

[2] Gravelines is to belong to *them*; Dunkirk to *us*: Dunkirk will be much preferable.

† Thurloe, vi. 489.

succeed; it amounted only to a night of unspeakable tumult; to much expenditure of shot on all sides, and of life on his Royal Highness's and Don John's side,—Montague pouring death-fire on them from his ships too, and "four great flaming links at the corners of Mardike Tower" warning Montague not to aim *thitherward*,—and "the dead were carried-off in carts before sunrise."[1]

Let us add here, that Dunkirk, after gallant service shewn by the Six-thousand, and brilliant fighting and victory on the sandhills, was also got, next summer;[2] Lockhart himself now commanding there, poor Reynolds having perished at sea. Dunkirk too remained an English Garrison, much prized by England; till, in very altered times, his now Restored Majesty saw good to sell it, and the loyallest men had to make their comparisons.—On the whole we may say, this Expedition to the Netherlands was a successful one; the Six-thousand, "immortal Six-thousand" as some call them,[3] gained what they were sent for, and much glory over and above.

This is the Last Letter left to us of Oliver Cromwell's; this of the 31st August, 1657;—Oliver's great heroic Dayswork, and the small unheroic pious one of Oliver's Editor, is drawing to a close! But in the same hours while Oliver writes this Letter,—let us still spare a corner for recording it,—John Lilburn, Freeborn John, or alas only the empty *Case* of John, is getting buried; still in a noisy manner! Noisy John, set free from many prisons, had been living about Eltham lately, in a state of Quakerism, or Quasi-Quakerism. Here is the clipping from the old Newspaper:

"*August* 31st, 1657. Mr. John Lilburn, commonly known by the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburn, dying on Saturday at Eltham, was this morning removed thence to London; and his corpse conveyed to the House called the *Mouth*," old, still extant *Bull-and-Mouth* Inn, "at Aldersgate,—which is the usual meeting-place of the people called Quakers, to whom, it seems, he had lately joined in opinion. At this place, in the afternoon, there assembled a medley of people; among whom the Quakers were most eminent for number: and within the house a controversy was, Whether the ceremony of a hearse-cloth" (pall) "should be cast over his coffin? But the major part, being Quakers, would not assent; so the coffin was, about five o'clock in the evening, brought forth into the street. At its coming out, there stood a man on purpose to cast a velvet hearse-cloth over the coffin; and he endeavoured to do it: but the crowd of Quakers would not permit him; and having gotten the body upon their shoulders, they carried it away without farther ceremony; and the whole company conducted it into Moorfields, and thence to the new Churchyard adjoining to Bedlam, where it lieth interred.[4]

One noisy element, then, is out of this world:—another is fast going. Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, over here once more on Insurrectionary business, scheming out a new Invasion of the Charles-Stuart Spaniards

[1] 22 October (Heath's Chronicle, p. 727; Carte's Ormond, ii. 175.)
[2] 13 June, 1658, the fight; 15 June, the surrender; 24th, the delivery to Lockhart (Thurloe vii. 155, 173. &c.). Clarendon, iii. 853-58.
[3] Sir William Temple, Memoirs, Part iii. 154 (cited by Godwin. iv. 547)
[4] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 168).

and English-Irish Regiments, and just lifting anchor for Flanders again, was seized "in the Ship *Hope*, in a mean habit, disguised like a countryman, and his face much altered by an overgrown beard;"—before the Ship *Hope* could get under way, about a month ago.[1] Bushy-bearded Sexby, after due examination by his Highness, has been lodged in the Tower; where his mind falls into a very unsettled state. In October next he volunteers a confession; goes mad; and in the January following dies,[2] and to his own relief and ours disappears,—poor Sexby.

Sexby, like the Stormy Peterel, indicates that new Royalist-Anabaptist Tumult is a-brewing. "They are as the waves of the Sea, they cannot rest; they must stir up mire and dirt,"—it is the lot appointed them! In fact, the grand Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion is again on the anvil; and they will try it, this year, even without the Preface of Assassination. New troubles are hoped from this New Session of Parliament, which begins in January. The "Excluded Members" are to be readmitted then; there is to be a "Second House:" who knows what possibilities of trouble! A new Parliament is always the signal for new Royalist attempts; even as the Moon to waves of the sea; but we hope his Highness will be prepared for them!—

Wednesday, 11*th November*, 1657. "This day," say the old Newspapers, "the most Illustrious Lady, the Lady Francis Cromwell, youngest Daughter of his Highness the Lord Protector, was married to the most noble gentleman Mr. Robert Rich, Son of the Lord Rich, Grandchild of the Earl of Warwick and of the Countess-Dowager of Devonshire; in the presence of their Highnesses, and of his Grandfather, and Father, and the said Countess, with many other persons of high honour and quality." At Whitehall, this blessed Wednesday; all difficulties now overcome;—which we are glad to hear of, "though our friends truly were very few!"—And on the Thursday of next week follows, at Hampton Court, the Lady Mary's own wedding.[3] Wedding "to the most noble lord, the Lord Fauconberg," lately returned from his Travels in foreign parts: a Bellasis, of the Yorkshire kindred so named,—which was once very high in Royalism, but is now making other connections. For the rest, a brilliant ingenuous and hopeful young man, "in my opinion a person of extraordinary parts;"[4] of whom his Highness has made due investigation, and finds that it may answer.

And now for the new Session of Parliament which assembles in January next: the Second Session of Parliament, and indeed the last of this and of them all!

SPEECHES XVI.—XVIII., LETTER CCIX.

THE First Session of this Parliament closed, last June, under such auspicious circumstances as we saw; leaving the People and the Lord Protector in the comfortable understanding that there was now a Settlement arrived at, a Government possible by Law; that irregular exercises of Authority, Major-Generals and such like, would not be needed

[1] 24 July (Newspapers, in Cromwelliana, p. 167). [2] Ibid. pp. 169-70

[3] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 169).

[4] Lockhart's report of him to Thurloe, after an interview at Paris, as ordered on Fauconberg's return homeward, 21 March, 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 134; 125).

henceforth for saving of the Commonwealth. Our Public Affairs, in the Netherlands and elsewhere, have prospered in the interim; nothing has misgone. Why should not this Second Session be as successful as the First was?—Alas, success, especially on such a basis as the humours and parliamentary talkings and self-developments of Four-hundred men, is very uncertain! And indeed this Second Session meets now under conditions somewhat altered.

For one thing, there is to be a new House of Lords: we know not how that may answer! For another thing, it is not now permissible to stop our Haselrigs, Scotts and Ashley Coopers at the threshold of the Parliament, and say, Ye shall not enter: if they choose to take the Oath prescribed by this new Instrument, they have power to enter, and only the Parliament itself can reject them. These, in this Second Session, are new elements; on which, as we have seen, the generation of Plotters are already speculating; on which naturally his Highness too has his anxieties. His Highness, we find, as heretofore, struggles to *do* his best and wisest, not yielding much to anxieties: but the result is, this Session proved entirely unsuccessful; perhaps the unsuccessfullest of all Sessions or Parliaments on record hitherto!—

The new House of Lords was certainly a rather questionable adventure. You do not improvise a Peerage:—no, his Highness is well aware of that! Nevertheless "somewhat to stand between me and the House of Commons" has seemed a thing desirable, a thing to be decided on: and this new House of Lords, this will be a "somewhat,"—the best that can be had in present circumstances. Very weak and small as yet, like a tree new-planted; but very certain to grow stronger, if it have real life in it, if there be in the nature of things a real necessity for it. Plant it, try it, this new Puritan Oliverian Peerage-of-Fact, such as it has been given us. The old Peerage-of-Descent, with its thousand years of strength,—what of the old Peerage has Puritan sincerity, and manhood and marrow in its bones, will, in the course of years, rally round an Oliver and his new Peerage-of-Fact,—as it is already by many symptoms showing a tendency to do. If the Heavens ordain that Oliver continue and succeed as hitherto, undoubtedly his new Peerage may succeed along with him, and gather to it whatever of the Old is worth gathering. In the meanwhile it has been enacted by the Parliament and him; his part is now, To put it in effect the best he can.

The List of Oliver's Lords can be read in many Books;[1] but issuing as that matter did, it need not detain us here. Puritan Men of Eminence such as the Time had yielded: Skippon, Desborow, Whalley, Pride, Hewson, these are what we may call the *Napoleon-Marshals* of the business: Whitlocke, Haselrig, Lenthall, Maynard, old Francis Rouse, Scotch Warriston, Lockhart; Notabilities of Parliament, of Religious Politics, or Law. Montague, Howard are there; the Earls of Manchester, Warwick, Mulgrave,—some six Peers; of whom only one, the Lord Eure from Yorkshire, would, for the present, take his seat. The rest of the six as yet stood aloof; even Warwick, as near as he was

[1] Complete, in *Parliamentary History* xxi. 167-9; incomplete, with angry contemporary glosses to each Name, which are sometimes curious,—in *Harleian Miscellany*, vi. 460-71. An old Copy of the official *Summons* to these Lords is in *Additional Ayscough* MSS., No. 3246.

to the Lord Protector, could not think[1] of sitting with such a Napoleon Marshal as Major-General Hewson, who, men say, started as a Shoemaker in early life. Yes; in that low figure did Hewson start; and has had to fight every inch of his way up hitherward, doing manifold victorious battle with the Devil and the World as he went along,—proving himself a bit of right good stuff, thinks the Lord Protector! You, Warwicks and others, according to what sense of manhood you may have, you can look into this Hewson, and see if you find any manhood or worth in him;—I have found some! The Protector's List, compiled under great difficulties,[2] seems, so far as we can now read it, very unexceptionable; practical, substantial, with an eye for the New and for the Old; doing between these two, with good insight, the best it can. There were some Sixty-three summoned in all; of whom some Forty and upwards sat, mostly taken from the House of Commons:—the worst effect of which was that his Highness thereby lost some forty favourable votes in that other House; which, as matters went, proved highly detrimental there.

However, Wednesday 20th January 1657-8 has arrived. The Excluded Members are to have readmission,—so many of them as can take the Oath according to this New Instrument. His Highness hopes if they volunteer to swear this Oath, they will endeavour to keep it; and seems to have no misgivings about them. He to govern and administer, and they to debate and legislate, in conformity with this Petition and Advice, not otherwise: this is, in word and in essence, the thing they and he have mutually with all solemnity bargained to do. It may be rationally hoped that in all misunderstandings, should such arise, some good basis of agreement will and must unfold itself between parties so related to each other. The common dangers, as his Highness knows and will in due time make known, are again imminent; Royalist Plottings once more rife, Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion once more preparing itself.

But now the Parliament reassembling on this Wednesday the 20th, there begins, in the "Outer Court," since called the Lobby, an immense "administering of the Oath," the whole Parliament taking it; Six Commissioners appearing "early in the morning," with due apparatus and solemnity, minutely described in the Journals and Old Books;[3] and then labouring till all are sworn. That is the first great step. Which done, the Commons House constitutes itself; appoints "Mr. Smythe" Clerk, instead of Scobell, who has gone to the Lords, and with whom there is continual controversy thenceforth about "surrendering of Records" and the like. In a little while (hour not named) comes Black Rod; reports that his Highness is in the Lords House, waiting for this House. Whereupon, Shoulder Mace,—yes, let us take the Mace,—and march. His Highness, somewhat indisposed in health, leaving the main burden of the exposition to Nathaniel Fiennes of the Great Seal who is to follow him, speaks to this effect; as the authentic Commons Journals yield it for us.

[1] Ludlow, ii. 596. [2] Thurloe, vi. 648
[3] Commons Journals, vii. 578; Whitlocke, p. 666; Burton, ii. 322.

SPEECH XVI.

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN 'OF' THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

I meet you here in this capacity by the Advice and Petition of this present Parliament. After so much expense of blood and treasure, 'we are now' to search and try what blessings God hath in store for these Nations. I cannot but with gladness of heart remember and acknowledge the labour and industry that is past, 'your past labour,' which hath been spent upon a business worthy of the best men and the best Christians. [May it prove fruitful !]

It is very well known unto you all what difficulties we have passed through, and what 'issue' we are now arrived at. We hope we may say we have arrived if not 'altogether' at what we aimed at, yet at that which is much beyond our expectations. The nature of this Cause, and the Quarrel, what that was at the first, you all very well know; I am persuaded most of you have been actors in it: It was the maintaining of the Liberty of these Nations; our Civil Liberties as Men, our Spiritual Liberties as Christians. [Have we arrived at that?] I shall not much look back; but rather say one word concerning the state and condition we are all now in.

You know very well, the first Declaration,[1] after the beginning of this War, that spake to the life, was a sense held forth by the Parliament, That for some succession of time designs had been laid to innovate upon the Civil Rights of the Nations, 'and' to innovate in matters of Religion. And those very persons who, a man would have thought, should have had the least hand in meddling with Civil things, did justify them all. [Zealous sycophant Priests, Sibthorp, Manwaring, Montagu, of the Laud fraternity: forced-loans, monopolies, ship-monies, all Civil Tyranny was right according to them !] All the 'Civil' transactions that were,—'they justified them' in their pulpits, presses, and otherwise! Which was verily thought, 'had they succeeded in it,' would have been a very good shelter to them, to innovate upon us in matters of Religion also. And so to innovate as to eat out the core and power and heart and life of all Religion! By bringing on us a company of poisonous Popish Ceremonies [Somewhat animated, your Highness !], and imposing them upon those that were accounted "the Puritans" of the Nation, and professors of religion among us,—driving them to seek their bread in an howling wilderness! As was instanced to our friends who were forced to fly for Holland, New England, almost anywhither, to find Liberty for their Consciences.

Now if this thing hath been the state and sum of our Quarrel, and of those Ten Years of War wherein we were exercised; and if the good hand of God, for we are to attribute it to no other, hath brought this business thus home unto us as it is now settled in the Petition and Advice,—I think we have all cause to bless God, and the Nations have all cause to bless Him. [If we were of thankful just heart,—yea !]

I well remember I did a little touch upon the Eighty-fifth Psalm when I spake unto you in the beginning of this Parliament.[2] Which

[1] Declaration, 2 August 1642, went through the Lords House that day; it is in *Parliamentary History*, vi. 350. A thing of audacity reckoned almost impious at the time (see D'Ewes's MS. *Journal*, 23 July); corresponds in purport to what is said of it here.

[2] *Antea*, Speech VI. p. 661.

expresseth well what *we* may say, as truly as it was said of old by the Psalman of that Psalm! The first verse is an acknowledgment to God that He "had been favourable unto His land," and "brought back the captivity of His people;" and 'then' how that He had "pardoned all their iniquities and covered all their sin, and taken away all His wrath;" —and indeed of these unspeakable mercies, blessings, and deliverances out of captivity, pardoning of national sins and national iniquities. Pardoning, as God pardoneth the man whom He justifieth! He breaks through, and overlooks iniquity; and pardoneth because He will pardon. And sometimes God pardoneth Nations also!—And if the enjoyment of our present Peace and other mercies may be witnesses for God 'to *us*,' —we feel and we see them every day.

The greatest demonstration of His favour and love appears to us in this: That He hath given us *Peace*;—and the blessings of Peace, to wit, the enjoyment of our Liberties civil and spiritual! [Were not our prayers, and struggles, and deadly wrestlings, all even for this;—and we in some measure have it!] And I remember well, the Church 'in that same Eighty-fifth Psalm' falls into prayer and into praises, great expectations of future mercies, and much thankfulness for the enjoyment of present mercies; and breaks into this expression: "Surely salvation is nigh unto them that fear Him; that glory may dwell in our land." In the beginning it is called His land; "Thou hast been favourable to Thy land." Truly I hope this is His land! In some sense it may be given out that it *is* God's Land. And he that hath the weakest knowledge, and the worst memory, can easily tell that we are "a Redeemed People,"—'from the time' when God was first pleased to look favourably upon us, 'to redeem us' out of the hands of Popery, in that never to be forgotten Reformation, that most significant and greatest 'mercy' the Nation hath felt or tasted! I would but touch upon that,—but a touch: How God hath redeemed us, as we stand this day! Not from trouble and sorrow and anger only, but into a blessed and happy estate and condition, comprehensive of all Interests, of every member, of every individual;—'an imparting to *us*' of those mercies 'there spoken of,' as you very well see!

And then in what sense it is "our Land;"—through this grace and favour of God, That He hath vouchsafed unto us and bestowed upon us, with the Gospel, Peace, and rest out of Ten Years War; and given us what we would desire! Nay, who could have forethought, when we were plunged into the midst of our troubles, That ever the people of God should have had liberty to worship God without fear of enemies? [Strange: this "liberty" is to Oliver Cromwell a blessing almost too great for belief; to us it has become as common as the liberty to breathe atmospheric air,—a liberty not once worth thinking of. It is the way with all attainments and conquests in this world. Do I think of Cadmus, or the old unknown Orientals, while I write with LETTERS? The world is built upon the mere dust of Heroes; once earnest-wrestling, death-defying, prodigal of their blood; who now sleep well, forgotten by all their heirs.——"Without fear of enemies," he says.] Which is the very acknowledgment of the Promise of Christ that "He would deliver His from the fear of enemies, that they might worship Him in holiness and in righteousness all the days of their life."

This is the portion that God hath given *us;* and I trust we shall forever heartily acknowledge it!—The Church goes on there, 'in that Psalm,' and makes her boast yet farther: "His salvation is nigh them that fear Him, that glory may dwell in our land." *His* glory; not carnal, nor anything related thereto: this glory of a Free Possession of the Gospel; this is that which we may glory in! [Beautiful, thou noble soul!—And very strange to see such things in the Journals of the English House of Commons. O Heavens, into what oblivion of the Highest have stupid, canting, cotton-spinning, partridge-shooting mortals fallen, since that January 1658!] And it is said farther, "Mercy and Truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other." And 'note,' it shall be such righteousness as comes down from Heaven: "Truth shall grow out of the Earth, and Righteousness shall come down from Heaven." Here is the Truth of all 'truths;' here is the righteousness of God, under the notion of righteousness confirming *our* abilities,—answerable to the truth which He hath in the Gospel revealed to us! [According to Calvin and Paul.] And the Psalm closeth with this: "Righteousness shall go before Him, and shall set us in the way of His steps;"—that righteousness, that mercy, that love and that kindness which we have seen, and been made partakers of from the Lord, *it* shall be our Guide, to teach us to know the right and the good way; which is, To tread in the steps of mercy, righteousness and goodness that our God hath walked before us in.—

We 'too' have a Peace this day! I believe in my very heart, you all think the things that I speak to you this day. I am sure you have cause.

And yet we are not without the murmurings of many people who turn all this grace and goodness into wormwood; who indeed are disappointed by the works of God. And those men are of several ranks and conditions; great ones, lesser ones,—of all sorts. Men that are of the Episcopal spirit, with all the branches, the root and the branches;—who gave themselves a fatal blow in this Place,[1] when they would needs make a "Protestation that no Laws were good which were made by this House and the House of Commons in *their* absence;" and so without injury to others cut themselves off! 'Men of an Episcopal spirit:' indeed men that know not God; that know not how to account upon the works of God, how to measure them out; but will trouble Nations for an Interest which is but *mixed*, at the best,—made up of iron and clay like the feet of Nebuchadnezzar's Image: whether they were more Civil or Spiritual was hard to say. But their continuance was like to be known beforehand; [Yes, your Highness!] iron and clay make no good mixtures, they are not durable at all!—

You have now a godly Ministry; you have a knowing Ministry; such a one as, without vanity be it spoken, the world has not. Men knowing the things of God, and able to search into the things of God,—by that only which can fathom those things in some measure. The spirit of a beast knows not the things of a man; nor doth the spirit of man

[1] In this same House of Lords, on the 18th of December, 1641. Busy Williams the Lincoln Decoy-duck, with his Eleven too hasty Bishops, leading the way in that suicide. (*Antea* vol. i. p. 89.)

know the things of God! "The things of God are known *by the Spirit*."[1] —Truly I will remember but one thing of those, 'the misguided persons now cast out from us:' Their greatest persecution hath been of the People of God;—men really of the spirit of God, as I think very experience hath now sufficiently demonstrated!—

But what's the reason, think you, that men slip in this age wherein we live? As I told you before, They understand not the works of God. They consider not the operation of His Laws. They consider not that God resisted and broke in pieces the Powers that were, that men might fear Him;—might have liberty to do and enjoy all that that we have been speaking of! Which certainly God has manifested to have been the end; and so hath He brought the things to pass! *Therefore* it is that men yet slip, and engage themselves against God. And for that very cause, saith David (Psalm Twenty-eighth), "He shall break them down, and not bind them up!"

If, therefore, you would know upon what foundation you stand, own your foundation 'to be' from God. He hath set you where you are: He hath set you in the enjoyment of your Civil and Spiritual Liberties.

I deal clearly with you,[2] I have been under some infirmity; [His Highness still looks unwell.] therefore dare not speak farther to you;—except to let you know thus much, That I have with truth and simplicity declared the state of our Cause, and our attainments in it by the industry and labour of this Parliament since they last met upon this foundation—You shall find I mean, Foundation of a Cause and Quarrel thus attained to, wherein we are thus estated.[3] I should be very glad to lay my bones with yours; [What a tone!]—and would have done it, with all heartiness and cheerfulness, in the meanest capacity I ever yet was in, to serve the Parliament.

If God give you, as I trust He will,—["His blessing" or "strength:" but the Sentence is gone.]—He *hath* given it you, for what have I been speaking of but what you have done? He hath given you strength to do what you have done! And if God should bless you in this work, and make this Meeting happy on this account, you shall all be called the Blessed of the Lord. [Poor Oliver!]—The generations to come will bless us. You shall be the "repairers of breaches, and the restorers of paths to dwell in!"[4] And if there be any higher work which mortals can attain unto in the world, beyond this, I acknowledge *my* ignorance 'of it.'

As I told you, I have some infirmities upon me. I have not liberty to speak more unto you: but I have desired an Honourable Person here by me [Glancing towards Nathaniel Fiennes, him with the Purse and Seal.] to discourse, a little more particularly, what may be more proper for this occasion and this meeting.*

Nathaniel Fiennes follows in a long highflown, ingenious Discourse,[5]

[1] 1 Corinthians, ii. 11. [2] Means "Give me leave to say."

[3] This Parliament's "foundation," the ground *this* Parliament took its stand upon, was a recognition that our Cause had been so and so, that our "attainment" and "estate" in it were so and so; hence their *Petition and Advice*, and other very salutary labours. [4] Isaiah, lviii. 12.

* Commons Journals, vii. 577: that is the Original,—reported by Widdrington next day *Burton* (ii. 322), *Parliamentary History* (xxi. 170) are copies.

[5] Reported, Commons Journals, vii. 582-7, Monday, 25 Jan. 1657-8.

characterised by Dryasdust, in his Parliamentary History and other Works, as false, canting, and little less than insane; for which the Anti-dryasdust reader has by this time learned to forgive the fatal Doctor of Darkness. Fiennes's Speech is easily recognisable, across its Calvinistic dialect, as full of sense and strength; broad manful thought and clear insight, couched in a gorgeous figurative style, which a friendly judge might almost call poetic. It is the first time we thoroughly forgive the Honourable Nathaniel for surrendering Bristol to Prince Rupert long ago; and rejoice that Prynne and Independency Walker did not get him shot, by Court-Martial, on that occasion.

Nathaniel compares the present state of England to the rising of Cosmos out of Chaos as recorded in *Genesis:* Two "firmaments" are made, two separate Houses of Parliament; much is made, but much yet remains to be made. He is full of figurative ingenuity; full of resolution, of tolerance, of discretion, and various other good qualities not very rife in the world. "What shall be done to our Sister that hath no breasts?" he asks, in the language of Solomon's Song. What shall we do with those good men, friends to our Cause, who yet reject us, and sit at home on their estates? We will soothe them, we will submit to them, we will in all ways invite them to us. Our little Sister,—"if she be a wall, we will build a palace of silver upon her; if she be a door, we will enclose her with boards of cedar:"—our little Sister shall not be estranged from us, if it please God!—

There is, in truth, need enough of unanimity at present. One of these days, there came a man riding jogtrot through Stratford-at-the-Bow, with "a green glazed cover over his hat," a "night-cap under it," and "his valise behind him;" a rustic-looking man: recognisable to *us*, amid the vanished populations who take no notice of him as he jogs along there,—for the Duke of Ormond, Charles Stuart's head man! He sat up, at Colchester, the night before, "playing shuffleboard with some farmers, and drinking hot ale." He is fresh from Flanders, and the Ex-King; has arrived here to organise the Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion, and see what Royalist Insurrection, or other domestic mischief there may be hopes of. Lodges now, "with dyed hair" in a much disguised manner, "at the house of a Papist Chirurgeon in Drury Lane;" communicating with the ringleaders here.[1]

The Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion is again on foot, and no fable. He has Four English-Irish Regiments; the low-minded Dutch, we understand, have hired him Two-and-twenty ships, which hope to escape our frigates some dark night; and Don John has promised a Spanish Army of Six-thousand or Ten-thousand, if the domestic Royalists will bestir themselves. Like the waves of the sea, that cannot rest; that have to go on, throwing up mire and dirt! Frantic-Anabaptists too are awakening; the general English Hydra is rallying itself again, as if to try it one other last time.

Foreign Affairs also look altogether questionable to a Protestant man. Swede and Dane in open war; inextricable quarrels bewildering the King of Sweden, King of Denmark, Elector of Brandenburg, all manner of Foreign Protestants, whom Oliver never yet could reconcile; and the

[1] Carte's Ormond, ii, 176-8.

Dutch playing false ; and the Spaniards, the Austrians, the Pope and Papists, too well united !—Need enough that this Parliament be unanimous.

The hopes of Oliver and Fiennes and all practicable Puritans may have naturally stood high at this meeting :—but if so, it was not many hours till they began fatally to sink. There exists also an *im*practicable set of Puritan men,—the old Excluded Members, introduced now, or now first admitted into this Parliament,—whom no beautifullest "two firmaments" seen overspanning Chaos, no Spanish Invasion threatening to bring Chaos back, no hopefullest and no fearfullest phenomenon of Nature or Constitutional Art, will ever divorce from their one Republican Idea. Intolerability of the Single Person : this, and this only, will Nature in her dumb changes, and Art in her spoken interpretations thereof, reveal to these men. It is their one Idea ; which, in fact, they will carry with them to—the gallows at Charing Cross, when no Oliver any more is there to restrain it and them! Poor windy angry Haselrig, poor little peppery Thomas Scott—And yet these were not the poorest. Scott was only hanged : but what shall we say of a Luke Robinson, also very loud in this Parliament, who had to turn his coat that he might escape hanging? The history of this Parliament is not edifying to Constitutional men.

SPEECH XVII.

WE said, the Two Houses, at least the First House, very ill fulfilled his Highness's expectations. Hardly had they got into their respective localities after his Highness's Opening Speech, when the New House, sending the Old a simple message about requesting his Highness to have a day of Fasting, there arose a Debate as to What answer should be given ; as to What "name," first of all, this said New House was to have,—otherwise what answer could you give? Debate carried on with great vigour ; resumed, re-resumed day after day ;—and never yet terminated ; not destined to be terminated in this world! How eloquent were peppery Thomas Scott and others, lest we should call them a House of *Lords*,—not, alas, lest he the peppery Constitutional Debater, and others such, should lose their own heads, and entrust their Cause with all its Gospels to a new very curious Defender of the Faith! It is somewhat sad to see.

On the morning of Monday January 25, the Writer of the Diary called *Burton's*,—Nathaniel Bacon if that were he,—finds on entering the House, Sir Arthur Haselrig on his feet there, saying, "Give me my Oath!" Sir Arthur, as we transiently saw, was summoned to the Peers House ; but he has decided to sit *here*. It is an ominous symptom. After "Mr. Peters" has concluded his morning exercise,[1] the intemperate Sir Arthur again demands, "Give me my Oath!"—"I dare not," answers Francis Bacon, the official person ; Brother of the Diarist, But at length they do give it him ; and he sits ; Sir Arthur is henceforth here. And, on the whole, ought we not to call this pretended Peers House the "Other House" merely? Sir Arthur, peppery Scott, Luke Robinson and Company, are clearly of that mind.

However, the Speaker has a Letter from his Highness, summoning

[1] Burton, ii., 347.

us all to the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, this afternoon at three; both Houses shall meet him there. There accordingly does his Highness, do both Houses and all the Official world make appearance. Gloomy Rushworth, Bacon, and one "Smythe," with Notebooks in their hands, are there. His Highness, in the following large manful manner, looking before and after, looking abroad and at home,—with true nobleness if we consider all things,—speaks:

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN OF THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

(For *so* I must own you), in whom together with myself is vested the Legislative Power of these Nations!—The impression of the weight of those affairs and interests for which we are met together is such that I could not with a good conscience satisfy myself, if I did not remonstrate to you somewhat of my apprehensions of the State of the Affairs of these Nations; together with the proposal of such remedy as may occur, to the dangers now imminent upon us.

I conceive the Well-being, yea the Being of these Nations is now at stake. If God bless this Meeting,—our tranquillity and peace may be lengthened out to us; if *otherwise*,—I shall offer it to your judgments and considerations, by the time I have done, whether there be, as to *men*,[1] 'so much as' a possibility of discharging that Trust which is incumbent upon us for the safety and preservation of these Nations! When I have told you what occurs to my thoughts, I shall leave it to such an operation on your hearts as it shall please God Almighty to work upon you. [His Highness, I think, looks earnest enough to-day. Oppressed with many things, and not in good health either. In those deep mournful eyes, which are always full of noble silent sorrow, of affection and pity and valour, what a depth to-day of thoughts that cannot be spoken! Sorrow enough, depth enough,—and this deepest attainable depth, to rest upon what "it shall please God Almighty" to do!]

I look upon this to be the great duty of my Place; as being set on a watch-tower to see what may be for the good of these Nations, and what may be for the preventing of evil; that so, by the advice of so wise and great a Council as this, which hath in it the life and spirit of these Nations, such "good" may be attained, and such "evil," whatever it is, may be obviated. [Truly!] We shall hardly set our shoulders to this work, unless it shall please God to work some conviction upon our hearts that *there is need* of our most serious and best counsels at such a time as this is!—I have not prepared any such matter and rule of speech to deliver myself unto you, as perhaps might have been fitter for me to have done, and more serviceable for you in understanding me;—but shall only speak plainly and honestly to you out of such conceptions as it hath pleased God to set upon me.

We have not been now four years and upwards in this Government, to be totally ignorant of what things may be of the greatest concernment to us. [No mortal thinks so, your Highness.] Your dangers,—for that is the head of my speech,—are either with respect to Affairs Abroad and their difficulties, or to Affairs at Home and their difficulties. You are

[1] humanly speaking.

come now, as I may say, into the end [Which may but prove the new beginning !] of as great difficulties and straits as, I think, ever Nation was engaged in. I had in my thoughts to have made this the method of my Speech : To have let you see the things which hazard your Being, and 'those which hazard' your Well-being. But when I came seriously to consider better of it, I thought, as your affairs stand, all things would resolve themselves into very Being ! You are not a Nation, you will not be a Nation, if God strengthen you not to meet these evils that are upon us !

First, from Abroad : What are the Affairs, I beseech you, abroad ? I thought the Profession of the Protestant Religion was a thing of "Well-being ;" and truly, in a good sense, so it is, and it is no more : though it be a very high thing, it is but a thing of "Well-being." [A Nation can still BE, even without Protestantism.] But take it with all the complications of it, with all the concomitants of it, with respect had to the Nations abroad,—I do believe, he that looks well about him, and considereth the estate of the Protestant Affairs all Christendom over ; he must needs say and acknowledge that the grand Design now on foot, in comparison with which all other Designs are but low things, is, Whether the Christian world shall be all Popery ? Or, whether God hath a love to, and we ought to have 'a love to, and' a brotherly fellow-feeling of, the interests of all the Protestant Christians in the world ? [Yes, your Highness, the raging sea shut out by your labour and valour and death-peril,—with what indifference do we now, safe at two centuries distance, look back upon it, hardly audible so far off,—ungrateful as we are !] He that strikes at but one species of a general[1] to make it nothing, strikes at all.

Is it not so now, that the Protestant Cause and Interest abroad is struck at ; and is, in opinion and apprehension, quite under foot, trodden down ? Judge with me a little, I beseech you, Whether it be so or no. And then, I will pray you, consider how far *we* are concerned in that danger, as to 'our very' Being !

We have known very well, the Protestant Cause is accounted the honest and religious Interest of this Nation. It was not trodden under foot all at once, but by degrees,—that this Interest might be consumed as with a canker insensibly, as Jonah's gourd was, till it was quite withered. It is at another rate now ! For certainly this, in the general, 'is the fact :' The Papacy, and those that are upholders of it, they have openly and avowedly trodden God's people under foot, on this very motion and account, that they were Protestants. The money you parted with in that noble Charity which was exercised in this Nation, and the just sense you had of those poor Piedmonts, was satisfaction enough to yourselves of this,[2] That if all the Protestants in Europe had had but that head, that head had been cut off, and so an end of the whole. But is this 'of Piedmont' all ? No. Look how the House of Austria, on both sides of Christendom, 'both in Austria Proper and Spain,' are armed and prepared to destroy the whole Protestant Interest.

Is not,—to begin there,—the King of Hungary, who expecteth with his partisans to make himself Emperor of Germany, and in the judgment

1 Means "one limb of a body :" metaphysical metaphor. 2 proof enough that you believed

of all men 'with' not only a possibility but a certainty of the acquisition of it,—is not he, since he hath mastered the Duke of Brandenburg, one of the Electors, 'as good as sure of the Emperorship?'[1] No doubt but he will have three of the Episcopal Electors 'on his side,' and the Duke of Bavaria. [There are but Eight Electors in all; Hanover not yet made.] Whom will he then have to contest with him abroad, for taking the Empire of Germany out of his hands? Is not he the son of a Father whose principles, interest and personal conscience guided him to exile all the Protestants out of his own patrimonial country,—out of Bohemia, got with the sword; out of Moravia and Silesia? [Ferdinand the Second, his Grandfather; yea, your Highness;—and brought the great Gustavus upon him in consequence. Not a good kindred, that!] 'And' it is the daily complaint which comes over to us,—new reiterations of which we have but received within these two or three days, being conveyed by some godly Ministers of the City, That the Protestants **are** tossed out of Poland into the Empire; and out thence whither they can fly to get their bread; and are ready to perish for want of food.

And what think you of the other side of Europe, Italy to wit,—if I may call it the other side of Europe, as I think I may,—'Italy,' Spain, and all those adjacent parts, with the Grisons, the Piedmonts before mentioned, the Switzers? They all,—what are they but a prey of the Spanish power and interest? And look to that that calls itself [Neuter gender] the Head of all this! A Pope fitted,—I hope indeed "born" not "*in*" but out of "due time," to accomplish this bloody work; that so he may fill up his cup to the brim, and make himself ripe for judgment! [Somewhat grim of look, your Highness!] He doth as *he* hath always done. He influences all the Powers, all the Princes of Europe to this very thing [Rooting out of the Protestants.—The sea which is now scarcely audible to us, two safe centuries off, how it roars and devouringly rages while this Valiant One is heroically bent to bank it in!—He prospers, he does it, flings his life into the gap,—that WE for all coming centuries may be safe and ungrateful!]—; and no man like this present man.[2] So that, I beseech you, what is there in all the parts of Europe but a consent, a cooperating, at this very time and season, 'of all Popish Powers' to suppress everything that stands in their way? [A grave epoch indeed.]

But it may be said, "This is a great way off, in the extremest parts of the world;[3] what is that to us?"—If it be nothing to you, let it be nothing to you! I have told you it is somewhat to you. It concerns all your religions, and all the good interests of England.

I have, I thank God, considered, and I would beg of you to consider a little with me: What that resistance is that is likely to be made to this mighty current, which seems to be coming from all parts upon all Protestants? Who is there that holdeth up his head to oppose this danger? A poor Prince [Charles X. King of Sweden; at present

[1] Emperor Ferdinand III., under whom the Peace of Westphalia was made, had died this year; his second son, Leopold, on the death of the first son, has been made King of Hungary in 1655; he was, shortly after this, elected Emperor, Leopold I., and reigned till 1705. "Brandenburg" was Frederick William; a distinguished Prince; father of the First King of Prussia, Frederick the Great's great grand-grandfather; properly the Founder of the Prussian Monarchy.

[2] Alexander VII.; "an able Pope," Dryasdust informs me.

[3] "parts of it" *in orig.*

attacked by the King of Denmark; the Dutch also aiming at him];—indeed poor; but a man in his person as gallant, and truly I think I may say as good, as any these last ages have brought forth; a man that hath adventured his all against the Popish Interest in Poland, and made his acquisition still good 'there' for the Protestant religion. He is now reduced into a corner: and what addeth to the grief of all,—more grievous than all that hath been spoken of before (I wish it may not be too truly said!)—is, That men of our Religion forget this, and seek his ruin. [Dutch and Danes: but do not some of us too forget? "I wish it may not be too truly said!"]

I beseech you consider a little; consider the consequences of all that! For what doth it all signify? Is it only a noise? Or hath it not withal an articulate sound in it? Men that are not true to the Religion we profess,—'profess,' I am persuaded, with greater truth, uprightness and sincerity than it is 'professed' by any collected body, so nearly gathered together as these Nations are, in all the world,—God will find them out! [The low-minded Dutch; pettifogging for "Sound Dues" for "Possession of the Sound," and mere shopkeeper lucre!] I beseech you consider how things do cooperate. 'Consider,' It this may seem but a design against your Wellbeing? It is a design againt your very Being; this artifice, and this complex design, against the Protestant Interest,—wherein so many Protestants are not so right as were to be wished! If they can shut us out of the Baltic Sea, and make themselves masters of that, where is your Trade? Where are your materials to preserve your Shipping? Where will you be able to challenge any right by sea, or justify yourselves against a foreign invasion in your own soil? Think upon it; this is in design! I believe, if you will go and ask the poor mariner in his red cap and coat ["Coat," I hope, is not "red:"—but we are in haste.], as he passeth from ship to ship, you will hardly find in any ship but they will tell you this is designed against you. So obvious is it, by this and other things, that you are the object. And in my conscience, I know not for what else 'you are so' but because of the purity of the profession amongst you; who have not yet made it your trade to prefer your profit before your godliness [Whatever certain Dutch and Danes may do!], but reckon godliness the *greater* gain!

But should it happen that, as contrivances stand, you should not be able to vindicate yourselves against all whomsoever,—I name no one state upon this head, [Do not name the Dutch, with their pettifoggings for the Sound; no!] but I think all acknowledge States *are* engaged in the combination,—judge you where you were! You have accounted yourselves happy in being environed with a great Ditch from all the world beside. Truly you will not be able to keep your Ditch, nor your Shipping,—unless you turn your Ships and Shipping into Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot; and fight to defend yourselves on *terra firma*!—

And these things stated, *liberavi animam meam;* and if there be "no danger" in 'all' this, I am satisfied. I have told you; you will judge if no danger! If you shall think, We may discourse of all things at pleasure,—[Debate for days and weeks, Whether it shall be "House of Lords" or "Other House;" put the question, Whether this question shall be put; and say Ay, say No; and thrash the air with idle jargon!],—and

that it is a time of sleep and ease and rest, without any due sense of these things,—I have this comfort to God-ward: I have told you of it. [Yes, your Highness!—O intemperate vain Sir Arthur, peppery Thomas Scott, and ye other constitutional Patriots, is there no SENSE of truth in you, then; no discernment of what really is what? Instead of belief and insight, have you nothing but whirlpools of old paper-clippings, and a grey waste of Parliamentary constitutional logic? Such HEADS too common in the world, will run a chance in these times to get themselves —stuck up on Temple Bar!]

Really were it not that France (give me leave to say it) is a balance against that Party at this time—!—Should there be a Peace made (which hath been, and is still laboured and aimed at, "a General Peace"), then will England be the "general" object of all the fury and wrath of all the Enemies of God and our Religion in the world! I have nobody to accuse;—but do look on the other side of the water! You have neighbours there; some that you are in amity with; some that have professed malice enough against you. I think you are fully satisfied in that. I had rather you would trust your enemy than some friends,—that is, rather believe your enemy, and trust *him* that he means your ruin, than have confidence in some who perhaps may be in some alliance with you! [We have watched the Dutch, and their dealings in the Baltic lately!] —I perhaps could enforce all this with some particulars, nay I 'certainly' could. For you know that your enemies be the same who have been accounted your enemies ever since Queen Elizabeth came to the crown. An avowed designed enemy 'all along;' wanting nothing of counsel, wisdom and prudence, to root you out from the face of the Earth: and when public attempts [Spanish Armadas and such like] would not do, how have they, by the Jesuits and other their Emissaries, laid foundations to perplex and trouble our Government by taking away the lives of them whom they judged to be of any use for preserving our peace! [Guy Faux and Jesuit Garnet were a pair of pretty men; to go no farther. Ravaillac in the Rue de la Ferronerie, and Stadtholder William's Jesuit; and the Night of St. Bartholomew: here and elsewhere they have not wanted "counsel," of a sort!] And at this time I ask you, Whether you do not think they are designing as busily as ever any people were, to prosecute the same counsels and things to the uttermost?

The business *then* was: The Dutch needed Queen Elizabeth of famous memory for their protection. They had it, 'had protection from her.' I hope they will never ill requite it! For if they should forget either the kindness that was then shewn them (which was their real safety), or the desires this Nation hath had to be at peace with them,—truly I believe whoever exercises any ingratitude in this sort will hardly prosper in it. [He cannot, your Highness: unless GOD and His TRUTH be a mere Hearsay of the market, he never can!] But this may awaken you, howsoever. I hope you will be awakened, upon all these considerations! It is certain, they [These Dutch] have professed a principle which, thanks be to God, we never knew. They will sell arms to their enemies, and lend their ships to their enemies. They will do so. And truly that principle is not a matter in dispute at this time, 'we are not

here to argue with them about it:' only let everything weigh with your spirits as it ought;—let it do so. And we must tell you, we do know that this, 'of their having such a principle,' is *true*. I dare assure you of it; and I think if but your Exchange here 'in London' were resorted to, it would let you know, as clearly as you can desire to know, That they have hired—sloops, I think they call them, or some other name,—they have hired sloops, 'let sloops on hire,' to transport upon you Four-thousand Foot and One-thousand Horse, upon the pretended interest of that young man that was the late King's Son. [What a designation for "Charles by the grace of God!" The "was" may possibly have been "is" when spoken; but we cannot afford to change it.] And this is, I think, a thing far from being reckonable as a suggestion to any ill end or purpose:—a thing to no other end than that it may awaken you to a just consideration of your danger, and to uniting for a just and natural defence.

Indeed I never did, I hope I never shall, use any artifice with you to pray you to help us with money for defending ourselves: but if money be needful, I will tell you, "Pray help us with money, that the Interest of the Nation may be defended abroad and at home." I will use no arguments; and thereby will disappoint the artifice of bad men abroad who say, It is for money. Whosoever shall think to put things out of frame upon such a suggestion—[His fate may be guessed; but the Sentence is off]—For you will find I will be very plain with you before I have done; and that with all love and affection and faithfulness to you and these Nations.

If this be the condition of your affairs abroad, I pray a little consider what is the estate of your affairs at home. And if both these considerations 'of home affairs and foreign,' have but this effect, to *get* a consideration among you, a due and just consideration,—let God move your hearts for the answering[1] of anything that shall be due unto the Nation, as He shall please! And I hope I shall not be solicitous [The "artifice" and "money" of the former paragraph still sounding somewhat in his Highness's ears]; I shall look up to Him who hath been my God and my Guide hitherto.

I say, I beseech you look to your own affairs at home, how they stand! I am persuaded you are all, I apprehend you are all, honest and worthy good men; and that there is not a man of you but would desire to be found a good patriot. I know you would! We are apt to boast sometimes that we are Englishmen: and truly it is no shame for us that we are Englishmen;—but it is a motive to us to do like Englishmen, and seek the real good of this Nation, and the interest of it. [Truly!]—But, I beseech you, what is our case at home?—— I profess I do not well know where to begin on this head, or where to end,—I do not. But I must needs say, Let a man begin where he will, he shall hardly be out of that drift I am speaking to you 'upon.' We are as full of calamities, and of divisions among us in respect of the spirits of men, 'as we could well be,'—though, through a wonderful, admirable, and never to be sufficiently admired providence of God, 'still' in peace! And the fighting we have had, and the success we have had—yea, we

[1] performing on such demand.

that are here, we are an astonishment to the world! And take us in that temper we are in, or rather in that distemper, it is the greatest miracle that ever befell the sons of men, 'that we are got again to peace'—

["Beautiful great Soul," exclaims a modern Commentator here, "Beautiful great Soul; to whom the Temporal is all, irradiated with the Eternal, and God is everywhere divinely visible in the affairs of men, and man himself has as it were become divine! O ye eternal Heavens, have those days and those souls passed away without return?—Patience: intrinsically they can never pass away: intrinsically they remain with us; and will yet, in nobler unexpected form, reappear among us,—if it please Heaven! There *have been* Divine Souls in England; England too, poor moiling, toiling, heavyladen, thickeyed England, has been illuminated, though it were but once, by the Heavenly Ones;—and *once*, in a sense, is always!"]

—that we are got again to peace. And whoever shall seek to break it, God Almighty root that man out of this Nation! And He will do it, let the pretences be what they may! [Privilege of Parliament, or whatever else, my peppery friends!]

'Peace-breakers, do they consider what it *is* they are driving towards? They should do it!' He that considereth not the "woman with child," —the sucking children of this Nation that know not the right hand from the left, of whom, for aught I know, it may be said this City is as full as Nineveh was said to be;—he that considereth not these, and the fruit that is like to come of the bodies of those now living added to these; he that considereth not these, must have the heart of a Cain; who was marked, and made to be an enemy to all men, and all men enemies to him! For the wrath and justice of God will prosecute such a man to his grave, if not to Hell! [Where is Sam Cooper, or some "prince of limners," to take us that look of his Highness? I would give my ten best Historical Paintings for it, gilt frames and twaddle-criticisms into the bargain!]—I say look on this Nation; look on it! Consider what are the varieties of Interests in this Nation,—if they be worthy the name of Interests. If God did not hinder, it would all but make up one confusion. We should find there would be but one Cain in England, if God did not restrain! We should have another more bloody Civil War than ever we had in England. For, I beseech you, what is the general spirit of this Nation? Is it not that each sect of people,—if I may call them sects, whether sects upon a Religious account or upon a Civil account—[Sentence gone: meaning left clear enough]—Is not this Nation miserable in that respect? What is that which possesseth every sect? What is it? That every sect may be uppermost! That every sort of men may get the power into their hands, and "they would use it well;"—that every sect may get the power into their hands! [A reflection to make one wonder.—Let them thank God they have got a man able to bit and bridle them a little; the unfortunate peppery, loud-babbling individuals,—with so much good in them too, while "bitted!"]

It were a happy thing if the Nation would be content with rule.

'Content with rule,' if it were but in Civil things, and with those that would rule worst ;—because misrule is better than no rule; and an ill Government, a bad Government is better than none !—Neither is this all : but we have an appetite to variety; to be not only making wounds, 'but widening those already made.' As if you should see one making wounds in a man's side, and eager only to be groping and grovelling with his fingers in those wounds ! This is what 'such' men would be at ; this is the spirit of those who would trample on men's liberties in Spiritual respects. They will be making wounds, and rending and tearing, and making them wider than they were. Is not this the case? Doth there want anything—I speak not of sects in an ill sense ; but the Nation is hugely made up of them,—and what is the want that prevents these things from being done to the uttermost, but that men have more anger than strength? They have not power to attain their ends. 'There wants nothing else.' And, I beseech you, judge what such a company of men, of these sects, are doing, while they are contesting one with another ! They are contesting in the midst of a generation of men (a malignant Episcopal Party, I mean) ; contesting in the midst of these *all united.* What must be the issue of such a thing as this? 'So stands it ;' it is *so.*—And do but judge what proofs have been made of the spirits of these men. [Republican spirits : we took a "Standard" lately, a Painted one, and a Printed, with wondrous apparatus behind it !] Summoning men to take up arms ; and exhorting men, each sort of them, to fight for their notions ; each sort thinking they are to try it out by the sword ; and every sort thinking that *they* are truly under the banner of Christ, if they but come in, and bind themselves in such a project ![1]

Now do but judge what a hard condition this poor Nation is in. *This* is the state and condition we are in. Judge, I say, what a hard condition this poor Nation is in, and the Cause of God 'is in,'—amidst such a party of men as the Cavaliers are, and their participants ! Not only with respect to what these—["Cavaliers and their Participants," both equally at first, but it becomes the latter chiefly, and at length exclusively, before the Sentence ends]—are like to do of themselves : but some of these, yea some of these, they care not who carry the goal : [Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, dead the other day, he was not very careful !]—some of these have invited the Spaniard himself to carry on the Cavalier Cause.

And this is *true.* 'This' and many other things that are not fit to be suggested unto you ; because 'so' we should betray the interest of our intelligence. [Spy-Royalist Sir Richard Willis and the like ambiguous persons, if we shew them in daylight, they vanish forever,—as Manning, when they shot him in Newburg, did.] I say, this is your condition ! What is your defence? What hindereth the irruption of all this upon you to your utter destruction? Truly, 'that' you have an Army in these parts,—in Scotland, in England and Ireland. Take *them* away tomorrow, would not all these Interests run into one another? I know you are rational prudent men. Have you any Frame or Model of things that would satisfy the minds of men, if *this* be not the Frame, 'this'

[1] "and oblige upon this account," *in orig.*

which you are now called together upon, and engaged in,—I mean, the Two Houses of Parliament and myself? What hinders this Nation from being an Aceldama, 'a field of blood,' if this doth not? It is, without doubt, 'this:' Give the glory to God; for without this, it would prove[1] as a great plague as all that hath been spoken of. It is this, without doubt, that keeps this Nation in peace and quietness.—And what is the case of your Army 'withal?' A poor unpaid Army; the soldiers going barefoot at this time, in this city, this weather! [Twenty-fifth of January.] And yet a peaceable people, 'these soldiers;' seeking to serve you with their lives; judging their pains and hazards and all well bestowed, in obeying their officers and serving you, to keep the Peace of these Nations! Yea he must be a man with a heart as hard the weather who hath not a due sense of this! [A severe frost, though the Almanacs do not mention it.]— —

So that, I say, it is most plain and evident, this is your outward and present defence. [This Frame of Government; the Army is a part of that.] And yet, at this day,—do but you judge! The Cavalier Party, and the several humours of unreasonable men 'of other sorts,' in those several ways, having 'continually' made battery at this defence ever since you got to enjoy peace—[Sentence catches fire]— —What have they made their business but this, To spread libellous Books; [Their "Standard," "Killing no Murder," and other little fiddling things belonging to that sort of Periodical Literature.] yea and pretend the "Liberty of the Subject"—[Sentence gone again]— ?—which really wiser men than they may pretend! For let me say this to you at once: I never look to see the people of England come into a just Liberty, if another 'Civil' War overtake us I think, 'I' at least, that the thing likely to bring us into our "Liberty" is a consistency and agreement at this Meeting!—Therefore all I can say to you is this: It will be your wisdom, I do think truly, and your justice, to keep that concernment close to you; to uphold this Settlement 'now fallen upon.' Which I have no cause but to think you are agreed to; and that you like it. For I assure you I am very greatly mistaken else, 'for my own part;' having taken this which is now the Settlement among us as my chief inducement to bear the burden I bear, and to serve the Commonwealth in the place I am in!

And therefore if you judge that all this be not argument enough to persuade you to be sensible of your danger— ?—'A danger' which 'all manner of considerations,' besides good-nature and ingenuity 'themselves,' would move a stone to be sensible of!—Give us leave to consider a little, What will become of us, if our spirits should go *otherwise*, 'and break this Settlement?' If our spirits be dissatisfied, what will become of things? Here is an Army five or six months behind in pay: yea an Army in Scotland near as much 'behind;' an Army in Ireland much more. And if these things be considered,—I cannot doubt but they will be considered; I say, judge what the state of Ireland is if free-quarter come upon the Irish People! [Free-quarter must come, if there be no pay provided, and that soon!] You have a company of Scots in the North of Ireland, 'Forty or Fifty thousand of

[1] "it would prove" is an *im*personal verb; such as "it will rain," and the like.

them settled there ;' who, I hope, are honest men. In the Province of Galway almost all the Irish, transplanted to the West.[1] You have the Interest of England newly begun to be planted. The people there, 'in these English settlements,' are full of necessities and complaints. They bear to the uttermost. And should the soldiers run upon free-quarter there,—upon your English Planters, as they must,—the English Planters must quit the country through mere beggary : and that which hath been the success of so much blood and treasure, to get that Country into your hands, what can become of it, but that the English must needs run away for pure beggary, and the Irish must possess the country 'again' for a receptacle to the Spanish Interest?—

And hath Scotland been long settled? [Middleton's Highland Insurrection with its Mosstroopery and misery is not dead three years yet.[2]] Have not they a like sense of poverty? I speak plainly. In good earnest, I do think the Scots Nation have been under as great a suffering, in point of livelihood and subsistence outwardly, as any People I have yet named to you. I do think truly they are a very ruined Nation. [Torn to pieces with now near Twenty Years of continual War, and foreign and intestine worrying with themselves and with all the world.] —And yet in a way (I have spoken with some Gentlemen come from thence) hopeful enough ;—it hath pleased God to give that plentiful encouragement to the meaner sort in Scotland. I must say, if it please God to encourage the meaner sort—[The consequences may be foreseen, but are not stated here.]— —The meaner sort 'in Scotland' live as well, and are likely to come into as thriving a condition under your Government, as when they were under their own great Lords, who made them work for their living no better than the Peasants of France. I am loath to speak anything which may reflect upon that Nation : but the middle sort of people do grow up there into such a substance as makes their lives comfortable, if not better than they were before. [Scotland is prospering ; has fair-play and ready-money ;—prospering though sulky.]

If now, after all this, we shall not be sensible of all those designs that are in the midst of us : of the *united* Cavaliers ; of the designs which are animated every day from Flanders and Spain ; while we have to look upon ourselves as a *divided* people—[Sentence off]—A man cannot certainly tell where to find consistency anywhere in England! Certainly there is no consistency in anything, that may be worthy of the name of a body of consistency, but in this Company who are met here! How can any man lay his hand on his heart, and 'permit himself to' talk of things,—[Roots of Constitutional Government, "Other House," "House of Lords" and such like] neither to be made out by the light of Scripture nor of Reason ; and draw one another off from considering of *these* things,—'which are very palpable things!' I dare leave them with you, and commit them to your bosom. They have a weight,—a greater weight than any I have yet suggested to you, from abroad or at home! If such be our case abroad and at home, That our Being and Wellbeing,—our Wellbeing is not worth the naming comparatively,—I say, if such be our case, of our Being at home and abroad,

[1] "All the Irish:" all the Malignant Irish, the ringleaders of the Popish Rebellion : Galway is here called "Galloway." [2] Feb. 1654-5 (Whitlocke, p. 599).

That through want to bear up our Honour at Sea, and through want maintain what is our Defence at Home, 'we stand exposed to such dangers;' and if through our mistake we shall be led off from the consideration of these things; and talk of circumstantial things, and quarrel about circumstances; and shall not with heart and soul intend and carry-on these things—!—I confess I can look for nothing 'other,' I can say no other than what a foolish Book[1] expresseth, of one that having consulted everything, could hold to nothing; neither Fifth-Monarchy, Presbytery, nor Independency, nothing; but at length concludes, He is for nothing but an "orderly confusion!" And for men that have wonderfully lost their consciences and their wits,—I speak of men going about who cannot tell *what* they would have, yet are willing to kindle coals to disturb others—! [An "orderly confusion," and general fire-consummation: what else is possible?]

And now having said this, I have discharged my duty to God and to you, in making this demonstration,—and I profess, not as a rhetorician! My business was to prove the verity of the Designs from Abroad; and the still unsatisfied spirits of the Cavaliers at Home,—who from the beginning of our Peace to this day have not be wanting to do what they could to kindle a fire at home in the midst of us. And I say, if this be so, the truth,—I pray God affect your hearts with a due sense of it! [Yea!] And give you one heart and mind to carry on this work for which we are met together! If these things be so,—should you meet to-morrow, and accord in all things tending to your preservation and your rights and liberties, really it will be feared there is too much time elapsed 'already' for your delivering yourselves from those dangers that hang upon you!—

We have had now Six Years of Peace, and have had an interruption of Ten Years *War*. We have seen and heard and felt the evils of War; and now God hath given us a new taste of the benefits of Peace. Have you not had such a Peace in England, Ireland and Scotland, that there is not a man to lift up his finger to put you into distemper? Is not this a mighty blessing from the Lord of Heaven? [Hah!] Shall we now be prodigal of time? Should any man, shall *we*, listen to delusions, to break and interrupt this Peace? There is not any man that hath been true to this Cause, as I believe you have been all, who can look for anything but the greatest rending and persecution that ever was in this world! [Peppery Scott's hot head will go up on Temple Bar, and Haselrig will do well to die soon.[2]]—I wonder how it can enter into the heart of man to undervalue these things; to slight Peace and the Gospel, the greatest mercy of God. We have Peace and the Gospel! [What a tone!] Let us have one heart and soul; one mind to maintain the honest and just rights of this Nation;—not to *pretend* to them, to the destruction of our Peace, to the destruction of the Nation! [As yet there is one Hero-heart among you, ye blustering contentious rabble; one Soul blazing as a light-beacon in the midst of Chaos, forbidding

[1] Now rotting probably, or rotten among the other Pamphletary rubbish, in the crypts of Public Dryasdust Collections,—all but this one phrase of it, here kept alive.

[2] He died in the *Annus Mirabilis* of 1660 itself, say the *Baronetages*. Worn to death, it is like, by the frightful vicissitudes and distracting excitement of those sad months.

Chaos yet to be Supreme. In a little while that too will be extinct; and then!] Really, pretend what we will, if you run into *another* flood of blood and War, the sinews of this Nation being wasted by the last, it must sink and perish utterly. I beseech you, and charge you in the name and presence of God, and as before Him, be sensible of these things, and lay them to heart! You have a Day of Fasting coming on. I beseech God touch your hearts and open your ears to this truth; and that you may be as deaf adders to stop your ears to all Dissension! And may look upon them 'who would sow dissension,' whoever they may be, as Paul saith to the Church of Corinth, as I remember: "*Mark* such as cause divisions and offences," and would disturb you from that foundation of Peace you are upon, under any pretence whatsoever!—

I shall conclude with this. I was free, the last time of our meeting, to tell you I would discourse upon a Psalm; and I did it.[1] I am not ashamed of it at any time, [Why should you, your Highness? A word that does speak to us from the eternal heart of things, "word of God" as you well call it, is highly worth discoursing upon!]—especially when I meet with men of such consideration as you. There you have one verse which I forgot. "I will hear what God the Lord will speak: for He will speak peace unto His people, and to His saints; but let them not turn again to *folly*." Dissension, division, destruction, in a poor Nation under a Civil War,—having all the effects of a Civil War upon it! Indeed if we return again to "folly," let every man consider, If it be *not* like turning to destruction? If God shall unite your hearts and bless you, and give you the blessing of union and love one to another; and tread down everything that riseth up in your hearts and tendeth to deceive your own souls with pretences of this thing or that, as we have been saying —[The sentence began as a positive, "if God shall;" but gradually turning on its axis, it has now got quite round into the negative side]—and not prefer the keeping of Peace, that we may see the fruit of righteousness in them that love peace and embrace peace,—it will be said of this poor Nation, *Actum est de Anglia*, 'It is all over with England!"

But I trust God will never leave it to such a spirit. And while I live, and am able, I shall be ready—

[Courage, my brave one! Thou hast but some Seven Months more of it, and then the ugly coil is all over; and thy part in it manfully done; manfully and fruitfully, to all Eternity! Peppery Scott's hot head can mount to Temple Bar, whither it is bound; and England, with immense expenditure of liquor and tarbarrels, can call in its Nell-Gwyn Defender of the Faith,—and make out a very notable Two Hundred Years under *his* guidance; and, finding itself now nearly *got* to the Devil, may perhaps pause, and recoil, and remember: who knows? Nay who cares? may Oliver say. *He* is honourably quit of it, he for one; and the Supreme Powers will guide it farther according to their pleasure.]

—I shall be ready to stand and fall with you, in this seemingly promising Union[2] which God hath wrought among you, which I hope neither the pride nor envy of men shall be able to make void. I have taken my Oath [In Westminster Hall, Twenty-sixth of June last] to govern

[1] The Eighty-fifth *Antea*, p. 738, *et seqq.*

[2] The new Frame of Government.

"according to the Laws" that are now made; and I trust I shall fully answer it. And know, I sought not this place. [Who would have "sought" it, that could have as nobly avoided it? Very scurvy creatures only. The "place" is no great things, I think;—with either Heaven or else Hell so close upon the rear of it, a man might do without the "place!" Know all men, Oliver Cromwell did not seek this place, but was sought to it, and led and driven to it, by the Necessities, the Divine Providences, the Eternal Laws.] I speak it before God, Angels, and Men: I DID NOT. You sought me for it, you brought me to it; and I took my Oath to be faithful to the Interest of these Nations, to be faithful to the Government. All those things were implied, in my eye, in the Oath "to be faithful to this Government" upon which we have now met. And I trust, by the grace of God, as I have taken my Oath to serve this Commonwealth on such an account, I shall,—I must!—see it done, according to the Articles of Government. That every just Interest may be preserved; that a Godly Ministry may be upheld, and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits; that all men be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or spiritual. Upon this account did I take oath, and swear to this Government!—[And mean to continue administering it withal]—And so having declared my heart and mind to you in this, I have nothing more to say, but to pray, God Almighty bless you.*

His Highness, a few days after, on occasion of some Reply to a Message of his "concerning the state of the Public Monies,"—was formally requested by the Commons to furnish them with a Copy of this Speech:[1] he answered that he did not remember four lines of it in a piece, and that he could not furnish a Copy. Some Copy would nevertheless have been got up, had the Parliament continued sitting. Rushworth, Smythe, and "I" (the Writer of *Burton's Diary*), we, so soon as the Speech was done, went to York House; Fairfax's Town-house, where Historical John, brooding over endless Paper-masses, and doing occasional Secretary work, still lodges: here at York House we sat together till late, "comparing Notes of his Highness's Speech;" could not finish the business that night, our Notes being a little cramp. It was grown quite dark before his Highness had done; so that we could hardly see our pencils go, at the time.[2]

The Copy given here is from the *Pell Papers*, and in part from an earlier Original; first printed by Burton's Editor; and now reproduced, with slight alterations of the pointing &c., such as were necessary here and there to bring out the sense, but not such as could change anything that had the least title to remain unchanged.

SPEECH XVIII.

HIS Highness's last noble appeal, the words as of a strong great Captain addressed in the hour of imminent shipwreck, produced no adequate effect. The dreary Debate, supported chiefly by intemperate Haselrig, peppery Scott, and future-renegade Robinson, went on, trailing its slow

* Burton, ii, 351-71.

[1] Thursday 28 Jan., 1657-8 (Parliamentary History, xxi., 196; Burton, ii., 379).

[2] Burton, ii., 351.

length day after day ; daily widening itself too into new dreariness, new questionability ; a kind of pain to read even at this distance, and with view of the intemperate hot heads actually *stuck* on Temple Bar ! For the man in "green oilskin hat with nightcap under it," the Duke of Ormond namely, who lodges at the Papist Chirurgeon's in Drury Lane, is very busy all this while. And Fifth-Monarchy and other Petitions are getting concocted in the City, to a great length indeed ;—and there are stirrings in the Army itself ;—and, in brief, the English Hydra, cherished by the Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion, will shortly hiss sky-high again, if this continue !

As yet, however, there stands one strong Man between us and that issue. The strong Man gone, that issue, we may guess, will be inevitable ; but he is not yet gone. For ten days more the dreary Debate has lasted. Various good Bills and Notices of Bills have been introduced ; attempts on the part of well-affected Members to do some useful legislation here ;[1] attempts which could not be accomplished. What could be accomplished was to open the fountains of constitutional logic, and debate this question day after day. One or two intemperate persons, not excluded at the threshold, are of great moment in a Popular Assembly. The mind of which, if it have any mind, is one of the vaguest entities ; capable, in a very singular degree, of being made to ferment, to freeze, to take fire, to develop itself in this shape or in that ! The history of our Second Session, and indeed of these Oliverian Parliaments generally, is not exhilarating to the constitutional mind !—

But now on the tenth day of the Debate, with its noise growing ever noisier, on the 4th of February 1657-8, "about eleven in the morning,"—while peppery Scott is just about to attempt yelping out some new second speech, and there are cries of "Spoken ! spoken !" which Sir Arthur struggles to argue down,—arrives the Black Rod.—"The Black Rod stays !" cry some, while Sir Arthur is arguing for Scott.—"What care I for the Black Rod ?" snarls he : "The Gentleman" (peppery Scott) "ought to be heard."—Black Rod, however, is heard first ; signifies that "His Highness is in the Lords House, and desires to speak with you." Under way therefore ! "Shall we take our Mace ?" By all means, if you consider it likely to be useful for you ![2]

They take their Mace ; range themselves in due mass, in the "Other House," Lords House, or whatever they call it ; and his Highness, with a countenance of unusual earnestness, sorrow, resolution and severity, says :

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the meeting of this Parliament a blessing ; and, the Lord be my witness, *I* desired the carrying on the Affairs of the Nation to these ends ! The blessing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was mercy, truth, righteousness and peace,—which I desired might be improved.

That which brought me into the capacity I now stand in was the Petition and Advice given me by you ; who, in reference to the ancient Constitution ["Which had Two Houses and a King,"—though we do

[1] Parliamentary History, xxi., 203-4. [2] Burton, ii., 462 *et seqq.*

not in words mention that !], did draw me to accept the place of Protector. ["I was a kind of Protector already, I always understood; but let that pass. Certainly you invited me to become the Protector I now am, with Two Houses and other appendages, and there lies the gist of the matter at present."] There is not a man living can say I sought it; no, not a man nor woman treading upon English ground. But contemplating the sad condition of these Nations, relieved from an intestine War into a six or seven years Peace, I did think the Nation happy therein! ["I did think even my first Protectorate was a successful kind of thing!"] But to be petitioned thereunto, and advised by you to undertake such a Government, a burden too heavy for any creature; and this to be done by the House that then had the Legislative capacity:—certainly I did look that the same men who made the Frame should make it good unto me! I can say in the presence of God, in comparison with whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth,—I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep—[Yes, your Highness; it had been infinitely quieter, healthier, freer. But it is gone forever: no woodsides now, and peaceful nibbling sheep, and great still thoughts, and glimpses of God "in the cool of the evening walking among the trees:" nothing but toil and trouble, double, double, till one's discharge arrive, and the Eternal Portals open! Nay even there by your woodside, you had not been happy: not you,—with thoughts going down to the Death-kingdoms, and Heaven so near you on this hand, and Hell so near you on that. Nay who would grudge a little temporary Trouble, when he can do a large spell of eternal Work? Work that is true, and will last through all Eternity! Complain not, your Highness!—His Highness does not complain. "To have kept a flock of sheep," he says]—rather than undertaken such a Government as this. But undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of you, I did look that you who had offered it unto me should make it good.

I did tell you, at a Conference[1] concerning it, that I would not undertake it, unless there might be some other Persons to interpose between me and the House of Commons, who then had the power, and prevent tumultuary and popular spirits: and it was granted I should name another House. I named it of men who shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you; and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Parties that they value, but a Christian and an English Interest! Men of your own rank and quality, who will not only be a balance unto you, but a new force added to you,[2] while you love England and Religion.

Having proceeded upon these terms;—and finding such a spirit as is too much predominant, everything being too high or too low; where virtue, honesty, piety and justice are omitted:—I thought I had been doing that which was my duty, and thought it would have satisfied you! But if everything must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied. [There is an innocency and childlike goodness in these poor sentences, which speaks to us in spite of rhetoric.]

1 One of the Kingship Conferences of which there is no Report.

2 "but to themselves," however helplessly, must mean this; and a good reporter would have substituted this.

Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just accord between the Governor and Governed; unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliament's Petition and Advice advised me unto! Upon that I took an Oath [On the Twenty-sixth of June last], and they [On the Twentieth of January last, at their long Table in the Ante-room] took another Oath upon their part answerable to mine:—and did not everyone know upon what condition he swore? God knows, *I* took it upon the conditions expressed in the 'Act of' Government! And I did think we had been upon a foundation, and upon a bottom; and thereupon I thought myself bound to take it, and to be "advised by the Two Houses of Parliament." And we standing unsettled till we arrived at that, the consequences would necessarily have been confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there were not constituted "Hereditary Lords," nor "Hereditary Kings;" 'no,' the Power consisteth in the Two Houses and myself.—I do not say, that was the meaning of your Oath to *you*. That were to go against my own principles, to enter upon another man's conscience. God will judge between you and me! If there had been in you any intention of Settlement, you would have settled upon this basis, and have offered your judgment and opinion 'as to minor improvements.'

God is my witness; I speak it; it is evident to all the world and people living, That a new business hath been seeking in the Army against the actual Settlement made by your consent. I do not speak to these Gentlemen ["pointing to his right hand," says the Report], or Lords, or whatsoever you will call them; I speak not this to them, but to *you*.—You advised me to come into this place, to be in a capacity[1] by your Advice. Yet instead of owning a thing, some must have I know not what;—and you have not only disjointed yourselves but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more confusion in these fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the rising of the last session to this day. Through the intention of devising a Commonwealth again! That some people might be the men that might rule all! [Intemperate Haselrig, peppery Scott, and such like: very inadequate they to "rule;" inadequate to keep their own heads on their shoulders, if they were not RULED, they!] And they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that thing.—And hath that man been "true to this Nation," whosoever he be, especially that hath taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate? These designs have been made among the Army, to break and divide us. I speak this in the presence of some of the Army: That these things have not been according to God, nor according to truth, pretend what you will! [No, your Highness; they have not.] These things tend to nothing else but the playing of the King of Scots's game (if I may so call him); and I think myself bound before God to do what I can to prevent it. ["I, for my share:" Yea!]

That which I told you in the Banqueting-House 'ten days ago' was true, That there are preparations of force to invade us. God is my witness, it hath been confirmed to me since, not a day ago, That the King of Scots hath an Army at the water's side, ready to be shipped for

[1] "of authority" is delicately understood, but not expressed.

England. I have it from those who have been eyewitnesses of it. And while it is doing, there are endeavours from some who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this Town into a tumulting,—[City Petitions are mounting very high,—as perhaps Sir Arthur and others know !]—what if I said, Into a rebellion ! And I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me. [Noble scorn and indignation is gradually getting the better of every other feeling in his Highness and us.]

It hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the Army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about a "Commonwealth;" but some of you have been listing of persons, by commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any Insurrection that may be made. [What a cold qualm in some conscious heart that listens to this ! Let him tremble, every joint of him;—or not visibly tremble; but cower home to his place, and repent; and remember in whose hand his beggarly existence in this world lies !] And what is like to come upon this, the Enemy being ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion?—[The next and final Sentence is partly on fire]—And if this be so, I do assign 'it' to this cause: Your not assenting to what you did invite me to by your Petition and Advice, as that which might prove the Settlement of the Nation. And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage—[Sentence now all beautifully blazing], I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I DO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT ! And let God be judge between you and me ! *

Figure the looks of Haselrig, Scott and Company ! "The Mace was clapt under a cloak; the Speaker withdrew, and *exit Parliamentum*," the Talking-Apparatus vanishes.[1] "God be judge between you and me !"—"Amen !" answered they,[2] thought they, indignantly; and sank into eternal silence.

It was high time; for in truth the Hydra, on every side, is stirring its thousand heads. "Believe me," says Samuel Hartlib, Milton's friend, writing to an Official acquaintance next week, "believe me, it was of such necessity, that if their Session had continued but two or three days longer, all had been in blood both in City and Country, upon Charles Stuart's account."[3]

His Highness, before this Monday's sun sets, has begun to lodge the Anarchic Ringleaders, Royalist, Fifth-Monarchist, in the Tower; his Highness is bent once more with all his faculty, the Talking-Apparatus being gone, to front this Hydra, and trample it down once again.[4] On Saturday he summons his Officers, his Acting-Apparatus, to Whitehall round him; explains to them "in a speech two hours long" what kind of Hydra it is; asks, Shall it conquer us, involve us in blood and confusion? They answer from their hearts, No, it shall not! "We will stand and fall with your Highness, we will live and die with you !"[5]—It is the last duel this Oliver has with any Hydra fomented into life by a

* Burton, ii. 465-70.

[1] Ib. ii. 464.

[2] Tradition in various modern Books (Parliamentary History, xxi. 203; Note to Burton, ii. 470): not supported, that I can find, by any contemporary witness.

[3] Hartlib in London (11 Feb. 1657-8), to Moreland at Geneva; printed in Parliamentary History, xxi. 205.

[4] Appendix No. 15.

[5] Hartlib's Letter, *ubi supra*.

Talking-Apparatus ; and he again conquers it, invincibly compresses it, as he has heretofore done.

One day, in the early days of March next, his Highness said to Lord Broghil : An old friend of yours is in Town, the Duke of Ormond, now lodged in Drury Lane, at the Papist Surgeon's there : you had better tell him to be gone ![1]—Whereat his Lordship stared ; found it a fact, however ; and his Grace of Ormond did go with exemplary speed, and got again to Bruges and the Sacred Majesty, with report That Cromwell had many enemies, but that the rise of the Royalists was moonshine. And on the 12th of the month his Highness had the Mayor and Common Council with him in a body at Whitehall ; and "in a Speech at large" explained to them that his Grace of Ormond was gone only "on Tuesday last ;" that there were Spanish Invasions, Royalist Insurrections and Frantic-Anabaptist Insurrections rapidly ripening ;—that it would well beseem the City of London to have its Militia in good order. To which the Mayor and Common Council "being very sensible thereof," made zealous response[2] by speech and by act. In a word, the Talking-Apparatus being gone, and an Oliver Protector now at the head of the Acting-Apparatus, no Insurrection, in the eyes of reasonable persons, had any chance. The leading Royalists shrank close into their privacies again,—considerable numbers of them had to shrink into durance in the Tower. Among which latter class, his Highness, justly incensed, and "considering," as Thurloe says, "that it was not fit there should be a Plot of this kind every winter," had determined that a high Court of Justice should take cognisance of some. High Court of Justice is accordingly nominated[3] as the Act of Parliament prescribes : among the parties marked for trial by it are Sir Henry Slingsby, long since prisoner for Penruddock's business, and the Reverend Dr. Hewit, a man of much forwardness in Royalism. Sir Henry, prisoner in Hull and acquainted with the Chief Officers there, has been treating with them for betrayal of the place to his Majesty ; has even, to that end, given one of them a Majesty's Commission ; for whose Spanish Invasion such a Haven and Fortress would have been extremely convenient. Reverend Dr. Hewit, preaching by sufferance, according to the old ritual, "in St. Gregory's Church near Paul's," to a select disaffected audience, has farther seen good to distinguish himself very much by secular zeal in this business of the Royalist Insurrection and Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion ;—which has now come to nothing, and left poor Dr. Hewit in a most questionable position. Of these two, and of others, a High Court of Justice shall take cognisance.

The Insurrection having no chance in the eyes of reasonable Royalists, and they in consequence refusing to lead it, the large body of *un*reasonable Royalists now in London City or gathering thither decide, with indignation, That they will try it on their own score, and lead it themselves. Hands to work, then, ye unreasonable Royalists ; pipe, All hands ! Saturday the 15th of May, that is the night appointed : To rise that Saturday Night ; beat drums for "Royalist Apprentices,"

1 Godwin, iv. 508 ; Budgel's Lives of the Boyles, p. 49 ; &c.
2 Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 171).
3 27 April 1658. Act of Parliament, with List of the Names, is in Scobell, ii. 872-7 : see also Commons Journals, vii. 427 (Sept. 1656).

"fire houses at the Tower," slay this man, slay that, and bring matters to a good issue. Alas, on the very edge of the appointed hour, as usual, we are all seized; the ringleaders of us are all seized, "at the Mermaid in Cheapside,"—for Thurloe and his Highness have long known what we were upon! Barkstead Governor of the Tower "marches into the City with five drakes," at the rattle of which every Royalist Apprentice, and party implicated, shakes in his shoes:—and this also has gone to vapour, leaving only for result certain new individuals of the Civic class to give account of to the High Court of Justice.

Tuesday 25th May 1658, the High Court of Justice sat; a formidable Sanhedrim of above a Hundred-and-thirty heads; consisting of "all the Judges," chief Law Officials, and others named in the Writ according to Act of Parliament;—sat "in Westminster Hall, at nine in the morning for the Trial of Sir Henry Slingsby Knight, John Hewit Doctor of Divinity," and three others whom we may forget.[1] Sat day after day till all were judged. Poor Sir Henry, on the first day, was condemned; he pleaded what he could, poor gentleman, a very constant Royalist all along; but the Hull business was too palpable; he was condemned to die. Reverend Dr. Hewit, whose proceedings also had become very palpable, refused to plead at all; refused even "to take off his hat," says Carrion Heath, "till the officer was coming to do it for him;" "had a Paper of Demurrers prepared by the learned Mr. Prynne," who is now again doing business this way;—"conducted himself not very wisely," says Bulstrode. He likewise received sentence of death. The others, by narrow missing, escaped; by good luck or the Protector's mercy, suffered nothing.

As to Slingsby and Hewit, the Protector was inexorable. Hewit has already taken a very high line: let him persevere in it! Slingsby was the Lord Fauconberg's Uncle, married to his Aunt Bellasis; but that could not stead him,—perhaps that was but a new monition to be strict with him. The Commonwealth of England, and its Peace are not Nothing! These Royalist Plots every winter, deliveries of garrisons to Charles Stuart, and reckless "usherings of us into blood," shall end! Hewit and Slingsby suffered on Tower Hill, on Monday 8th June; amid the manifold rumour and emotion of men. Of the City Insurrectionists six were condemned; three of whom were executed, three pardoned. And so the High Court of Justice dissolved itself; and at this and not at more expense of blood, the huge Insurrectionary movement ended, and lay silent within its caves again.

Whether in any future year it would have tried another rising against such a Lord Protector, one does not know,—one guesses rather in the negative. The Royalist Cause, after so many failures, after such a sort of enterprises "on the word of a Christian King," had naturally sunk very low. Some twelvemonth hence, with a Commonwealth not now under Cromwell, but only under the impulse of Cromwell, a Christian King hastening down to the Treaty of the Pyrenees, where France and Spain were making Peace, found one of the coldest receptions. Cardinal Mazarin "sent his coaches and guards a day's journey to meet Lockhart the Commonwealth Ambassador;" but refused to meet the

[1] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 172).

Christian King at all; would not even meet Ormond except as if by accident, "on the public road," to say that there was no hope. The Spanish Minister, Don Luis de Haro, was civiller in manner; but as to Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasions or the like, he also decisively shook his head.[1] The Royalist Cause was as good as desperate in England; a melancholy Reminiscence, fast fading away into the realm of shadows. Not till Puritanism sank of its own accord, could Royalism rise again. But Puritanism, the King of it once away, fell loose very naturally in every fibre,—fell into *Kinglessness*, what we call Anarchy; crumbled down, ever faster, for Sixteen Months, in mad suicide, and universal clashing and collision; proved, by trial after trial, that there lay not in it either Government or so much as Self-Government any more; that a Government of England by *it* was henceforth an impossibility. Amid the general wreck of things, all Government threatening now to be impossible, the Reminiscence of Royalty rose again, "Let us take refuge in the Past, the Future is not possible!"—and Major-General Monk crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, with results which are well known.

Results which we will not quarrel with, very mournful as they have been! If it please Heaven, these Two Hundred Years of universal Cant in Speech, with so much of Cotton-spinning, Coal-boring, Commercing, and other valuable Sincerity of Work going on the while, shall not be quite lost to us! Our Cant will vanish, our whole baleful cunningly-compacted Universe of Cant, as does a heavy Nightmare Dream. We shall awaken; and find ourselves in a world greatly *widened*.—Why Puritanism could not continue? My friend, Puritanism was *not* the Complete Theory of this immense Universe; no, only a part thereof! To me it seems, in my hours of hope, as if the Destinies meant something grander with England than even Oliver Protector did! We will not quarrel with the Destinies; we will work as we can towards fulfilment of them.

But in these same June days of the year 1658, while Hewit and Slingsby lay down their heads on Tower Hill, and the English Hydra finds that its Master is still here, there arrive the news of Dunkirk alluded to above: Dunkirk gloriously taken, Spaniards gloriously beaten: victories and successes abroad; which are a new illumination to the Lord Protector in the eyes of England. Splendid Nephews of the Cardinal, Manzinis, Ducs de Crequi, come across the Channel to congratulate "the most invincible of Sovereigns;" young Louis Fourteenth himself would have come, had not the attack of small-pox prevented.[2] With whom the elegant Lord Fauconberg and others busy themselves: their pageantry and gilt coaches, much gazed at by the idler multitudes, need not detain us here.

The Lord Protector, his Parliament having been dismissed with such brevity, is somewhat embarrassed in his finances. But otherwise his affairs stand well; visibly in an improved condition. Once more he has saved Puritan England; once more approved himself invincible abroad and at home. He looks with confidence towards summoning a

[1] Kennet, iii. 214: Clarendon, iii. 914.
[2] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 272-3; 15-21 June, 1658).

new Parliament, of juster disposition towards Puritan England and him.[1] With a Parliament, or if extremity of need arrive, without a Parliament and in spite of Parliaments, the Puritan Gospel Cause, sanctioned by a Higher than Parliaments, shall not sink while life remains in this Man. Not till Oliver Cromwell's head lie low, shall English Puritanism bend its head to any created thing. Erect, with its foot on the neck of Hydra Babylon, with its open Bible and drawn Sword, shall Puritanism stand, and with pious all-defiance victoriously front the world. That was Oliver Cromwell's appointed function in this piece of sublunary Space, in this section of swift-flowing Time; that noble, perilous, painful function; and he has manfully done it,—and is now near ending it, and getting honourably relieved from it.

LETTER CCIX.

THE poor Protestants of Piedmont, it appears, are again in a state of grievance, in a state of peril. The Lord Protector, in the thickest press of domestic anarchies, finds time to think of these poor people and their case. Here is a Letter to Ambassador Lockhart, who is now at Dunkirk Siege, in the French King and Cardinal's neighbourhood: a generous pious Letter; dictated to Thurloe, partly perhaps of Thurloe's composition, but altogether of Oliver's mind and sense;—fit enough, since it so chances, to conclude our Series here.

Among the Lockhart Letters in *Thurloe*, which are full of Dunkirk in these weeks, I can find no trace of this new Piedmont business: but in Milton's Latin State-Letters, among the *Literæ Oliverii Protectoris*, there are Three, to the French King, to the Swiss Cantons, to the Cardinal, which all treat of it. The first of which, were it only as a sample of the Milton-Oliver Diplomacies, we will here copy, and translate that all may read it. An empathic State-Letter; which Oliver Cromwell meant, and John Milton thought and wrote into words; not unworthy to be read. It goes by the same Express as the Letter to Lockhart himself; and is very specially referred to there:

"*Serenissimo potentissimoque Principi, Ludovico Galliarum Regi.*

"SERENISSIME POTENTISSIMEQUE REX, AMICE AC FŒDERATE

"AUGUSTISSIME,

"Meminisse potest Majestas Vestra, quo tempore inter nos de renovando Fœdere agebatur (quod optimis auspiciis initum multa utriusque Populi commoda, multa Hostium communium exinde manifestantur), accidisse miseram illam Convallensium Occisionem; quorum causam undique desertam atque afflictam Vestræ misericordiæ atque tutelæ, summo cum ardore animi ac miseratione, commendavimus. Nec defuisse per se arbitramur Majestatem Vestram officio tam pio, immo verò tam humano, pro eâ quâ apud Ducem Sabaudiæ valere debuit vel auctoritate vel gratiâ: Nos certè aliique multi Principes ac Civitates, legationibus, literis, precibus interpositis, non defuimus.

"Post cruentissimam utriusque sexûs omnis ætatis Trucidationem, Pax tandem data est; vel potiùs inductæ Pacis nomine hostilitas quædam tectior. Conditiones Pacis vestro in oppido Pinarolii sunt latæ: duræ quidem illæ, sed quibus miseri atque inopes, dira omnia atque

[1] Thurloe, vii. 84, 99, 128, &c. (April, May, 1658).

immania perpessi, facile acquiescerent, modò iis, duræ et iniquæ ut sint, staretur. Non statur ; sed enim earum quoque singularum, falsâ interpretatione variisque diverticulis, fides, eluditur ac violatur. Antiquis sedibus multi dejiciuntur, Religio Patria multis interdicitur ; Tributa nova exiguntur ; Arx nova cervicibus imponitur, unde milites crebrò erumpentes obvios quosque vel diripiunt vel trucidant. Ad hæc nuper novæ copiæ clanculum contra eos parantur ; quique inter eos Romanam Religionem colunt, migrare ad tempus jubentur : ut omnia nunc rursùs videantur ad illorum internecionem miserorum spectare, quos illa prior laniena reliquos fecit.

"Quod ergò per dextram tuam, Rex Christianissime, quæ Fœdus nobiscum et amicitiam percussit, obsecro atque obtestor, per illud Christianissimi tituli decus sanctissimum, fieri ne siveris : nec tantam sæviendi licentiam, non dico Principi cuiquam (neque enim in ullum Principem, multò minus in ætatem illius Principis teneram, aut in muliebrem Matris animum, tanta sævitia cadere potest), sed sacerrimis illis Sicariis, ne permiseris. Qui cum Christi Servatoris nostri servos atque imitatores sese profiteantur, qui venit in hunc mundum ut peccatores servaret, Ejus mitissimi Nomine atque Institutis ad innocentium crudelissimas cædes abutuntur. Eripe qui potes, quique in tanto fastigio dignus es posse, tot supplices tuos homicidarum ex manibus, qui cruore nuper ebrii sanguinem rursùs sitiunt, suæque invidiam crudelitatis in Principes derivare consultissimum sibi ducunt. Tu verò nec Titulos tuos aut Regni fines istâ invidiâ, nec Evangelium Christi pacatissimum istâ crudelitate fœdari, te regnante, patiaris. Memineris hos ipsos Avi tui Henrici Protestantibus amicissimi Dedititios fuisse ; cùm Diguierius per ea Loca, quà etiam commodissimus in Italiam transitus est, Sabaudum trans Alpes cedentem victor est insecutus. Deditionis illius Instrumentum in Actis Regni vestri Publicis etiamnum extat : in quo exceptum atque cautum inter alia est, ne cui posteà Convallenses traderentur, nisi iisdem conditionibus quibus eos Avus tuus invictissimus in fidem recepit. Hanc fidem nunc implorant, avitam abs te Nepote supplices requirunt. Tui esse quàm cujus nunc sunt, vel permutatione aliquâ si fieri possit, malint atque optârint : id si non licet, patrocinio saltem, miseratione atque perfugio.

"Sunt et rationes regni quæ hortari possint ut Convallenses ad te confugientes ne rejicias : sed nolim te, Rex tantus cum sis, aliis rationibus ad defensionem calamitosorum quàm fide a Majoribus datâ, pietate, regiâque animi benignitate ac magnitudine permoveri. Ita pulcherrimi facti laus atque gloria illibata atque integra tua erit, et ipse Patrem Misericordiæ ejusque Filium Christum Regem, cujus Nomen atque Doctrinam ab immanitate nefariâ vindicaveris, eò magis faventem tibi et propitium per omnem vitam experieris.

"Deus Opt. Max. ad gloriam suam, tot innocentissimorum hominum Christianorum tutandam salutem, Vestrumque verum decus, Majestati Vestræ hanc mentem injiciat.

"'*Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus*

"'OLIVERIUS PROTECTOR REIP. ANGLIÆ, &c.

"*Westmonasterio, Maii* '26° *die*,' *anno* 1658." [1]

Of which here is a Version the most literal we can make :

[1] The Prose Works of John Milton (London, 1833), p. 815.

"*To the most serene and potent Prince, Louis, King of France.*

"MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, MOST CLOSE FRIEND AND ALLY,

"Your Majesty may recollect that during the negotiation between us for the renewing of our League[1] (which many advantages to both Nations, and much damage to their common Enemies, resulting therefrom, now testify to have been very wisely done),—there fell out that miserable Slaughter of the People of the Valleys; whose cause, on all sides deserted and trodden down, we, with the utmost earnestness and pity, recommended to your mercy and protection. Nor do we think Your Majesty, for your own part, has been wanting in an office so pious and indeed so human, in so far as either by authority or favour you might have influence with the Duke of Savoy: we certainly, and many other Princes and States, by embassies, by letters, by entreaties directed thither, have not been wanting.

"After that most sanguinary Massacre, which spared no age nor either sex, there was at last a Peace given; or rather, under the specious name of Peace, a certain more disguised hostility. The terms of the Peace were settled in your Town of Pignerol: hard terms; but such as those poor People, indigent and wretched, after suffering all manner of cruelties and atrocities, might gladly acquiesce in; if only, hard and unjust as the bargain is, it were adhered to. It is not adhered to: those terms are broken; the purport of every one of them is, by false interpretation and various subterfuges, eluded and violated. Many of those People *are* ejected from their Old Habitations; their Native Religion is prohibited to many: new Taxes are exacted; a new Fortress has been built over them, out of which soldiers frequently sallying plunder or kill whomsoever they meet. Moreover, new Forces have of late been privily got ready against them; and such as follow the Romish Religion are directed to withdraw from among them within a limited time: so that everything seems now again to point towards the extermination of all among those unhappy People, whom the former Massacre had left.

"Which now, O Most Christian King, I beseech and obtest thee, by thy right-hand which pledged a League and Friendship with us, by the sacred honour of that Title of Most Christian,—permit not to be done: nor let such license of savagery, I do not say to any Prince (for indeed no cruelty like this could come into the mind of any Prince, much less into the tender years of that young Prince, or into the woman's heart of his Mother), but to those most accursed Assassins, be given. Who while they profess themselves the servants and imitators of Christ our Saviour, who came into this world that He might save sinners, abuse His most merciful Name and Commandments to the cruellest slaughterings. Snatch, thou who art able, and who in such an elevation art worthy to be able, those poor Suppliants of thine, from the hands of Murderers, who, lately drunk with blood, are again athirst for it, and think convenient to turn the discredit of their own cruelty upon their Prince's score. Suffer not either thy Titles and the Environs of thy Kingdom to be soiled with that discredit, or the peaceable Gospel of Christ by that cruelty, in thy Reign. Remember that these very People became Subjects of thy Ancestor, Henry, most friendly to Protestants:

[1] June, 1655: Antea, vol. ii. p. 336

when Lesdiguières victoriously pursued him of Savoy across the Alps, through those same Valleys,[1] where indeed the most commodious pass to Italy is. The Instrument of that their Paction and Surrender is yet extant in the Public Acts of your Kingdom: in which this among other things is specified and provided against, That these People of the Valleys should not thereafter be delivered over to any one except on the same conditions under which thy invincible Ancestor had received them into fealty. This promised protection they now implore; promise of thy Ancestor they now, from thee the Grandson, suppliantly demand. To be thine rather than his whose they now are, if by any means of exchange it could be done, they would wish and prefer: if that may not be, thine at least by succour, by commiseration and deliverance.

"There are likewise reasons of state which might give inducement not to reject these People of the Valleys flying for shelter to thee: but I would not have thee, so great a King as thou art, be moved to the defence of the unfortunate by other reasons than the promise of thy Ancestors, and thy own piety and royal benignity and greatness of mind. So shall the praise and fame of this most worthy action be unmixed and clear; and thyself shall find the Father of Mercy, and His Son Christ the King, whose Name and Doctrine thou shalt have vindicated, the more favourable to thee, and propitious through the course of life.

"May the Almighty, for His own glory, for the safety of so many most innocent Christian men, and for your true honour, dispose Your Majesty to this determination.

"Your Majesty's most friendly,

"OLIVER PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.

"Westminster, 26th May, 1658."

'*To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador at the French Court: These.*'

SIR, 'Whitehall,' 26th May, 1658.

The continual troubles and vexations of the poor People of Piedmont professing the Reformed Religion,—and that after so many serious instances of yours in the Court of France in their behalf, and after such hearty recommendations of their most deplorable condition to His Majesty in our name, who also has been pleased upon all such occasions to profess very deep resentments of their miseries, and to give us no small hopes of interposing his power and interest with the Duke of Savoy for the accommodating of those affairs, and for the restoring those poor distressed creatures to their ancient privileges and habitations,—are matter of so much grief to us, and lie so near our heart, that, notwithstanding we are abundantly satisfied with those many signal marks you have always hitherto given of your truly Christian zeal and tenderness on their regard, yet the present conjuncture of their affairs, and the misery that is daily added to their affliction begetting in us fresh arguments of pity towards them, not only as men, but as the poor distressed Members of Christ,—do really move us at present to recommend their sad condition to your special care. Desiring you to redouble your instances with the King, in such pathetic and affectionate expressions as may be in some measure suitable to the greatness of their present

[1] In 1592: Hénault, Abrégé Chronologique (Paris, 1774), ii. 597.

sufferings and grievances. Which, the truth is, are almost inexpressible. For so restless and implacable is the malice and fury of their Popish Adversaries, that,—as though they esteemed it but a light matter to have formerly shed the innocent blood of so many hundreds of souls, to have burned their goods, to have rased their churches, to have plundered their houses, and to have driven out the Inhabitants beyond the River Pelice, out of those their ancient Possessions which they had quietly enjoyed for so many ages and generations together,—they are now resolved to fill their cup of affliction up to the brim, and to heat the furnace yet seven times hotter than before. Amongst other things:

First,—They forcibly prohibit all manner of Public Exercises[1] at San Giovanni, which, notwithstanding, the Inhabitants have enjoyed time out of mind: and in case they yield not ready obedience to such most unrighteous orders, they are immediately summoned before their Courts of Justice, and there proceeded against in a most severe and rigorous manner, and some threatened to be wholly destroyed and exterminated.

2. And forasmuch as, in the said Valleys, there are not found among the Natives men fitly qualified and of abilities for Ministerial Functions to supply so much as one half of their Churches, and upon this account they are necessitated to entertain some out of France and Geneva, which are the Duke of Savoy's friends and allies,—their Popish Enemies take hold of this advantage; and make use of this stratagem, namely, to banish and drive out the shepherds of the flocks, that so the wolves may the better come in and devour the sheep.

3. To this we add, their strict prohibition of all Physicians and Chirurgeons of the Reformed Religion to inhabit in the Valleys. And thus they attempt not only to starve their souls for want of spiritual food and nourishment, but to destroy their bodies likewise for want of those outward conveniences and helps which God hath allowed to all mankind.

4. And as a supplement to the former grievances, those of the Reformed Religion are prohibited all manner of Commerce and Trade with their Popish neighbours; that so they may not be able to subsist and maintain their families: and if they offend herein in the least, they are immediately apprehended as rebels.

5. Moreover, to give the world a clear testimony what their main design in all these oppressions is, they have issued out Orders whereby to force the poor Protestants To sell their Lands and Houses to their Popish neighbours: whereas the Papists are prohibited upon pain of excommunication to sell any immovable to the Protestants.

6. Besides, the Court of Savoy have rebuilt the Fort of La Torre; contrary to the formal and express promise made by them to the Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons. Where they have also placed Commanders, who commit the Lord knows how many excesses and outrages in all the neighbouring parts; without being ever called to question, or compelled to make restitution for the same. If by chance any murder be committed in the Valleys (as is too-too often practised) whereof the authors are not discovered, the poor Protestants are immediately accused as guilty thereof, to render them odious to their neighbours.

[1] Means "Public Worship."

7. There are sent lately into the said Valleys several Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot; which hath caused the poor People, out of fear of a massacre, with great expense and difficulty to send their wives and little ones, with all that were feeble and sick amongst them, into the Valley of Perosa, under the King of France his Dominions.

These are, in short, the grievances, and this is the present state and condition of those poor People even at this very day. Whereof you are to use your utmost endeavours to make his Majesty thoroughly sensible; and to persuade him to give speedy and effectual orders 'to' his Ambassador who resides in the Duke's Court, To act vigorously in their behalf. Our Letter,[1] which you shall present his Majesty for this end and purpose, contains several reasons in it which we hope will move his heart to the performance of this charitable and merciful work. And we desire you to second and animate the same with your most earnest solicitations; representing unto him how much his own interest and honour is concerned in the making good that Accord of Henry the Fourth, his royal predecessor, with the Ambassadors of those very People, in the year 1592, by the Constable of Lesdiguières; which Accord is registered in the Parliament of Dauphiné; and whereof you have an authentic Copy in your own hands. Whereby the Kings of France oblige themselves and their Successors To maintain and preserve their ancient privileges and concessions.—Besides that the gaining to himself the hearts of that People, by so gracious and remarkable a protection and deliverance, might be of no little use another day, in relation to Pignerol and the other adjacent places under his Dominions.

One of the most effectual remedies, which we conceive the fittest to be applied at present is, That the King of France would be pleased to make an Exchange with the Duke of Savoy for those Valleys; resigning over to him some other part of his Dominions in lieu thereof,—as, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, the Marquisate of Saluces was exchanged with the Duke for La Bresse.[2] Which certainly could not but be of great advantage to his Majesty, as well for the safety of Pignerol, as for the opening of a Passage for his Forces into Italy,—which 'Passage,' if under the dominion, and in the hands of so powerful a Prince, joined with the natural strength of these places by reason of their situation, must needs be rendered impregnable.

By what we have already said, you see our intentions; and therefore we leave all other particulars to your special care and conduct; and rest,

'Your friend,'

OLIVER P.*

Lockhart, both General and Ambassador in these months, is, as we hinted, infinitely busy with his share in the Siege of Dunkirk, now just in its agony: and before this Letter can well arrive, has done his famous feat of Fighting, which brings Turenne and him their victory, among the sandhills there.[3] Much to the joy of Cardinal and King; who will not readily refuse him in any reasonable point at present. There came no new Massacre upon the poor People of the Valleys; their grievances were again "settled," scared away for a season, by negotiation.

[1] Milton's, given above. [2] In 1601 (Hénault, ii. 612). * Ayscough MSS., [illegible] 1807, f. 89.
[3] Thursday, 3 June, 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 155-6.)

DEATH OF THE PROTECTOR.

THERE remain no more *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* for us; the above is the last of them of either kind. As a speaker to men, he takes his leave of the world, in these final words addressed to his Second Parliament, on the 4th of February, 1657-8: "God be judge between you and me!"—So was it appointed by the Destinies and Oblivions; these were his last public words.

Other Speeches, in that crisis of Oliver's affairs, we have already heard of: "Speech of two hours" to his Officers in Whitehall; Speech to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, in the same place, on the same subject: but they have not been reported, or the report of them has not come down to us. There were domestic Letters also, as we still find, written in those same tumultuous weeks; Letters to the Earl of Warwick, on the occasion of the death of his Grandson, the Protector's Son-in-law. For poor young Mr. Rich, whom we saw wedded in November last, is dead.[1] He died on the twelfth day after that Dissolution of the Parliament: while Oliver and the Commonwealth are wrestling against boundless Anarchies, Oliver's own Household has its visitations and dark days. Poor little Frances Cromwell, in the fourth month of her marriage, still only about seventeen, she finds herself suddenly a widow; and Hampton Court has become a house of mourning. Young Rich was much lamented. Oliver condoled with the Grandfather "in seasonable and sympathising Letters;" for which the brave old Earl rallies himself to make some gratefullest Reply:[2]—"Cannot enough confess my obligation, much less discharge it, for your seasonable and sympathising Letters; which, besides the value they derive from so worthy a hand, express such faithful affections, and administer such Christian advices as renders them beyond measure dear to me." Blessings, and noble eulogies, the outpouring of a brave old heart, conclude this Letter of Warwick's. He himself died shortly after;[3] a new grief to the Protector.—The Protector was delivering the Commonwealth from Hydras and fighting a world-wide battle, while he wrote those Letters on the death of young Rich. If by chance they still lie hidden in the archives of some kinsman of the Warwicks, they may yet be disimprisoned and made audible. Most probably they too are lost. And so we have now nothing more;—and Oliver has nothing more. His Speakings, and also his Actings, all his manifold Strugglings, more or less victorious, to utter the great God's-message that was in him,—have here what we call ended. This Summer of 1658, likewise victorious after struggle, is his last in our World of Time. Thenceforth he enters the Eternities; and rests upon his arms *there*.

Oliver's look was yet strong; and young for his years,[4] which were Fifty-nine last April. The "Three-score and ten years," the Psalmist's limit, which probably was often in Oliver's thoughts and those of others there, might have been anticipated for him: Ten Years more of Life;—which, we may compute, would have given another History to all the Centuries of England. But it was not to be so, it was to be otherwise. Oliver's health, as we might observe, was but uncertain in late times;

[1] 16 Feb 1657-8 (Newspapers in Cromwelliana, p. 170.)
[2] Earl of Warwick to the Lord Protector, date 11 March, 1657-8; printed in *Godwin*. iv. 528
[3] 19 April, 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 85.)
[4] Heath.

often "indisposed" the spring before last. His course of life had not been favourable to health! "A burden too heavy for man!" as he himself, with a sigh, would sometimes say. Incessant toil; inconceivable labour, of head and heart and hand; toil, peril, and sorrow manifold, continued for near Twenty years now, had done their part: these robust life-energies, it afterwards appeared,[1] had been gradually eaten out. Like a Tower strong to the eye, but with its foundations undermined; which has not long to stand; the fall of which, on any shock, may be sudden.—

The Manzinis and Ducs de Crequi, with their splendours, and congratulations about Dunkirk, interesting to the street-populations and general public, had not yet withdrawn, when at Hampton Court there had begun a private scene, of much deeper and quite opposite interest there. The Lady Claypole, Oliver's favourite Daughter, a favourite of all the world, had fallen sick we know not when; lay sick now,—to death, as it proved. Her disease was of internal female nature; the painfullest and most harassing to mind and sense, it is understood, that falls to the lot of a human creature. Hampton Court we can fancy once more, in those July days, a house of sorrow; pale death knocking there, as at the door of the meanest hut. "She had great sufferings, great exercises of spirit." Yes:—and in the depths of the old Centuries we see a pale anxious Mother, anxious Husband, anxious weeping Sisters, a poor young Frances weeping anew in her weeds. "For the last fourteen days" his Highness has been by her bedside at Hampton Court, unable to attend to any public business whatever.[2] Be still, my Child; trust thou yet in God: in the waves of the Dark River there too is He a God of help!—On the 6th day of August she lay dead; at rest forever. My young, my beautiful, my brave! She is taken from me: I am left bereaved of her. The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away; blessed be the Name of the Lord!—

"His Highness," says Maidston,[3] "being at Hampton Court, sickened a little before the Lady Elizabeth died. Her decease was on Friday 6th August, 1658; she having lain long under great extremity of bodily pain, which, with frequent and violent convulsion-fits, brought her to her end. But as to his Highness, it was observed that his sense of her outward misery, in the pains she endured, took deep impression upon him; who indeed was ever a most indulgent and tender Father:—his affections" too "being regulated and bounded by such Christian wisdom and prudence, as did eminently shine in filling up not only that relation of a Father, but also all other relations; wherein he was a most rare and singular example. And no doubt but the sympathy of his spirit with his sorely afflicted and dying Daughter" did break him down at this time; "considering also,"—innumerable other considerations of sufferings and toils, "which made me often wonder he was able to hold up so long; except" indeed "that he was borne up by a Supernatural Power at a more than ordinary rate. As a mercy to the truly Christian World, and to us of these Nations, had we been worthy of him!"

1 Dr. Bates, on examination *post mortem*. 2 Thurloe, vii. 295 (27 July, 1658).

3 A Collection of several Passages concerning his late Highness Oliver Cromwell, in the Time of his Sickness; wherein is related many of his Expressions upon his Deathbed, together with his Prayer within two or three Days before his Death. Written by one that was then Groom of his Bedchamber (King's Pamphlets, sm. 4to. no. 792, art. 22: London, 9 June, 1659.)

The same authority, who unhappily is not chronological, adds elsewhere this little picture, which we must take with us: "At Hampton Court a few days after the death of the Lady Elizabeth, which touched him nearly,—being then himself under bodily distempers, forerunners of that Sickness which was to death, and in his bedchamber,—he called for his Bible, and desired an honourable and godly person there, with others, present, To read unto him that passage in *Philippians*, Fourth: '*Not that I speak in respect of want: for I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound. Everywhere, and by all things, I am instructed; both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things, through Christ which strengtheneth me.*'[1] Which read,—said he, to use his own words as near as I can remember them: 'This Scripture did once save my life; when my eldest Son' poor Oliver[2] 'died; which went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did.' And then repeating the words of the text himself, and reading the tenth and eleventh verses, of Paul's contentation, and submission to the will of God in all conditions, —said he: 'It's true, Paul, *you* have learned this, and attained to this measure of grace: but what shall *I* do? Ah poor creature, it is a hard lesson for me to take out! I find it so!' But reading on to the thirteenth verse, where Paul saith, '*I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me*,'—then faith began to work, and his heart to find support and comfort, and he said thus to himself, 'He that was Paul's Christ is my Christ too!' And so drew waters out of the well of Salvation."

In the same dark days, occurred George Fox's third and last interview with Oliver. Their first interview we have seen. The second, which had fallen out some two years ago, did not prosper quite so well. George, riding into Town "one evening," with some "Edward Pyot" or other broad-brimmed man, espied the Protector "at Hyde Park Corner among his Guards," and made up to his carriage-window, in spite of opposition; and was altogether cordially welcomed there. But on the following day, at Whitehall, the Protector "spake lightly;" he sat down loosely "on a table," and "spake light things to me,"—in fact, rather quizzed me; finding my enormous sacred Self-confidence none of the least of my attainments![3] Such had been our second interview; here now is the third and last.—George dates nothing; and his facts everywhere lie round him like the leather-parings of his old shop: but we judge it may have been about the time when the Manzinis and Ducs de Crequi were parading in their gilt coaches, That George and two Friends "going out of Town," on a summer day, "two of Hacker's men" had met them,—taken them, brought them "to the Mews." "Prisoners there a while:"—but the Lord's power was over Hacker's men; they had to let us go. Whereupon:

"The same day, taking boat I went down" *(up)* "to Kingston, and from thence to Hampton Court, to speak with the Protector about the Sufferings of Friends. I met him riding into Hampton-Court Park; and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his Lifeguard, I saw and felt a waft" *(whiff)* "of death go forth against him"— —Or in

[1] Philippians iv. 11, 12, 13. [2] A blank in the Pamphlet here: see *Antea*, vol. I. p. 93
[3] Fox's Journal, i. 381, 2.

favour of him, George? His life, if thou knew it, has not been a merry thing for this man, now or heretofore! I fancy he has been looking, this long while, to give it up, whenever the Commander-in-chief required. To quit his laborious sentry-post; honourably lay up his arms, and be gone to his rest:—all Eternity to rest in, O George! Was thy own life merry, for example, in the hollow of the tree; clad permanently in leather? And does kingly purple, and governing refractory worlds instead of stitching coarse shoes, make it merrier? The waft of death is not against *him*, I think,—perhaps against thee, and me, and others, O George, when the Nell-Gwyn Defender and two-Centuries of all-victorious Cant have come in upon us! My unfortunate George— —"a waft of death go forth against him; and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the Sufferings of Friends before him, and had warned him according as I was moved to speak to him, he bade me come to his house. So I returned to Kingston; and, the next day, went up to Hampton Court to speak farther with him. But when I came, Harvey, who was one that waited on him, told me the Doctors were not willing that I should speak with him. So I passed away, and never saw him more."[1]

Friday the 20th of August 1658, this was probably the day on which George Fox saw Oliver riding into Hampton Park with his Guards, for the last time. That Friday, as we find, his Highness seemed much better: but on the morrow a sad change had taken place; feverish symptoms, for which the Doctors rigorously prescribed quiet. Saturday to Tuesday the symptoms continued ever worsening: a kind of tertian ague, "bastard tertian" as the old Doctors name it; for which it was ordered that his Highness should return to Whitehall, as to a more favourable air in that complaint. On Tuesday accordingly he quitted Hampton Court;—never to see it more.

"His time was come," says Harvey; "and neither prayers nor tears could prevail with God to lengthen out his life and continue him longer to us. Prayers abundantly and incessantly poured out on his behalf, both publicly and privately as was observed, in a more than ordinary way. Besides many a secret sigh,—secret and unheard by men, yet like the cry of Moses, more loud, and strongly laying hold on God, than many spoken supplications. All which,—the hearts of God's People being thus mightily stirred up,—did seem to beget confidence in some, and hopes in all; yea some thoughts in himself, that God would restore him."

"Prayers public and private:" they are worth imagining to ourselves. Meetings of Preachers, Chaplains, and Godly Persons; "Owen, Goodwin, Sterry, with a company of others, in an adjoining room;" in Whitehall, and elsewhere over religious London and England, fervent outpourings of many a loyal heart. For there were hearts to whom the nobleness of this man was known; and his worth to the Puritan Cause was evident. Prayers,—strange enough to us; in a dialect fallen obsolete, forgotten now. Authentic wrestlings of ancient Human Souls, —who were alive then, with their affections, awe-struck pieties; with their Human Wishes, risen to be *transcendant*, hoping to prevail with the Inexorable. All swallowed now in the depths of dark Time; which is full of such, since the beginning!—Truly it is a great scene of World-

[1] Fox's Journal, pp. 485, 6.

History, this in old Whitehall: Oliver Cromwell drawing nigh to his end. The exit of Oliver Cromwell and of English Puritanism; a great Light, one of our few authentic Solar Luminaries, going down now amid the clouds of Death. Like the setting of a great victorious Summer Sun; its course now finished. "*So stirbt ein Held*," says Schiller, "So dies a Hero! Sight worthy to be worshipped!"—He died, this Hero Oliver, in Resignation to God; as the Brave have all done. "We could not be more desirous he should abide," says the pious Harvey, "than he was content and willing to be gone." The struggle lasted, amid hope and fear, for ten days.—Some small miscellaneous traits, and confused gleanings of last-words; and then our poor History ends.

Oliver, we find, spoke much of "the Covenants;" which indeed are the grand axis of all, in that Puritan Universe of his. Two Covenants; one of Works, with fearful Judgment for our shortcomings therein, one of Grace and unspeakable mercy;—gracious Engagements, "Covenants," which the Eternal God has vouchsafed to make with His feeble creature Man. Two; and by Christ's Death they have become One: there for Oliver is the divine solution of this our Mystery of Life.[1] "They were Two," he was heard ejaculating: "Two, but put into One before the Foundation of the World!" And again: "It is holy and true, it is holy and true, it is holy and true!—Who made it holy and true? The Mediator of the Covenant!" And again: "The Covenant is but One. Faith in the Covenant is my only support. And if I believe not, He abides faithful!" When his Children and Wife stood weeping round him, he said: "Love not this world. I say unto you, it is not good that you should love this world!" No. "Children, live like Christians:—I leave you the Covenant to feed upon!" Yea, my brave one; even so! The Covenant, and eternal Soul of Covenants, remains sure to all the faithful: deeper than the Foundations of this World; earlier than they, and more lasting than they!—

Look also at the following; dark hues and bright; immortal light-beams struggling amid the black vapours of Death. Look; and conceive a great sacred scene, the sacredest this world sees;—and think of it, do not speak of it, in these mean days which have no sacred word. "Is there none that says, Who will deliver me from the peril?" moaned he once. Many hearts are praying, O wearied one! "Man can do nothing," rejoins he; "God can do what He will."—Another time, again thinking of the Covenant, "Is there none that will come and praise God," whose mercies endure forever!—

Here also are ejaculations caught up at intervals, undated, in those final days: "Lord, Thou knowest, if I do desire to live, it is to shew forth Thy praise and declare Thy works!"—Once he was heard saying, "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God!"[2] "This was spoken three times," says Harvey: "his repetitions usually being very weighty, and with great vehemency of spirit." Thrice over he said this; looking into the Eternal Kingdoms.—But again: "All the Promises of God are in *Him:* yes, and in Him Amen; to the glory of God by us,—by *us* in Jesus Christ."—"The Lord hath filled me with as much assurance of His pardon, and His love, as my soul can hold."—"I think

[1] Much intricate intense reasoning to this effect, on this subject, in Owen's Works among others.

[2] Hebrews x., 31.

I am the poorest wretch that lives: but I love God; or rather, am beloved of God."—"I am a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Christ that strengtheneth me!"[1]

So pass, in the sickroom, in the sickbed, these last heavy uncertain days. "The Godly Persons had great assurances of a return to their Prayers:" transcendant Human Wishes find in their own echo a kind of answer! They give his Highness also some assurance that his life would be lengthened. Hope was strong in many to the very end.

On Monday, August 30th, there roared and howled all day a mighty storm of wind. Ludlow, coming up to Town from Essex, could not start in the morning for wind; tried it in the afternoon; still could not get along, in his coach, for head-wind; had to stop at Epping.[2] On the morrow, Fleetwood came to him in the Protector's name, to ask, What he wanted here? Nothing of public concernment, only to see my Mother-in-law! answered the solid man. For indeed he did not know that Oliver was dying; that the glorious hour of Disenthralment, and immortal "Liberty" to plunge over precipices with one's self and one's Cause, was so nigh! It came: and he took the precipices, like a strongboned resolute blind ginhorse rejoicing in the breakage of its halter, in a very gallant constitutional manner. Adieu, my solid friend; if I go to Vevay, I will read thy Monument there, perhaps not without emotion, after all!— —

It was on this stormy Monday, while rocking winds, heard in the sickroom and everywhere, were piping aloud, that Thurloe and an Official person entered to inquire, Who, in case of the worst, was to be his Highness's Successor? The Successor is named in a sealed Paper already drawn up, above a year ago, at Hampton Court; now lying in such and such a place. The Paper was sent for, searched for; it could never be found. Richard's is the name understood to have been written in that Paper: not a good name; but in fact one does not know. In ten years' time, had ten years more been granted, Richard might have become a fitter man; might have been cancelled, if palpably unfit. Or perhaps it was Fleetwood's name,—and the Paper, by certain parties, was stolen? None knows. On the Thursday-night following, "and not till then," his Highness is understood to have formally named "Richard!"—or perhaps it might only be some heavy-laden "Yes, yes!" spoken, out of the thick death-slumbers, in answer to Thurloe's *question* "Richard?" The thing is a little uncertain.[3] It was, once more, a matter of much moment; giving colour probably to all the subsequent Centuries of England, this answer!—

On or near the night of the same stormy Monday, "two or three days before he died," we are to place that Prayer his Highness was heard uttering; which, as taken down by his attendants, exists in many old Notebooks. In the tumult of the winds, the dying Oliver was heard uttering this

PRAYER.

Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in Covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will, come to Thee.

[1] From Harvey; scattered over his Pamphlet. [2] Ludlow, ii. 610, 12.

[3] Authorities in Godwin, iv. 572-3. But see also *Thurloe*, vii. 375; Fauconberg's second Letter there.

for Thy People. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death; Lord, however Thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the Name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on Thy instruments, to depend more upon Thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy People too. And pardon the folly of this short Prayer:—Even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night if it be Thy pleasure. Amen.

"Some variation there is," says Harvey, "of this Prayer, as to the account divers give of it; and something is here omitted. But so much is certain, that these were his requests. Wherein his heart was so carried out for God and His People, yea indeed for some who had added no little sorrow to him," the Anabaptist Republicans, and others, —"that at this time he seems to forget his own Family and nearest relations." Which indeed is to be remarked.

Thursday night the Writer of our old Pamphlet was himself in attendance on his Highness; and has preserved a trait or two; with which let us hasten to conclude. To-morrow is September Third, always kept as a Thanksgiving day, since the Victories of Dunbar and Worcester. The wearied one, "that very night before the Lord took him to his everlasting rest," was heard thus, with oppressed voice, speaking:

"'Truly God is good; indeed He is; He will not'——Then his speech failed him, but as I apprehended, it was, 'He will not leave me.' This saying, 'God is good,' he frequently used all along; and would speak it with much cheerfulness, and fervour of spirit, in the midst of his pains.—Again he said: 'I would be willing to live to be farther serviceable to God and His People: but my work is done. Yet God will be with His People.'

"He was very restless most part of the night, speaking often to himself. And there being something to drink offered him, he was desired To take the same, and endeavour to sleep.—Unto which he answered: 'It is not my design to drink or sleep; but my design is, to make what haste I can to be gone.—'

"Afterwards towards morning, he used divers holy expressions, implying much inward consolation and peace; among the rest he spake some exceeding self-debasing words, *annihilating* and judging himself. And truly it was observed, that a public spirit to God's Cause did breathe in him,—as in his lifetime, so now to his very last."

When the morrow's sun rose, Oliver was speechless; between three and four in the afternoon, he lay dead. Friday, 3rd September, 1658, "The consternation and astonishment of all people," writes Fauconberg,[1] "are inexpressible; their hearts seem as if sunk within them. My poor Wife,—I know not what on Earth to do with her. When seemingly quieted, she burst out again into a passion that tears her very heart in pieces,"—Husht, poor weeping Mary! Here is a Life-battle right nobly done. Seest thou not,

[1] To Henry Cromwell, 7 September 1658 (*Thurloe*, vii. 375).

"The storm is changed into a calm,
At His command and will;
So that the waves which raged before
Now quiet are and still!

Then are *they* glad,—because at rest
And quiet now they be:
So to the haven he them brings
Which they desired to see."

"Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord;" blessed are the valiant that have lived in the Lord. "Amen, saith the Spirit,"—Amen. "They do rest from their labours, and their works follow them."

"Their works follow them." As, I think, this Oliver Cromwell's works have done and are still doing! We have had our "Revolutions of Eighty-eight," officially called "glorious;" and other Revolutions not yet called glorious; and somewhat has been gained for poor Mankind. Men's ears are not now slit-off by rash Officiality; Officiality will, for long henceforth, be more cautious about men's ears. The tyrannous Starchambers, branding-irons, chimerical Kings, and Surplices at Allhallow-tide, they are gone, or with immense velocity going. Oliver's works do follow him!—The works of a man, bury them under what guano-mountains and obscene owl-droppings you will, do not perish, cannot perish. What of Heroism, what of Eternal Light was in a Man and his Life, is with very great exactness added to the Eternities; remains forever a new divine portion of the Sum of Things; and no owl's voice, this way or that, in the least avails in the Matter.—But we have to end here.

Oliver is gone; and with him England's Puritanism, laboriously built together by this man, and made a thing far-shining miraculous to its own Century, and memorable to all the Centuries, soon goes. Puritanism, without its King, is *kingless*, anarchic; falls into dislocation, self-collision; staggers, plunges into ever deep anarchy; King, Defender of the Puritan Faith there can now none be found; and nothing is left but to recall the old disowned Defender, with the remnants of his Four Surplices, and two Centuries of *Hypocrisia*, and put up with all that, the best we may. The Genius of England no longer soars Sunward, world-defiant, like an eagle through the storms, "mewing her mighty youth," as John Milton saw her do: the Genius of England, much liker a greedy Ostrich intent on provender and a whole skin mainly, stands with its *other* extremity Sunward; with its Ostrich-head stuck into the readiest bush, of old Church-tippets, King-cloaks, or what other "sheltering Fallacy" there may be, and *so* awaits the issue. The issue has been slow; but it is now seen to have been inevitable. No ostrich, intent on gross terrene provender, and sticking its head into Fallacies, but will be awakened one day,—in a terrible *à-posteriori* manner, if not otherwise! ——Awake before it come to that: gods and men bid us awake! The Voices of our Fathers, with thousandfold stern monition to one and all, bid us awake.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Letter to Downhall.

[Vol. i. p. 43.]

THE stolen Letter of the Ashmole Museum has been found printed, and even reprinted. It is of the last degree of insignificance: a mere Note of Invitation to Downhall to Stand "Godfather unto my Child." Manchild now ten days old,[1] who, as we may see, is christened "on Thursday next" by the name of RICHARD,—and had strange ups and downs as a Man when it came to that!

To my approved good Friend, Mr. Henry Downhall, at his Chambers in St. John's College, Cambridge: These.

LOVING SIR, Huntingdon, 14th October, 1626.

Make me so much your servant as to be[2] Godfather unto my Child. I would myself have come over to have made a formal invitation; but my occasions would not permit me: and therefore hold me in that excused. The Day of your trouble is Thursday next. Let me entreat your company on Wednesday.

By this time it appears, I am more apt to encroach upon you for new favours than to shew my thankfulness for the love I have already found. But I know your patience and your goodness cannot be exhausted by

Your friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Of this Downhall, sometimes written Down*hault*, and even Down*ett* and Down*tell*; who grounds his claim, such as it is, to human remembrance on the above small Note from Oliver,—a helpful hand has, with unsubduable research, discovered various particulars, which might amount almost to an outline of a history of Downhall, were such needed. He was of Northamptonshire, come of gentlefolks in that County. Admitted Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 12th April, 1614;—had known Oliver, and apparently been helpful and instructive to him, two years after that. More interesting still, he this same Downhall was Vicar of St. Ives when Oliver came hither in 1635; still Vicar when Oliver left it, though with far other tendencies than Oliver's now; and had, alas, to be "ejected with his Curate, in 1642," as an Anti-Puritan Malignant:[3]—Oliver's course and his having altogether parted now! Nay, farther, the same Downhall, surviving the Restoration, became "Archdeacon of Huntingdon" in 1667: fifty-one years ago he had lodged there as Oliver Cromwell's guest and Gossip; and now he comes as Archdeacon,—with a very strange set of *Annals* written in his old head, poor Downhall! He died "at Cottingham in Northamptonshire, his native region, in the winter-time of 1669;"—and so, with his Ashmole Letter, ends.[4]

No. 2.

At Ely.

[Vol. i. p. 76.]

THERE is at Ely a Charitable Foundation now above four centuries old; which in Oliver's time was named the *Ely Feoffees' Fund*, and is now known as

[1] Vol. i. p. 55.

[2] "by being" *in orig.*

* Hearne's Liber Niger Scaccarii (London, 1771), i. 261 *n.*

[3] Vol. i. p. 69.

[4] Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, iii. 187; and MS. communicated by Mr. Cooper, resting on the following formidable mass of documentary Authorities:

Cole MSS. (which is a Transcript of Baker's *History of St. John's College*), 166, 358. Rymer's *Fœdera*, xix. 261. Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, p. 160. Kennet's *Register and Chronicle*, pp. 207, 251. Walker's *Sufferings*, ii. 129, 130. Wood's *Athenæ* (2d edition, passage wanting in both the 1st and 3d), ii. 1179.

Parsons' Charity; the old Records of which, though somewhat mutilated during those years, offer one or two faint but indubitable vestiges of Oliver, not to be neglected on the present occasion.

This *Charity* of ancient worthy Thomas *Parsons*, it appears, had, shortly before Oliver's arrival in Ely, been somewhat remodelled by a new Royal Charter: To be henceforth more specially devoted to the Poor of Ely; to be governed by Twelve Feoffees; namely, by Three Dignitaries of the Cathedral, and by Nine Townsmen of the better sort, who are permanent, and fill up their own vacancies,[1]—of which latter class, Oliver Cromwell Esquire, most likely elected in his Uncle's stead, was straightway made one. The old Books, as we say, are specially defective in those years; "have lost 40 or 50 leaves at the end of Book I., and 12 leaves at the beginning of Book II.,"—leaves cut out for the sake of Oliver's autograph, or as probably for other reasons. Detached Papers, however, still indicate that Oliver was one of the Feoffees, and a moderately diligent one, almost from his first residence there. Here, under date some six or seven months after his arrival, is a small Entry in certain loose Papers, labelled "*The Accompts of Mr. John Hand and Mr. Wm. Crauford, Collectors of the Revenewes belonging to the Towne of Ely*" (that is, to Parsons' Charity in Ely); and under this special head, "*The Disbursements of Mr. John Hand, from the — of August* 1636 *unto the — of* — 1641:

"Given to divers Poore People at y^e^ Work-house, in the presence of Mr. Archdeacon of Ely,[2] Mr. Oliver Cromwell, Mr. John Goodricke and others, 10th February 1636, as appeareth . . . . . £16 14 0."

And under this other head, "*The Disbursements of Mr. Crauford*," which unluckily are not dated, and run vaguely from 1636 to 1641:

"Item to Jones, by Mr. Cromwell's consent . . . £1 0 0."

Twice or thrice elsewhere the name of Cromwell is mentioned, but not as indicating activity on his part, indicating merely Feoffeeship and passivity;[3]—except in the following instance, where there is still extant a small Letter of his.

"Mr. Hand," as we have seen, is one of the "Collectors," himself likewise a Feoffee or Governor, the Governors (it would appear) taking that office in turn.

'*To Mr. Hand, at Ely: These.*'

MR. HAND, 'Ely,' 13th September, 1638.

I doubt not but I shall be as good as my word for your Money. I desire you to deliver Forty Shillings of the Town Money to this Bearer, to pay for the physic for Benson's cure. If the Gentlemen will not allow it at the time of account, keep this Note, and I will pay it out of my own purse. So I rest,

Your loving friend,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Poor "Benson" is an old invalid. Among Mr. Hand's Disbursements for the year 1636 is this,

"For phisicke and surgery for old Benson . . . £2 7 4."

[1] Report of the Commissioners concerning Charities (London, 1837): distinct account of it there, sec. *Cambridgeshire*, pp. 218-20.

[2] One "Wigmore;" the Dean was "William Fuller;" the Bishop "Matthew Wren," very famous for his Popish Candles and other fripperies, who lay long in the Tower afterwards. These were the three Clerical Feoffees in Oliver's time.

[3] Excerpts of Documents obligingly communicated by the Dean of Ely,—now *penes* Mr. Cooper of Cambridge.

* Memoirs of the Protector, by Oliver Cromwell, a Descendant &c. (London, 1825), i. 351; where also (p. 350) is found, in a very indistinct state, the above-given Entry from *Hand's Accompts*, misdated "1641," instead of 10 February, 1636-7. The *Letter* to Hand "has not been among the Feoffees' Papers for several years;" and is now (1846) none knows where.

And among Crauford's, of we know not what year,

"To Benson at divers times . . . . . ."

Let him have forty shillings more, poor old man; and if the Gentlemen won't allow it, Oliver Cromwell will pay it out of his own purse.

No. 3.

LETTER TO CAMBRIDGE, WITH "PROTESTATION," AND "PREAMBLE."

[Vol. i. p. 88.]

"*A Preamble, with the Protestation made by the whole House of Commons, the 3d of May, 1641, and assented unto by the Lords of the Upper House, the 4th of May.*

"WE, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the Commons House, in Parliament, finding, to the grief of our hearts, That the designs of the Priests and Jesuits, and other adherents to the See of Rome, have been of late more boldly and frequently put in practice than formerly, to the undermining, and danger of ruin, of the True Reformed Religion in his Majesty's Dominions established: And finding also that there hath been, and having cause to suspect there still are even during the sitting in Parliament, endeavours to subvert the Fundamental Laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce the exercise of an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, by most pernicious and wicked counsels, plots and conspiracies: And that the long intermission, and unhappier breach, of Parliaments hath occasioned many illegal Taxations, whereupon the Subjects have been prosecuted and grieved: And that divers Innovations and Superstitions have been brought into the Church; multitudes driven out of his Majesty's dominions; jealousies raised and fomented between the King and People; a Popish Army levied in Ireland,[1] and Two Armies brought into the bowels of this Kingdom, to the hazard of his Majesty's royal Person, the Consumption of the revenue of the Crown, and the treasure of this Realm: And lastly, finding great causes of jealousy that endeavours[2] have been and are used to bring the English Army into misunderstanding of this Parliament, thereby to incline that Army by force to bring to pass those wicked counsels,—

"Have therefore thought good to join ourselves in a declaration of our united affections and resolutions; and to make this ensuing

"PROTESTATION.

"I, A. B. do in the Presence of Almighty God promise, vow and protest, To maintain and defend as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power and estate, the True Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish Innovations, and according to the duty of my allegiance to his Majesty's royal Person, Honour and Estate: as also the Power and Privilege of Parliament, the Lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subjects; and every Person that maketh this Protestation in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same. And to my power, as far as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by good ways and means endeavour to bring to condign punishment, all such as shall, by force, practice, counsel, plots, conspiracies or otherwise, do anything to the contrary in this present Protestation contained.

"And further I shall, in all just and honourable ways, endeavour to preserve the union and peace betwixt the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland: and neither for hope, fear, nor other respect, shall relinquish this Promise, Vow and Protestation."[3]

This is on Monday, 3d May, 1641, while the Apprentices are bellowing in Palaceyard: Cromwell is one of those that take the Protestation this same Mon-

[1] By Strafford lately, against the Scots and their enterprizes.

[2] This is the important point, nearly shaded out of sight: "finding the great causes of jealousy, endeavours have" &c. is the tremulous, indistinct and even ungrammatical phrase in the Original.

[3] Commons Journals, ii., 132 (3 May, 1641).

day, present in the House while the redacting of it goes on. Long lists of Members take it,—not John Lowry, who I conclude must have been absent. On Wednesday, 5th May, there is this Order:

"*Ordered*, That the Protestation made by the Members of this House, with the Preamble, shall be together printed;" Clerk to attest the Copies; all Members to send them down to the respective Sheriffs, Justices, to the respective Cities, Boroughs, and "intimate with what willingness the Members made this Protestation; and that as they justify the taking of it in themselves, so they cannot but approve it in them that shall likewise take it."

Strict *Order*, at the same time, That all Members "now in Town and not sick shall appear here To-morrow at Eight of Clock," and take this Protestation: non-appearance to be "accounted a contempt of this House," and expose one to be expelled, or worse;—in spite of which John Lowry still does not sign, not till Friday morning, after even "Philip Warwick" and "Endymion Porter" have signed; whence I infer he was out of Town or unwell.[1]—This Letter, which seems to be of Cromwell's writing, still stands on the Corporation Books of Cambridge; read in Common Council there on the 11th of May; at which time, said Letter being read, the Town Authorities did one and all zealously accept the same, and signed the Protestation on the spot. The Letter is not dated; but as Lowry signed on Friday, and the Corporation meeting is on Tuesday the 11th, we may safely guess the Letter to have arrived on Monday, and to have been written on Saturday.

To the Right Worshipful the Mayor and Aldermen of Cambridge, with the rest of that Body: Present these.

'London, 8th' May, 1641.

GENTLEMEN,

We heartily salute you, and herewith, according to the directions of the House of Commons in this present Parliament assembled, send unto you a Protestation;—the contents whereof will best appear in the thing itself. The Preamble therewith printed doth declare the weighty reasons inducing them, in their own persons, to begin 'making it.'

We shall only let you know that, with alacrity and willingness, the Members of that Body entered thereinto. It was in them a right honourable and necessary act; not unworthy your imitation. You shall hereby as the Body represented avow the practice of the Representative. The conformity is in itself praiseworthy; and will be by them approved. The result may, through the Almighty's blessing, become stability and security to the whole Kingdom. Combination carries strength with it. It's dreadful to adversaries; especially when it's in order to the duty we owe to God, to the loyalty we owe to our King and Sovereign, and to the affection due to our Country and Liberties,—the main ends of this Protestation now herewith sent you.

We say no more; but commit you to the protection of Him who is able to save you; desiring your prayers for the good success of our present affairs and endeavours,—which indeed are not ours but the Lord's and yours. Whom we desire to serve in integrity: and, bidding you heartily Farewell, rest,

Your loving friends to be commanded,

OLIVER CROMWELL.
JOHN LOWRY*

No. 4.

GAINSBOROUGH FIGHT.

[Vol. i., p. 109.]

HERE are other details concerning Gainsborough Fight; in a Letter two days earlier in date; evidently not written by Cromwell, though signed by him and

[1] Commons Journals, ii. 133, 5, 6, 7. Rushworth, iv., 241 *et seqq.*

* Cambridge Corporation Day-Book: in Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii., 327. Printed also, with errors, in O. Cromwell's *Memoirs of the Protectorate*, i., 406.

two chief Lincolnshire Committee-men, as he passes through their City on his way to Huntingdon. Sir Edward Ayscough, or "Ayscoghe" as he here signs himself,—probably a kinsman of Sir George the Sailor's, possibly the father of this "Captain Ayscoghe," the "Captain-Lieutenant" who slew Cavendish,—he and John Broxholm, Esq., both of the Lincolnshire Committee,[1] are clearly the writers of the present Letter.

"*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament: These.*

"Lincoln, 29th July, 1643 (Six o'clock at night).

"NOBLE SIR,—We, having solicited a conjunction of Forces towards the raising of the Siege of Gainsborough, did appoint a general rendezvous at North Scarle to be upon Thursday the 27th of July. To the which place, Sir John Meldrum with about Three-hundred Horse and Dragoons, and Colonel Cromwell with about Six or Seven Troops of Horse and about One-hundred Dragoons, came. With these they marched towards Gainsborough; and meeting with a good party of the Enemy about a mile from the Town, beat them back,—but not with any commendations to our Dragoons. We advanced still towards the Enemy, all along under the Cony-Warren, which is upon a high Hill above Gainsborough. The Lincoln Troops had the van, two Northampton, and three small Troops of Nottingham the battle, and Colonel Cromwell the rear; the Enemy in the meantime with his body keeping the top of the Hill.

"Some of the Lincoln Troops began to advance up the Hill; which were opposed by a force of the Enemy; but our men repelled them, until all our whole body was got up the Hill. The Enemy kept his ground; which he chose for his best advantage, with a Body of Horse of about Three regiments of Horse, and a Reserve behind them consisting of General Cavendish his Regiment, which was a very full regiment. We presently put our Horse in order; which we could hardly do by reason of the cony-holes and the difficult ascent up the Hill; the Enemy being within musket-shot of us, and advancing towards us before we could get ourselves into any good order. But with those Troops we could get up, we charged the greater Body of the Enemy; came up to the sword's point; and disputed it so a little with them, that our men pressing heavily upon them, they could not bear it, but all their Body ran away, some on the one side of their Reserve, others on the other. Divers of our Troops pursuing had the chase about six miles.

"General Cavendish with his Regiment standing firm all the while, and facing some of our Troops that did not follow the chase,—Colonel Cromwell, with his Major Whalley and one or two Troops more, were following the chase, and were in the rear of that Regiment. When they saw the body stand unbroken, 'they' endeavoured, with much ado, to get into a Body those three or four Troops which were divided. Which when they had done,—perceiving the Enemy to charge two or three of the Lincoln scattered Troops, and to make them retire by reason of their being many more than they in number; and the rest being elsewhere engaged and following the chase,—Colonel Cromwell with his three Troops followed them in the rear; brake this Regiment; and forced their General, with divers of their men, into a quagmire in the bottom of the Hill. Where one of Colonel Cromwell his men cut General Cavendish on the head; by reason whereof he fell off his horse; and the Colonel's[2] Captain-Lieutenant thrust him into the side, whereof within two hours he died;—the rest chasing his Regiment quite out of the field, having execution of them, so that the field was left wholly unto us, not a man appearing. Upon this, divers of our men went into the Town; carrying in to my Lord Willoughby some of the Ammunition we brought for him;—believing that our work was at an end; say

[1] Husbands, ii., 171.

[2] Original has "his;" and for "General Cavendish" in the foregoing line, "him."

ing to take care how to bring further provisions into the Town, to enable it to stand a siege in case my Lord Newcastle should draw up with his Army to attempt it.

"Whilst we were considering of these things, word was brought us That there was a small remainder of the Enemy's force not yet meddled with, about a mile beyond Gainsborough, with some Foot, and two pieces of Ordnance. We having no Foot, desired to have some out of the Town; which my Lord Willoughby granted, and sent us about Six-hundred Foot: with these we advanced towards the Enemy. When we came thither to the top of the hill, we beat divers Troops of the Enemy's Horse back: but at the bottom we saw a Regiment of Foot; after that another (my Lord Newcastle's own Regiment, consisting of nineteen colours) appearing also, and many Horse;—which indeed was his Army. Seeing these there so unexpectedly, we advised what to do.

"Colonel Cromwell was sent to command the Foot to retire, and to draw off the Horse. By the time he came to them, the Enemy was marching up the hill. The Foot did retire disorderly into the Town, which was not much above a quarter of a mile from them; upon whom the Enemy's Horse did some small execution. The Horse also did retire in some disorder, about half a mile,—until they came to the end of a field where a passage was; where, by the endeavour of Colonel Cromwell, 'of' Major Whalley and Captain Ayscoghe, a body was drawn up. With these we faced the Enemy; stayed their pursuit; and opposed them with about four troops of Colonel Cromwell's and four Lincoln Troops; the Enemy's body in the meantime increasing very much from the Army. But such was the goodness of God, giving courage and valour to our men and officers, that whilst Major Whalley and Captain Ayscoghe, sometimes the one with four Troops faced the Enemy, sometimes the other, to the exceeding glory of God be it spoken, and the great honour of those two Gentlemen, they with this handful forced the Enemy so, and dared them to their teeth in at the least eight or nine several removes,—the Enemy following at their heels; and they, though their horses were exceedingly tired, retreating in order, near carbine-shot of the Enemy, who thus followed them, firing upon them; Colonel Cromwell gathering up the main body and facing them behind those two lesser bodies,—that, in despite of the Enemy, we brought off our Horse in this order, without the loss of two men.

"Thus have you a true relation of this notable service; wherein God is to have all the glory. And care must be taken speedily to relieve this noble Lord from his and the State's Enemies, by a speedy force sent unto us,—and that without any delay; or else he will be lost, and that important Town, and all those parts; and way made for this Army instantly to advance into the South. This resting upon your care in speeding present Succours hither, we humbly take our leaves, and remain, Your humble servants,

"EDW. AYSCOGHE.
"JO. BROXOLME.
"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

No. 5.

LETTER TO FAIRFAX, ON THE ACTION AT ISLIP-BRIDGE AND BLETCHINGTON.

[Vol. i. p. 132.]

WRITTEN the night before that in the Text, on the same subject.

'*For the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Army: These.*'

'Bletchington,' 24th April, 1645.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I met at my rendezvous at Watlington, on Wednesday last; where I stayed somewhat long for the coming up of the Body of

[1] Tanner MSS. lxii. 194; and, with little or no variation, Baker MSS. xxviii. 434.

Horse, which your Honour was pleased to give me the command of. After the coming whereof, I marched with all expedition to Wheatley-Bridge; having sent before to Major-General Browne, for what intelligence he could afford me of the state of affairs in Oxford (I being not so well acquainted in those parts), —of the condition, and number, of the Enemy in Oxford. Who himself informed me by letters, That Prince Maurice his forces were not in Oxford, as I supposed; and that,—as he was informed by four very honest and faithful Gentlemen that came out of Oxford to him a little before the receipt of my letter,—there were twelve pieces of Ordnance with their carriages and waggons, ready for their march; and in another place Five more pieces with their carriages, ready to advance with their Convoy.

After I received this satisfaction from Major-General Browne, I advanced this morning,—being Thursday, the twenty-fourth of April,—near to Oxford. There I lay before the Enemy; who perceiving it at Oxford, and being in readiness to advance, sent out a party of Horse against me: part of the Queen's Regiment, part of the Earl of Northampton's Regiment, and part of the Lord Wilmot's Regiment;—who made an infall upon me.

Whereupon, I drew forth your Honour's Regiment,—lately mine own,—against the Enemy (who had drawn themselves into several Squadrons, to be ready for action);—and commanded your Honour's own Troop therein, to charge a Squadron of the Enemy. Who performed it so gallantly that, after a short firing, they entered the whole Squadron, and put them to a confusion. And the rest of my Horse presently entering after them, they made a total rout of the Enemy; and had the chase of them three or four miles;—and killed Two-hundred; took as many prisoners, and about Four-hundred horses. 'Also' the Queen's colours, richly embroidered, with the Crown in the midst, and eighteen flower-de-luces wrought all about in gold, with a golden cross on the top.—Many escaped to Oxford, and divers were drowned.

Part of them likewise betook themselves to a strong House in Bletchington; where Colonel Windebank kept a Garrison, with near Two-hundred horse and foot therein. Which, after surrounding it, I summoned:—but they seemed very dilatory in their answer. At last, they sent out Articles to me of Surrender,—which I have sent your Honour enclosed;[1]—and after a large treaty thereupon, the Surrender was agreed upon between us. They left behind them between Two and Three hundred muskets, Seventy horses; besides other arms and ammunition.—I humbly rest,

Your honour's humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

No. 6.

BATTLE OF NASEBY. TWO LETTERS CONCERNING ELY.

[Vol. i. p. 136.]

THE following very rough Notes of a studious Tourist will perhaps be acceptable to some readers. Notes dashed down evidently in the most rough-and-ready manner, but with a vigilant eye both on the Old Books and on the actual Ground of Naseby; taken, as appears, in the year 1842.

"*Battle of Naseby*, 14th June, 1645: *From Sprigge* (London, 1647); *Rushworth*, vi. (London, 1701); *Old Pamphlets; and the Ground.*

"*Fairfax's Stages towards Naseby* (Sprigge, p. 30 *et seqq.*). Wednesday 11th June, a rainy day: Marched 'from Stony Stratford to Wootton,'—three miles south of Northampton. Bad quarters there: 'but the Mayor came,' &c.—Thursday, 12th June: From Wootton to (not 'Guilsborough four miles west of Northampton,' as Sprigge writes, but evidently) Kislinbury and the Farmsteads

[1] Given in Rushworth, vi. 24.

[*] King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 203 sec. 7.

sound. The King 'lies encamped on Burrough Hill' (five miles off); has been 'hunting,' this day; 'his horses all at grass.' The night again wet; Fairfax, riding about, all night, on the spy, is stopped by one of his own sentries, &c.: 'at Flower' (near Weedon), sees the King's Forces all astir on the Burrough Hill, about four in the morning; 'firing their huts;' rapidly making off,—Northward, as it proved. At six, a Council of War. Cromwell, greatly to our joy, has just come in from the Associated Counties,—'received with shouts.' Major Harrison, with horse, is sent towards Daventry to explore; Ireton, also with horse, to the Northward, after the King's main-body. 'We,' Fairfax's main-body, now set forward 'towards Harborough,' flanking the King; and that night,—Friday, 13th June,—arrive (not at 'Gilling,' as Sprigge has it,—is there any such place?—but) at Guilsborough.[1] Which is the last of the *Stages*.

"The King's van is now, this Friday night, at Harborough; his rear is quartered in Naseby,—where Ireton beats them up (probably about half-past nine), 'taking prisoners,' &c.: and so the fugitives rouse the King out of his bed 'at Lubenham;'[2]—who thereupon drives off to Prince Rupert at Harborough; arrives about midnight; calls a Council ('resting himself in a chair in a low room,' till Rupert and the rest get on their clothes): and there, after debate,[3] determines on turning back to beat the Roundheads for this affront.—Ireton lies at Naseby, therefore; 'we' (Fairfax and the Army), at Guilsborough, all this night.

"*Battle of Naseby.* Saturday, 14th June, 1645. Starting at three in the morning, we arrive about five at Naseby. King 'reported to be at Harborough,' uncertain whitherward next: behold, 'great bodies of his troops are *seen* coming over the Hill from Harborough towards us;'—he has turned, and is for fighting us, then! We put our Army in order,—'large fallow field northwest of Naseby,' 'the brow of the Hill running east and west' 'for something like a mile:' King has sunk out of sight in a hollow; but comes up again nearer us,[4] and now evidently drawn out for battle. We fall back, 'about a hundred paces, from the brow of the Hill,' to hide ourselves and our plans: he rushes on the faster, thinking we run ('much of his ordnance left behind'): the Battle joins on the very brow of the Hill. Their word, *Queen Mary;* ours, *God is our Strength.*

"About Three-Hundred Musketeers of ours on the Left Wing, are advanced a little, as a forlorn, down the *steep* of the Hill; they retire firing, as Rupert charges up: Ireton and Skippon command in this quarter; 'Lantford Hedges,' a kind of thicket which runs right down the Hill, is lined with Colonel Okey and his dragoons,—all on *foot* at present, and firing lustily on Rupert as he gallops past.—Cromwell is on the extreme Right (easternmost part of the Hill): he, especially Whalley under him, dashes down *before* the Enemy's charge upwards (which is led by Langdale) can take effect;—scatters said charge to the winds; not without hard cutting: a good deal impeded 'by furze-bushes' and 'a cony-warren.' *These* Royalist Horse, Langdale's, fled all behind their own Foot, 'a quarter of a mile from the Battle-ground,' *i.e.* near to the present Farm of Dust Hill, or between that and Clipstow;—and never fought again. So that Cromwell had only to keep *them* in check; and aid his own Main-battle to the left of him: which he diligently did.

"Our Right Wing, then, has beaten Langdale. But Rupert, on the other side of the field, beats back our Left:—over 'Rutput Hill,' 'Fenny Hill' (*Fanny* Hill, as the Old Books call it); towards Naseby Hamlet; on to our Baggage train (which stands on the *northwest side* of the Hamlet, *eastward* of said 'Rutput' and 'Fenny,' but northward of 'Leane Leafe Hill,'—very sober

[1] Rushworth, vi. 46 (Despatch from the Parliament Commissioners).
[2] See Iter Carolinum, too. [3] See Clarendon, &c. [4] "At Sibbertoft" (Rushworth).

'Hills,' I perceive !). Our extreme Left was 'hindered by pits and ditches' in charging: at any rate, it lost the charge; fled: and Rupert now took to attacking the Baggage and its Guard,—in vain, and with very wasteful delay. For our Main-battle too was in a critical state; and might have been overset, at this moment. Our Main-battle,—our Horse on the Left of it giving way; and the King's Foot 'coming up into sight,' over the brow of the Hill, 'with one terrible volley,' and then with swords and musket-butts,—'mostly all fled.' Mostly all: except the Officers, who 'snatched the colours,' 'fell into the Reserves with them,' &c. And then, said Reserves now rushing on, and the others rallying to them; and Cromwell being victorious and diligent on the Right, and Rupert idle among the Baggage on the Left,—the whole business was ere long *retrieved;* and the King's Foot and other Force were all driven pell-mell down the Hill: towards Dust Hill (or *eastward* of the present Farm-house, I think). There the King still stood,—joined at last by Rupert, and struggling to rally his Horse for another brush; but the Foot would not halt, the Foot were all off: and the Horse too, seeing Cromwell with all *our* Horse and victorious Foot now again ready for a second charge, would not stand it; but broke; and dissipated, towards Harborough, Leicester, and Infinite Space.

"The Fight began at ten o'clock;[1] lasted three hours:[2] there were some Five-thousand Prisoners; how many Slain I cannot tell."

A Couple of very small Letters, which have now (May, March, 1846) accidentally turned up, too late for insertion in the Text, may find their corner here.

1. The First, which is fully dated (just eight days before the Battle of Naseby), but has lost its specific Address, may without much doubt be referred to Ely and the "Fortifications" going on there.[3]

'To Captain Underwood, at Ely: These.'

CAPTAIN UNDERWOOD, Huntingdon, 6th June, 1645.

I desire the guards may be very well strengthened and looked unto. Let a new breastwork be made about the gravel,[4] and a new work half-musket-shot behind the old work; all storm-ground[4] stuff. Tell Colonel Fothergill to take care of keeping strong guards.—Not having more, I rest,

Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

2. "Sir Dudley North," Baronet, of Catlidge Hall near Newmarket, is Member for Cambridgeshire; sits too, there is small doubt, in the Ely Committee at London;—is wanted now for a small County business.

The "30th of March," as we know, is but the fifth day of the then New Year: Oliver,—I find after some staggering, for his date will not suit with other things,—takes the cipher of the Old Year, as one is apt to do, and for 1647 still writes "1646." As this Entry, abridged from the Commons Journals,[5] will irrefragably prove, to readers of his Letter: "John Hobart Esq. dismissed from being Sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon Shires, and *Tristram Dyamond Esq. appointed in his place*, 1st January, 1646," which, for us, and for Cromwell too on the 30th of March following, means 1647.

For the Honourable Sir Dudley North: These.

SIR, 'London,' 30th March, 1646 [*error for* 1647].

It being desired to have the Commission of the Peace renewed in the Isle of Ely,—with some addition, as you may perceive; none left out; only Mr. Diamond, now High Sheriff of the County, and my Brother Desborow,

[1] Clarendon.
[2] Cromwell's Letter.
[3] Comm. Journ. iv. 161, 5; Cromwelliana, p. 16.
[4] Word uncertain to the Copyist
* Original now (May 1846) in the Baptist College, Bristol
[5] v. 36 (7 Jan. 1646-7).

added, there being great want of one in that part of the Isle where I live,—I desire you to join with me in a Certificate; and rest,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 7.

ARMY TROUBLES IN 1647.

[Vol. i. p. 171.]

THE Vote "that Field-Marshall Skippon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Commissary-General Ireton and Colonel Fleetwood," all Members of this House, "shall proceed to their charges in the Army," and endeavour to quiet all distempers there,—was passed on the 30th of April: day of the Three Troopers and Army-Letter, and directly on the back of that occurrence.[1] They went accordingly, perhaps on the morrow, and proceeded to business; but as nothing specific came of them, or could come, till the 8th of May, that day is taken as the date of the Deputation.—Here are Three Letters from them; one prior and one posterior; which, copied from the Tanner MSS., have got into print, but cannot throw much light on the affair.

1. '*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These.*'

"'Saffron Walden,' 3d May, 1647.

"SIR,—We have sent out orders to summon the Officers of the several Regiments to appear before us on Thursday next; to the end we may understand from them the true condition and temper of the Soldiers in relation to the Discontents lately represented; and the better to prepare and enable them,—by speaking with them, and acquainting them with your Votes,[2]—to allay any Discontents that may be among the Soldiers.

"We judged this way most likely to be effectual to your service; though it ask some time, by reason of the distance of the quarters. When we shall have anything worthy of your knowledge, we shall represent it;—and in the meantime study to approve ourselves,

"Your most humble servants,

"PH. SKIPPON.
"OLIVER CROMWELL.
"H. IRETON."[3]

2. '*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These.*'

"Saffron Walden, 8th May, 1647.

"SIR,—According to our orders sent out to the Officers of the Army, many of them appeared at the time appointed. The greatest failing was of Horse Officers; who, by reason of the great distance of their quarters from this place (being some of them above three-score miles off), could not be here: yet there were, accidentally, some of every Regiment except Colonel Whalley's present at our Meeting;—which was upon Friday morning,[4] about ten of the clock.

"After some discourse offered unto them, About the occasion of the Meeting, together with the deep sense the Parliament had of some Discontents which were in the Army, and of our great trouble also that it should be so,—we told them, We were sent down to communicate the House of Commons' Votes unto them; whereby their, 'the Parliament's,' care of giving the Army satisfaction

* Original in the possession of the Rev. W. S. Spring Casborne, of Pakenham, Suffolk; a descendant of the North Family.

[1] Commons Journals, v. 158: see antea, vol. i. p. 170.

[2] Votes passed that same 30th of April: That the Soldiers shall have Indemnity; that they shall have Pay,—and in short, Justice (*Commons Journals*, v. 158). "Thursday next" is the 6th of May.

[3] "A Letter from Major-General" (elsewhere called Field-Marshal) "Skippon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary-General Ireton, was this day read" (*Commons Journals*, 4 May, 1647).

[4] Friday, yesterday; not "Thursday," as at first proposed.

might appear: desiring them 'furthermore' To use their utmost diligence with all good conscience and effect, by improving their interests in the Soldiers, *for* their satisfaction; and that they would communicate to their Soldiers the Votes, together with such informations as they received then from us, to the end their distemper might be allayed.—After this had been said, and a Copy of the Votes delivered to the Chief Officer of every respective Regiment, to be communicated as aforesaid,—we desired them To give us a speedy account of the success of their endeavours; and if in anything they needed our advice or assistance for furthering the work, we should be ready here at Saffron Walden to give it them, upon notice from them.

"We cannot give you a full and punctual account of the particular distempers, with the grounds of them: because the Officers were desirous to be spared therein by us, until they might make a further inquiry amongst the Soldiers, and see what effect your Votes and their endeavours might have with them. We desire as speedy an account of this business as might well be; but, upon the desire of the Officers, thought it necessary for the service to give them until Saturday next[1] to bring us an account of their business, by reason the Regiments were so far distant.

"As anything falls out worthy of your knowledge, we shall represent it; and in the meantime study to approve ourselves,

"Your most humble servants,

"PH. SKIPPON.
"OLIVER CROMWELL.
"H. IRETON.
"CHARLES FLEETWOOD."[2]

3. *'To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These.'*

"Walden, 17th May, 1647.

"SIR,—We having made some progress in the Business you commanded us upon, we are bold to give you this account. Which, although it come not with that expedition you may expect and your other affairs require, yet we hope you will be pleased to excuse us with the weight of the Affair: in comparison whereof nothing that ever yet we undertook was, at least to our apprehension, equal; and wherein, whatever the issue prove, our greatest comfort is, That our consciences bear us witness we have, according to our abilities, endeavoured faithfully to serve you and the Kingdom.

"The Officers repaired to us at Saffron Walden upon Saturday last, according to appointment, to give us a return of[3] what they had in charge from us at our last Meeting; which was, To read your Votes to the Soldiers under their respective commands for their satisfaction, and to improve their interest faithfully and honestly with them to that end; and 'then' to give us a perfect account of the effect of their endeavours, and a true representation of the temper of the Army.

"At this Meeting, we received what they had to offer to us. Which they delivered to us in writing, by the hands of some chosen by the rest of the Officers then present, and in the name of the rest of the Officers and of the Soldiers under their commands. Which was not done till Sunday in the evening. At which time, and likewise before upon Saturday, we acquainted them all with a Letter from the Earl of Manchester, expressing That an Act of Indemnity, large and full, had passed the House of Commons;[4] and that two weeks' pay more was voted to those that were disbanded, as also to them that undertook the

[1] This day week; the 15th.
[2] "Letter from the General Officers," "from *Walden*, of 8 *Maii*, 1647, was this day read (*Commons Journals*, Tuesday, 11 May, 1647). The Letter seems to be of Cromwell's writing.
[3] Mean "respecting a."
[4] Commons Journals, v. 174 (14 May, 1647).

service of Irerand. And, thinking fit to dismiss the Officers to their several commands,—all but some that were to stay here about some further business,—we gave them in charge To communicate these last Votes to their Soldiers, and to improve their utmost diligence and interest for their best satisfaction.

"We must acknowledge, we found the Army under a deep sense of some sufferings, and the common Soldiers much unsettled; whereof, that which we have to represent to you will give you a more perfect view. Which, because it consists of many papers, and needs some more method in the representation of them to you than can be done by letter, and forasmuch as we were sent down by you to our several charges 'to do our best to keep the Soldiers in order,'—we are not well satisfied, any of us, to leave the place nor duty you sent us to, until we have the signification of your pleasure to us. To which we shall most readily conform; and rest,

"Your most humble servants,

"PH. SKIPPON.
"OLIVER CROMWELL.
"H. IRETON.
"CHARLES FLEETWOOD."[1]

No. 8.

LETTER TO THE DERBY-HOUSE COMMITTEE IN 1648.

[Vol. i. p. 237.]

RECAPITULATING what is already known in the Text; finds its place here.

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons at Derby House.

MY LORDS and GENTLEMEN, Norham, 20th September, 1648.

I did, from Alnwick, write to Sir William Armyn[2] an account of our condition; and recommended to him divers particular considerations about your affairs here in the North,—with a desire of particular things to be done by your Lordships' appointment, in order to the carrying-on of your affairs. I send you here a Copy of the Summons that was sent to Berwick[3] when I was come as far as Alnwick; as also of a Letter written to the Committee of Estates of Scotland:[4]—I mean those who we did presume were convened as Estates, and were the men that managed the business of the War. But there being, as I learned since, none such; the Earl of Roxburgh and some others having deserted, so that they are not able to make a Committee;—I believe the said Letter is suppressed,[5] and retained in the hands of Colonel Bright and Mr. William Rowe. For whom we 'had' obtained a safe Convoy to go to the Estates of that Kingdom with our said Letter; the Governor of Berwick's Answer to our Summons leading us thereunto. By advantage whereof we did instruct them to give all assurances to the Marquis of Argyle and the Honest Party in Scotland,—who we heard were gathered together in a considerable Body about Edinburgh, to make opposition to the Earl of Lanark, Monro, and their Armies,—of our good affection to them. Wherewith they went the 16th of this month.

Upon the 17th of this month Sir Andrew Ker and Major Strahan, with divers other Scots Gentlemen, brought me this enclosed Letter, signed by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, as your Lordships will see. They also showed me their Instructions, and a Paper containing the matter of their Treaty with Lanark and Monro; as also an Expostulation upon Lanark's breach with them,—in falling upon Argyle and his men, contrary to agreement, wherein the Marquis hardly escaped, they having hold of him, but Seven-hundred of his men were killed and taken.[6] These Papers I also send here enclosed to your Lordships.

1 Tanner MSS. (in Cary, i. 205-16).

2 Original Member for Grantham; one of the Committee, and from of old busy in those International concerns. 3 Letter LXIV. (vol. i. p. 239). 4 Letter LXVI. (vol. i. p. 231).

5 "Not "suppressed," though it cannot be received except unofficially (vol. i. p. 232).

6 Bishop Guthry's Memoirs.

So soon as those Gentlemen came to me, I called a Council of War; the result whereof was the Letter directed to the Lord Chancellor;[1] a Copy whereof your Lordships have here enclosed. Which I delivered to Sir Andrew Ker and Major Strahan; with which they returned upon the 18th, being the next day.

Upon private discourse with these Gentlemen, I do find the condition of their affairs and their Army to be thus: The Earl of Lanark, the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, Monro, and their Army, hearing of our advance, and understanding the condition and endeavours of their Adversaries,—marched with all speed to get possession of Stirling-Bridge; that so they might have three parts in four of Scotland at their backs, to raise men, and to enable themselves to carry on their designs. They were about 5,000 Foot, and 2,500 Horse. The Earl of Leven, who is chosen General; the Marquis of Argyle, with the Honest Lords and Gentlemen, David Lesley being the Lieutenant-General: 'these,' having about 7,000 Foot, but very weak in Horse,—lie about six miles this side the Enemy. I hear that their Infantry consists of men who come to them out of conscience; and are generally of the Godly People of that Nation, which they express by their piety and devotion in their quarters; and indeed I hear they are a very godly and honest body of men.

I think it is not unknown to your Lordships what directions I have received from you for the prosecution of our late Victory. Whereof I shall be bold to remember a clause of your Letter; which was, "That I should prosecute the remaining Party in the North, and not leave any of them, wheresoever they go, to be a beginning of a new Army; nor cease to pursue the Victory till I finish and fully complete it with the rendition of those Towns of Berwick and Carlisle, which most unjustly, and against all obligations, and the Treaties then in force, they surprised and garrisoned against us."

In order whereunto, I marched to the Borders of Scotland: where I found the whole Country so harassed and impoverished by Monro and the Forces with him, that the Country was no way able to bear us on the English side; but we must necessarily have ruined both your Army and the Subjects of this Kingdom, who would not have had bread for a day if we had continued among them. In prosecution of your Orders, and in answer to the necessities of your friends in Scotland, and their desires; and considering the necessity of marching into Scotland, to prevent the Governor of Berwick from putting of provisions into his Garrisons on the Scots side, whereof he is at present in some want, as we are informed,—I marched a good part of the Army over Tweed yesterday about noon, the residue being to come after as conveniently as we may.

Thus have I given your Lordships an account of our present condition and engagement. And having done so, I must discharge my duty in remembering to your Lordships the Desires formerly expressed in my Letters to Sir William Armyn and Sir John Evelyn, for supplies; and in particular for that of shipping to be upon these Coasts, who may furnish us with Ammunition or other necessaries wheresoever God shall lead us; there being extreme difficulty to supply us by land, without great and strong convoys, which will weary out and destroy our Horse, and cannot well come to us if the Tweed be up, without going very far about.

Having laid these things before you, I rest,

Your Lordships' most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S. Whilst we are here, I wish there be no neglect of the Business in Cumberland and Westmoreland. I have sent Orders both into Lancashire and to the Horse before Pontefract. I should be glad your Lordships would second them, and those other considerations expressed in my Desires to Sir William Armyn thereabouts.*

[1] Letter LXVII. (vol. i. p. 232).* Old Pamphlets; in Parliamentary History, xvii. 481.

No. 9.

Letter on Behalf of Young Cholmely.

[Vol. i. p.244.]

Written on the march from Carlisle to Pontefract.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons: These.

Sir, Boroughbridge, 28th October, 1648.

I do not often trouble you in particular businesses; but I shall be bold now, upon the desire of a worthy Gentleman, Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmely, to entreat your favour in his behalf.

The case stands thus. His son Major Cholmely, who was bold in the Fight against the Scots at Berwick,[1] was Custom-master at Carlisle;—the Gentleman 'had' merited well from you. Since his death, his aged Father, having lost this his Eldest Son in your service, did resolve to use his endeavours to procure the place for a Younger Son, who had likewise been in your service. And resolving to obtain my Letter to some friends about it, did acquaint an *undertenant* of the place for his Son with this his purpose To come to me to the Borders of Scotland to obtain the said Letter; which the said Servant 'or undertenant' did say, Was very well.

And when the said Lieutenant-Colonel was come for my Letter, this tenant immediately hastens away to London; where he, in a very circumventing and deceitful way, perfers a Petition to the House of Commons; gets a reference to the Committee of the Navy; who approve of the said man, 'the undertenant,' by the meditation of some gentlemen:—but I hear there is a stop of it in the House.

My humble suit to you is, That if Colonel Morgan do wait upon you about this business,—I having given you this true information of the state of it, as I have received it,—you would be pleased to further his desire concerning Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmely's youngest Son, that *he* may have the place conferred upon him; and that you would acquaint some of my friends herewith.

By which you will very much oblige,

Your most humble servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

No. 10.

Correspondence with the Mayor of Waterford.

[Vol. i. p.323.]

Preserved in the Anonymous Fragment of a Narrative, more than once referred to, are these Letters and Replies:

Letter 1. *To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford.*

Gentlemen, Kilbarry, near Waterford, 21st November, 1649.

I have received information that you hitherto refuse a Garrison of the Enemy to be imposed upon you; as also that some Factions in the Town are very active still, notwithstanding your refusal, to persuade you to the contrary.

Being come into these parts, not to destroy people and places, but to save them, that men may live comfortably and happily by their trade, if the fault be not in themselves; and proposing also, by God's assistance, to reduce this City of Waterford to its due obedience, as He shall dispose the matter, by Force, or by Agreement with you upon Terms wherein your own good and happiness, and that of your wives, children and families may consist, notwithstanding 'what' some busy-headed persons may pretend to the contrary; 'and' knowing that if after all this you shall receive a Garrison, it will probably put you out of a

1 Against Monro, I suppose, when he ended his maraudings in that quarter (vol. i. p.227).

* Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 46).

capacity to make any such Accord for yourselves, which was the cause of the ruin of the Town and people of Wexford,—I thought fit to lay these things before you; leaving you to use your own judgment therein.

And if any shall have so much power upon you as to persuade you that these are the counsels of an Enemy, I doubt it will hardly prove, in the end, that *they* gave you better. You did once live flourishingly under the power 'of,' and in commerce with, England. It shall be your own faults if you do not so again. I send these intimations timeously to you; weigh them well; it so behoves you.

I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

REPLY 1. "*For General Cromwell, General of the Parliament Forces in Ireland.*

"Waterford, 23d November, 1649.

"MY LORD,—Your Letter of the 21st, directed to me and my Aldermen, we have, by your Trumpet, received. Your Lordship's advice, as we do all others, we weigh with the condition of our safety; and so far shall make use thereof as it contributes to the same.

"For your intentions of reducing this City, by force or agreement:—as we will by all possible means endeavour our natural defence against the first, so happily will we not be averse to the latter,—if we shall find it not dishonourable nor destructive. And for that purpose 'we' do desire your Lordship will grant us a Cessation, for fifteen days, from all acts of hostility; and send us Safe-conducts, with blanks for the men we shall employ, to treat with your Lordship; and in the interim bring your Army no nearer this City than now it is.

"We have learned not to slight advice, if we find it wholesome, even from an enemy's hands; nor to deny him such thanks as it merits. And if your Lordship should deny us the time we look for, we doubt not,—with the men we have already in Town, though we should receive no more,—to make good this Place, till the Power of the Kingdom relieves us.

"To signify which to your Lordship, the Council and Commons have laid their commands on me,

My Lord,

"Your very loving friend,

"JOHN LYVETT, Mayor of Waterford."

LETTER 2. *For the Mayor, Aldermen, or other Governor or Governors, of the City of Waterford,*

From my Camp before Waterford,
24th November, 1649.

GENTLEMEN,

I expected to have heard from you before this, by my Trumpet: but he not coming to me, I thought fit to send, That I might have an account given me, how you have disposed of him. And to save farther trouble, I have thought fit—

Hereby to summon you to surrender the City and Fort into my hands, to the use of the State of England.

I expect to receive your answer to these things, and rest,

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

REPLY 2. "*For the Lieutenant-General Cromwell.*

"Waterford, 24th November, 1649.

"MY LORD,—Your Letter of the 24th I have received even now; in which you desire an account of your Lordship's Trumpeter, sent with a former Letter to us; and summon us to deliver your Lordship this City and Fort.

"Your Lordship's former Letter by your Trumpeter we have answered yesterday morning; and do doubt, by the Trumpeter's not coming to you, he might have suffered some mischance by going the County of Kilkenny way.

We therefore now send you a Copy of that Answer :[1] to which we desire your Lordship's resolution. Before we receive which, we cannot make further answer to the rest of your Letter.

"We therefore desire you will despatch the Safe-conduct desired, and forbear acts of hostility during the Treaty ;—and you shall be very soon attended by Commissioners from,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's servant,

"JOHN LYVETT, Mayor of Waterford."

LETTER 3. *To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford.*

SIRS, 'Before Waterford,' 24th November, 1649.

My first Trumpet not being yet come to me, makes me suspect that, as you say, he has suffered some mischance going by the way of the County of Kilkenny.

If I had received your Letter sooner, I should nevertheless, by the help of God, have marched up to this place, as I have done. And as for your desire of a Treaty, I am more willing to that way, for the prevention of blood and ruin, than to the other of Force ;—although if necessitated thereunto, you and we are under the overruling Power of God, who will dispose of you and us as He pleaseth.

As to a Cessation for Fifteen Days, I shall not agree thereunto ; because a far shorter time may bring this Business to a conclusion as well. But for Four or Five Days I am content that there be a Cessation of all acts of hostility betwixt your City and this Army :—provided you give me assurance That, in the meantime, no soldiers not now in your City be received into it, during the Cessation, nor for Twenty-four hours after.

I expect to have your present answer hereto : because, if this be agreed to, I shall forbear any nearer approach during the said Cessation.

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

I have by this Bearer returned a Safe-convoy, as you desire, for what Commissioners you think fit to send out to me.*

No. 11.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS : RENEGADO WOGAN.

[Vol ii. p. 326]

THE Narrative Fragment above cited has these words, in reference to the affair at Passage and its consequences : "At that time, there being one Captain Caufield a prisoner at Clonmel, a stranger to the General, but being a prisoner on an English account, the Army concerned themselves for him, and at a Council of War certain votes were passed," which we shall soon read :

'*For Lieutenant-General Farrell, Governor of Clonmel.*

'Cork, 4th January, 1649.'

"At the Council of War held at the City of Cork, the Fourth day of January, Anno Domini, 1649, whereat the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Lord President of Munster,[2] Sir Hardress Waller knight, and divers other chief Officers of the Army were present, it was resolved as followeth :

"1. That a Letter be sent, by Lieutenant-General Farrell's Trumpet, to let him know, That for every private Foot-soldier of our party, prisoner with him, whom he shall release, he shall have so many of his private soldiers, prisoners with us, released for them ; and for every Trooper of ours which he shall release, he shall have Two private Foot-soldiers released for him.

"2. That the Lord-Lieutenant is ready to release Officers of like quality for

[1] Reply 1 ; already given.

* Fragment of Narrative : in Ayscough MSS. no. 4769, p. 95, *et seqq.*

[2] Ireton.

such Officers of ours as are in their power; and that he will deliver a Major of Foot for a Captain of Horse, and two Captains of Foot for a Captain of Horse; and so proportionably.

"3. Or that he will deliver Major-General Butler, the Earl of Ormond's Brother, for those Officers of ours now in their custody."

SIR,

Having lately received an advertisement, that some of the principal Officers of the Irish Army did send menacing Orders to the Governor of Clonmel, to be communicated to the Lord Broghil, That if we did put to death Colonel Wogan, they were ready to put Captain Caufield to death,—I thought fit to offer to you the equal Exchanges before mentioned; leaving you to your election. Which when you perform, there shall be just and honest performance on my part. And withal to let you know, That if any shall think to put such conditions on me that I may not execute a Person so obnoxious as Wogan,—who did not only betray his trust in England, but counterfeited the General's hand, thereby to carry his men (whom he had seduced) into a Foreign Nation,[1] to invade England, under whom he had taken pay, and from whose service he was not discharged; and with the said Nation did invade England; and hath since, contrary to the said trust, taken up arms here:—That 'then, I say,' as I am willing to the Exchanges aforesaid; so, 'if' that equality be denied me, I would that all concerned should understand, That I am resolved to deal with Colonel Wogan as I shall see cause, and be satisfied in my conscience and judgment to do. And if anything thereupon shall be done to Captain Caufield as is menaced, I think fit to let you know, That I shall, as God shall enable me, put all those that are with me at mercy for life, into the same condition.

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 12.

To OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

[Vol. ii. p.476.]

FROM those nine months of 1652 remain certain other small vestiges or waymarks; relating, as it happens, to the Universities, of one of which Oliver was Chancellor. The first is a Letter to Oxford.

"Greenwood" we have already seen: "Goodwin" is the famed Independent, at this time President of Magdalen College. Of "Zachary Maine," and his wishes and destinies, the reader can find an adequate account in Wood, with express allusion to the Letter which follows.[2] Zachary's desire was complied with. A godly young man, from Exeter City; not undeserving such a favour; who lived seven years in profitable communion with Goodwin, Owen and the others; then, at the Restoration, fell into troubles, into waverings; but ended peaceably as Master of the Free-school of Exeter, the Mayor and Chamber favouring him there.

1. *To the Reverend my very loving Friend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford.*

SIR, 'Cockpit,' 12th April, 1652.

Mr. Thomas Goodwin hath recommended unto me one Zachary Maine, Demy of Magdalen College, to have the favour To be dispensed with for the want of two or three terms in the taking of his Degree of Bachelor. I am assured that he is eminently godly, of able parts, and willing to perform all his exercises. Upon which account (if it will not draw along with it too great an inconvenience) I desire that he may have the particular favour to be admitted

[1] Scotland; to join Hamilton and his *Engagement*.
* Fragment of Narrative: in Ayscough MSS. no. 4769, *ubi supra*.
[2] Athenæ, iv. 411.

to the said Degree. Which I intend not to draw into a precedent, but shall be very sparing therein.

I remain, Sir,
Your very loving friend,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The Second an Official Protection to Cambridge :

2. *To all Officers, Soldiers under my command, and others whom it may concern.*

THESE are to charge and require you, upon sight hereof: Not to quarter any Officers or Soldiers in any of the Colleges, Halls or other Houses belonging to the University of Cambridge; Nor to offer any injury or violence to any of the Students or Members of any of the Colleges or Houses of the said University. As you shall answer the contrary at your peril.

Given under my hand and seal, the First of July, 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

The Third and Fourth are for Oxford again.

3. *By his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford.*

WHEREAS divers applications have been made unto me, from several of the Members of the University of Oxford, concerning differences which have arisen between the Members of the said University about divers matters which fall under my cognisance as Chancellor: And forasmuch as differences and complaints of the like nature may 'again' happen and arise between them: And considering that it would be very troublesome and chargeable to the parties concerned to attend me at this distance about the same: And the present burden of public affairs not permitting me so fully to hear and understand the same as to be able to give my judgment and determination therein:

I do hereby desire and authorise Mr. John Owen, now Vice-chancellor of the University, and the Heads of the several Colleges and Halls there, or any Five or more of them (whereof the said Vicechancellor to be one), To hear and examine all such differences and complaints which have 'arisen,' or shall arise, between any of the said Members; giving them as full power and authority as in me lies to order and determine therein as, in their judgments, they shall think meet and agreeable to justice and equity. And this Power and Commission to continue during the space of Six Months now next ensuing.

Given under my hand and seal, the 16th day of October, 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

4. *By his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford.*

WHEREAS within the University of Oxford there frequently happen several things to be disposed, granted and confirmed, wherewith the Vicechancellor, Doctors-Regent, Masters and others of the said University, in their Delegacies and Convocations, cannot by their statutes dispense, grant or confirm, without the assent of their Chancellor: And forasmuch as the present weighty affairs of the Commonwealth do call for and engage me to reside, and give my personal attendance, in or near London; so that the Scholars of the said University and others are put to much charge and trouble by coming to London to obtain my assent in the cases before mentioned: Therefore taking the premises into consideration, For the more ease and benefit of the said Scholars and University, and that I may with less avocation and diversion attend the councils and service of the Commonwealth;

I do by these presents ordain, authorise, appoint and delegate Mr. John Owen, Dean of Christchurch and Vicechancellor of the said University, Dr.

* From the Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.
† Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, iii. 457.

Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College; Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Warden of Merton College; Mr. Thomas Goodwin, President of Magdalen College; and Mr. Peter French, Prebend of Christchurch, or any Three or more of them, To take into consideration all and every matter of dispensation, grant or confirmation whatsoever which requires my assent as Chancellor to the said University, and thereupon to dispense, grant, confirm, or otherwise dispose thereof, as to them shall seem meet; and to certify the same to the Convocation. And all and every such dispensation, grant, confirmation or disposition made by the aforesaid Mr. John Owen, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Johnathan Goddard, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, and Mr. Peter French, or any Three or more of them, shall be to all intents and purposes firm and valid, in as full, large and ample manner as if to every such particular act they had my assent in writing under my hand and seal, or I had been personally present and had given my voice and suffrage thereunto.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the 16th day of October, 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 13.

SCRAPS FROM 1653.

[Vol. ii. p. 508.]

1. In a volume of the *Annual Register* are given certain Letters or Petitions concerning the printing of Dr. Walton's Polygott Bible. At the end of the Petitions is the following:

'Whitehall,' 16th May, 1653.

I think fit that this work of printing the Bible in the Original and other Languages go on without any let or interruption.

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

2. Here, lest any one should be again sent hunting through "Pegge's Manuscripts," take the following highly insignificant Official Note. Date, four weeks after the Dismissal of the Rump; when the "Committee of the Army," and Oliver "Commander of all the forces raised and to be raised," are naturally desirous to know the state of the Army-Accounts. Where Mitchell commands at present, I do not know; nor whether he might be the "Captain Mitchell" who was known some years ago in a disagreeable transaction with the Lord-General Secretary,[1] and whose Accounts may be rather specially a matter of interest.

For Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell.

SIR, Whitehall, 18th May, 1653.

You are desired with all expedition to prepare and send to the Committee for the Army an Account of all Moneys by you received upon their Warrants between the Fifteenth of January 1647 and the Twentieth of October 1651, for the use of the Forces within the time aforesaid under your command, or for the use of any other Regiment, Troop or Company, by or for whom you were entrusted or appointed to receive any money.

And in case you cannot perfect your Account, and send the same, as you are hereby directed, before the Seventh of June next, you are desired by that time at the farthest to send in writing under your hand to the said Committee what Moneys by you received as aforesaid do remain in your hands.

Hereof you are not to fail. OLIVER CROMWELL.‡

3. Among the State-Papers in Paris there have lately been found Three small Notes to Mazarin, not of much, if indeed of almost any moment, but worth preserving since they are here. Two of them belong to this Section. The first,

* From the Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

† Annual Register, xxxvi. 373-4. [1] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 61), 22-29 June, 1649

‡ Pegge's MSS. (in the College of Arms, London), vi. 425.

which exists only in French, apparently as translated for Mazarin's reading, would not be wholly without significance if we had it in the original. It is dated just three days after that Summons to the Puritan Notables;[1]—and the Lord General, we see, struggles to look upon himself as a man that has done with Political Affairs.

'*A Son Eminence, Monsieur le Cardinal Mazarin.*'

Monsieur, *De Westminster, ce 9-19 Juin,* 1653.

J'ai été surpris de voir que votre Eminence ait voulu penser à une personne si peu considérable que moi, vivant en quelque façon rétiré du reste du monde. Cet honneur a fait avec juste raison une si forte impression sur moi, que je me sens obligé de servir votre Eminence en toutes occasions; et comme je m'estimerai heureux de les pouvoir rencontrer, j'espère que M. de Bourdeaux en facilitera les moyens à celui qui est,

Monsieur,

De votre Eminence

Le très-humble serviteur,

*Oliver Cromwell.**

Of which take this version:

"Westminster, 9th June, 1653.

"SIR,—I have been surprised that your Eminency was pleased to remember a person so inconsiderable as myself, living as it were withdrawn from the rest of the world. This honour has justly such a resentment with me that I feel myself bound, by all opportunities, to be serviceable to your Eminency; and as I shall be happy to meet with such, so I hope M. De Bourdeaux," the Ambassador, "will help to procure them to,

"Sir,

"Your Eminency's most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

4. The negotiations with Whitlocke for going on that perilous Embassy to Sweden have left for us the following off-hand specimen of an Official Note from Oliver. Oliver and Pickering had already been earnestly dealing with the learned man that he would go: at their subsequent interview, Oliver observed to Whitlocke, "Sir Gilbert" Pickering "would needs write a very fine Letter; and when he had done, did not like it himself. I then took pen and ink, and straightway wrote that to you:"

'*To Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal.*'

MY LORD, Whitehall, 2d September, 1653.

The Council of State having thoughts of putting your Lordship to the trouble of being Extraordinary Ambassador to the Queen of Swedeland, did think fit not to impose that service upon you without first knowing your own freedom thereunto. Wherefore they were pleased to command our service to make this address to your Lordship; and hereby we can assure you of a very large confidence in your honour and abilities for this employment. To which we begging your answer, do rest,

My Lord,

Your humble servants,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

GILBERT PICKERING.†

5. The Little Parliament has now dismissed itself, and Oliver has henceforth a new Signature.

[1] Antea, vol. ii. p. 486.

* From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq., F.S.A. &c.

† From Whitlocke's Account of his Embassy (quoted in Forster, iv. 519).

'To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin.'

MY LORD, 'Whitehall,' 26th January, 1663.

Monsieur de Baas[1] hath delivered me the Letter which your Eminency hath been pleased to write to me; and also communicated by word of mouth your particular affections and good disposition towards me, and the affairs of these Nations as now constituted. Which I esteem a very great honour; and hold myself obliged, upon the return of this Gentleman to you, to send my thanks to your Eminency for so singular a favour; and be ready to express the great value I have of your person and merits, as your affairs and interest shall require from,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,
OLIVER P.*

6. "The Corporation of Lynn Regis," it appears, considered that the navigation of their Port would be injured by the works now going on for Draining the great Bedford Level of the Fens. They addressed the Protector on the subject; and this is his Letter in answer thereto. Nothing came of it farther.

To the Mayor and Aldermen of Lynn of Regis.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 30th January, 1653.

I received yours; and cannot but let you know the good resentments I have of your respects;—assuring you that I shall be always ready to manifest a tender love and care of you and your welfare, and in particular of that concernment of yours relating to navigation.

Commending you to the grace of God, I remain,

Your loving friend,
OLIVER P.†

No. 14.

From 1654-1655: VOWEL'S PLOT, PENRUDDOCK'S PLOT; NEW ENGLAND.

[Vol. iii., p. 526]

1. Another wholly insignificant Official Note to Mazarin, in regard to Vowel's Plot, and the dismissal of M. De Baas for his complicity in it. De Baas, whom some call Le Baas, or rightly Le Bas, was a kind of subsidiary Agent despatched by Mazarin early in the Spring of 1653-4 "to congratulate the new Protector,"—that is, to assist Bourdeaux, who soon after got the regular title of Ambassador, in ascertaining how a Treaty could be made with the new Protector, or, on the whole, what was to be done with England and him. Hitherto, during the Dutch War and other vicissitudes, there had been a mixed undefinable relation between the two Countries, rather hostile than neutral. The "Treaty and firm Amity," as we know, had its difficulties, its delays; in the course of which it occurred to M. Le Bas that perhaps the Restoration of Charles Stuart, by Vowel and Company, might be a shorter cut to the result. Examination of Witnesses, in consequence; examination of Le Bas himself by the Protector and Council, in consequence; mild hint to Le Bas that he must immediately go home again.[2]

'Eminentissimo Cardinali Mazarino.'

Eminentissime Cardinalis,

In Litteris Nostris ad Regem datis, causas et rationes recensuimus quare Dominum De Baas ex hâc Republicâ excedere jussimus, et Majestatem Suam certam fecimus, Nos, non obstante hâc dicti de Baas machinatione, cujus culpam ei solummodo imputamus, in eâdem adhuc

[1] The new Envoy, or Agent; of whom in the next N°.

* From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. &c.

† History of the Ancient and Present State of the Navigation of the Port of King's Lynn and of Cambridge (London, fol. 1766), p. 55.

[2] Depositions concerning him (April, May, 1654), Thurloe, ii., 309, 351-3: notice of his first arrival (February 1653-4), ib. 113. See also ib. 379, 437.

sententiâ perstare, firmam arctamque Pacem et Amicitiam cum Gallià colendi et paciscendi. Atque hâc occasione gratum nobis est priora illa propensæ nostræ erga vos et res vestras voluntatis indicia et testimonia renovare; quam etiam, datâ subinde occasione, palam facere et luculenter demonstrare parati erimus. Interea Eminentiam vestram Divinæ benignitatis præsidio commendamus.

Dab. ex Alba Aula, vicesimo nono Junii an 1654.

Olivervius P.[*]

Of which, if it be worth translating, this is the English:

"MOST EMINENT CARDINAL,—In our Letter to the King we have set forth the grounds and occasions moving us to order M. De Baas to depart from this Commonwealth; and have assured his Majesty, that notwithstanding this deceit of the said De Baas, the blame of which is imputed to him alone, we persist as heretofore in the same purpose of endeavouring and obtaining a firm and intimate Peace and Amity with France. And it gives us pleasure, on this occasion, to renew those former testimonies of our good inclination towards you and your interests; which also, as opportunity offers, we shall in future be ready to manifest and clearly demonstrate. In the meanwhile, we commend your Eminency to the keeping of the Almighty.

"OLIVER P.

"Whitehall, 29 June, 1654."

2. and 3. The following Two Letters, one of which is clearly of Thurloe's composition, have an evident reference to Penruddock's affair; they find their place here.

Sergeant Wilde, now more properly Lord Chief Baron Wilde, is a Worcester man; sat in the Long Parliament for that City, very prominent all along in Law difficulties and officialities,—in particular, directly on the heel of the Second Civil War, Autumn 1648, he rode circuit, and did justice on offenders, without asking his Majesty's opinion on the subject; which was thought a great feat on his part.[1] Shortly after which he was made Chief Baron, and so continues,—holding even now the Spring Assizes at Worcester, I think. Thurloe, as we said, appears to have shaped this Letter into words; only the signature and meaning can be taken as Oliver's. Unluckily too, either Mrs. Warner the Editress must have misread the date "25th" for 24th, or else Thurloe himself in his haste have miswritten, forgetting that it was New Year's Day overnight, that it is not now 1654 but 1655. We will take the former hypothesis; and correct Mrs. Warner's "25th," which in this case makes a whole year of difference.

For Sir John Wilde, Sergeant-at-Law, and the rest of the Justices of Peace for the County of Worcester, or any of them, to be communicated to the rest; or in his absence, to Nicholas Lochmere, Esq., Worcester.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 24th March, 1654.

We doubt not but you have heard before this time of the hand of God going along with us, in defeating the late rebellious Insurrection. And we hope that, through His blessing upon our labours, an effectual course will be taken for the total disappointment of the whole Design. Yet knowing the resolution of the common Enemy to involve this Nation in new calamities, we conceive ourselves, and all others entrusted with preserving the peace of the Nation, obliged to endeavour in their places to prevent and defeat the Enemy's intentions: and therefore, as a measure especially conducting to that end,

We do earnestly recommend to you To take order that diligent Watches

[*] From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. &c.

[1] Thanked by the Parliament (*Commons Journals*, vi. 49, 10 October, 1648).

(such as the Law hath appointed) be daily kept, for taking a strict account of all strangers in the Country. Which will not only be a means to suppress all loose and idle persons; but may probably cause some of those who come from abroad to kindle fires here, to be apprehended and seized upon,—especially if care be taken to secure all them that cannot give a good account of their business;—and may also break all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. Herein we do require, and shall expect, your effectual endeavours; knowing that, if what by Law ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the contrivance of such dangerous Designs as these would be frustrated in their bud, or kept from growing to a maturity. I rest,

Your affectionate friend,

OLIVER P.*

3. This second Letter, to the Gloucester Authorities, on the same subject, we judge by the style of it to be mostly or altogether the Protector's own.

For Major Wade, Major Creed, and the Major and Aldermen of the City of Gloucester.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 24th March, 1654.

We doubt not but you have heard before this time of the good hand of God going along with us in defeating the late rebellious Insurrection; so that, as we have certain intelligence from all parts, the Risings are everywhere suppressed and dissolved, and some hundreds of prisoners in custody, and daily more are discovered and secured. And we hope that through the blessing of God upon our labours, an effectual course will be taken for the total disappointment of the whole Design.

The readiness of the Honest People to appear hath been a great encouragement to us, and of no less discouragement to the Enemy; who, had he prevailed, would, without doubt, have made us the most miserable and harnessed Nation in the world. And therefore we hold ourselves obliged to return you our hearty thanks for your zeal and forwardness in so readily appearing and contributing your assistance; wherein, although your Country and your own particular as to outward and inward happiness were concerned, yet we are fully persuaded that a more general Principle respecting the glory of God, and the good of all these Nations, hath been the motive to incite you: and therefore your account[1] goes upon the higher and more noble account.[1]

You have desired that we would consider of ways how to find money to carry on this work. If the Business had not been allayed, we *must* have found out a way and means to allay that want. But otherwise indeed we make it, as we hope we ever shall, our design to ease this Nation, and not to burden it; and are tender,—as we conceive yourselves have been,—of putting the good people thereof to any unnecessary charge. And therefore, as you shall have fitting opportunity, you may recommend our thankfulness to your honest willing Countrymen, as we hereby do to yourselves, for their forwardness; and let them know That when any danger shall approach, as we shall be watchful to observe the Enemy's stirrings, we will give you timely notice thereof: and we trust those good hearts will be ready, 'on' being called out by you, to appear upon all such occasions. In the meantime they may continue at their homes, blessing God for His mercy, and enjoying the fruit and comfort of this happy deliverance, and the other benefits of Peace.

And I do hereby let you know that Letters are directed to the Justices of Peace of several Counties,[2] That Watches be kept, such as the Law hath appointed for taking a strict account of all strangers, especially near the Coast. Which will not only be a means to suppress all loose and idle persons, but may probably cause some of those that came from abroad 'in order' to kindle fires

* Rebecca Warner's Epistolary Curiosities: First Series (Bath, 1818), pp. 51-3.

1 Sic.

2 Foregoing Letter, To Wilde, for one.

here, to be apprehended and seized,—especially if care be taken to secure all them that cannot give a good account; and may also break all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. And indeed if what by Law ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the continuance of such dangerous Designs as these would be frustrated in the birth, or kept from growing to maturity.

Having said this,—with remembrance of my hearty love to you, I rest,

Your very affectionate friend, OLIVER P.*

By the same City Records it appears, that on the eve of the Battle of Worcester, in 1651, "Eighteen Gloucester Bakers had sent to Tewkesbury for the Lord General Cromwell's Army, Thirteen-hundred and odd Dozens of Bread at a Shilling the dozen, amounting to £66. 5s.; and that the Mayor and others, on the 1st September, 1651, sent Forty Barrels of strong Beer to the Lord General, 'praying your favourable acceptance thereof, as an argument of the good affection of this Corporation, who doth congratulate your seasonable coming into these parts, for the relief thereof against the violence of the common Enemy, and wish prosperous success to you and your Army.'"[1]

Furthermore, that on the 11th October, 1651, directly after the said Battle, Gloucester did itself the honour of appointing the Lord General Oliver Cromwell, "in consideration of the singular favour and benevolence which his Excellency hath manifested to us and to this City," High Steward of the same, "with an annual rent of a 100 shillings, issuing out of our Manors;"—for at least one payment of which there exists the Lord General's receipt, in this form:

23 Novemb 1652.

	£	s.	d.
Recd of the Maior and Burgs of Glouc^{r} by the hands of Mr. Dorney Townclerke of the said City, the day and year aboves^{d} the sum of ffive pounds as being a fee due to me as Lord High Steward of the said Citty, I say Recd.	05	00	00

O. CROMWELL.†

4. and 5. Two poor American scraps, which our New England friends ought to make more lucent for us; worth their paper and ink in this place.

To Our trusty and well-beloved the President, Assistants and Inhabitants of Rhode Island, together with the rest of the Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay in New-England.

GENTLEMEN, 'Whitehall,' 29th March, 1655.

Your Agent here hath presented unto us some particulars concerning your Government, which you judge necessary to be settled by us here. But by reason of the other great and weighty affairs of this Commonwealth, we have been necessitated to defer the consideration of them to a further opportunity.

In the meanwhile we were willing to let you know, That you are to proceed in your Government according to the tenor of your Charter formerly granted on that behalf; taking care of the peace and safety of these Plantations, that neither through any intestine commotions, or foreign invasions, there do arise any detriment or dishonour to this Commonwealth or yourselves, as far as you by your care and diligence can prevent. And as for the things which are before us, they shall, as soon as the other occasions will permit, receive a just and fitting determination.

And so we bid you farewell; and rest,

Your very loving friend, OLIVER P.‡

Towards the end of the Dutch War, during that undefinable relation with France, "hostile rather than neutral," which did not end in Treaty till October 1655,[2] Oliver's Major Sedgwick, whom we have since known in Jamaica, had laid hold to certain "French Forts," and indeed of a whole French region, the

* Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis (Gloucester, 1825;—see Antea, vol. i. p. 113), p. 412;—from the City Records of Gloucester. [1] Ib. p. 406. † Ib. p. 412.

‡ Original in the Rhode-Island Archives: Printed in Hutchinson's *Collection*, and elsewhere.

[2] Thurloe iv. 75.

region now called *Nova Scotia*, then called *Acadie;* of which Forts and of the region they command, it is Oliver's purpose, for the behoof of his New-Englanders, to retain possession;[1]—as the following small Document will testify:

To Captain John Leverett, Commander of the Forts lately taken from the French in America.

WE have received an account from Major Sedgwick of his taking several Forts from the French in America, and that he hath left you to command and secure them for Us and this Commonwealth: And although We make no doubt of your fidelity and diligence in performance of your trust, yet We have thought it necessary to let you know of how great consequence it is, that you use your utmost care and circumspection, as well to defend and keep the Forts abovesaid, as also to improve the regaining of them into Our hands to the advantage of Us and this State, by such ways and means as you shall judge conducible thereunto. And as We shall understand from you the state and condition of those places, We shall from time to time give such directions as shall be necessary.

Given at Whitehall, this 3d of April, 1655. OLIVER P.*

To which there are now, from this side of the Water, the following small excerpts to be added:

Grant of Privy-Seal: "6th June, 1655, To Major Robert Sedgwick, £1,793 7s. 8d., in full of his Account for service done against the French." And *Ditto*, "28th July, 1656, To Captain John Leverett, £4,482 3s. 11½d., in full satisfaction of all sums of money due to him upon Account of his receipts and disbursements about the Forts taken from the French in America, and of his Salary for 760 days, at 15s. *per diem*."[2]

Oliver kept his Forts and his *Acadie*, through all French Treaties, for behoof of his New-Englanders: not till after the Restoration did the country become French again, and continue such for a century or so.

6. Is a small domestic matter:

For Colonel Alban Cox, in Herefordshire.

SIR, Whitehall, 24th April, 1655.

Having occasion to speak with you upon some Affairs relating to the Public, I would have you, as soon as this comes to your hands, to repair up hither; and upon your coming, you shall be acquainted with the particular reasons of my sending for you.

I rest, your loving friend, OLIVER P.†

No. 15.

From 1657. LAST ROYALIST PLOT.

[Vol. iii. p. 761.]

1. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vicechancellor and Convocation of our University of Oxford.*

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved,—We greet you well. Amongst the many parts of that Government which is entrusted to us, we do look upon the Universities as meriting very much of our care and thoughts: And finding that the place of Chancellor of our University of Oxford is at present in Ourself; and withal

[1] In Bancroft's *History of the United States* (Boston, 1837), i. 445, is some faint and not very exact notice of the affair.

* Original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society: Printed in their *Third Series*, vii. 121.—In Vol. ii. of the same Work (Boston, 1820), pp. 323-364, is an elaborate Notice of certain fragmentary M.S. *Records of the Long Parliament* still extant at New York,—which Notice ought to be cancelled in subsequent editions! The amazingly curious "Records" at New York turn out to be nothing but some odd volumes of the *Commons Journals* of that period; the entire Set of which, often enough copied in *manuscript*, was *printed* here about fifty years ago, and is very common indeed, in the Butter-shops and elsewhere!

[2] Fourth Report of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (London, 1843), Appendix ii. p. 192; Fifth Report (London, 1844), Appendix ii. p. 260.

† Gentleman's Magazine (London, 1788) lviii. 379.

judging that the continuance thereof in our hands may not be so consistent with the present constitution of affairs,—

We have therefore thought fit to resign the said Office, as we hereby do; and to leave you at freedom to elect some such other person thereunto, as you shall conceive meet for the execution thereof.

Our will and pleasure therefore is, That you do proceed to the election of a Chancellor with your first conveniency. Not doubting but you will, in your choice, have a just regard to the advancement and encouragement of Piety and Learning, and to the continuing and further settling of good Order and Government amongst you; which you may easily find yourselves obliged to have principally in your consideration and design, whether you respect the University itself, or the good of the Commonwealth upon which it hath so great an influence. And although our relation to you may by this means in some sort be changed, yet you may be confident we shall still retain a real affection to you, and be ready upon all occasions to seek and promote your good.

Given at Whitehall, this 3d day of July, 1657.*

2. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Bailiffs and Free Burgesses of our Town of Oswestry: These.*

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved,—We, being informed that the Free School of our Town of Oswestry is now void of a Head Schoolmaster settled there, by reason of the delinquency and ejection of Edward Paine late Schoolmaster thereof,

Have thought fit to recommend unto you Mr. John Evans, the son of Matthew Evans late of Penegos in the County of Montgomery, as a fit person, both for piety and learning, to be Head Schoolmaster of the said School; and That, so far as in yourselves 'is,' the said Mr. Evans may be forthwith settled and invested there accordingly.

Which Act of yours we shall be ready to confirm, if it be adjudged requisite and proper for us. And not doubting of the performance of this our pleasure, we commit you to God.

Given at Whitehall, this 13th day of July, 1657.†

3. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of our City of Gloucester: These.*

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved,—We greet you well. I do hear on all hands that the Cavalier party are designing to put us into blood. We are, I hope, taking the best care we can, by the blessing of God, to obviate this danger; but our intelligence on all hands being, that they have a design upon your City, we could not but warn you thereof, and give you authority, as we do hereby,

To put yourselves into the best posture you can for your own defence, by raising your Militia by virtue of your Commissioners formerly sent to you, and putting them in a readiness for the purpose aforesaid. Letting you also know that, for your better encouragement herein, you shall have a troop of horse sent you to quarter in or near your Town.

We desire you to let us hear from you from time to time what occurs to you touching the Malignant party: and so we bid you farewell.

Given at Whitehall, this 2d of December, 1657.‡

A Paper of the same date, of precisely the same purport, directed to the Authorities at Bristol, has come to us; another out of many then sent: but of course only one, if even one, requires to be inserted here.

4. Letter written directly on dissolving the Parliament; probably one of many, to the like effect, despatched that day:

* Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

† *Endowed Grammar Schools*, by N. Carlisle (London, 1818), ii. 369, Art, *Salop*.

‡ City Records of Gloucester (in Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis, p. 419).

For Colonel Cox, Captain of the Militia Troop in our County of Hertford, These. For our special service.

To be left with the Postmaster of St. Albans: to be speedily sent.

SIR, Whitehall, 4th February, 1657.

By our last Letters to you, we acquainted you what danger the Commonwealth was then in from the old Cavalier Party, who were designing new insurrections within us, whilst their Head and Master was contriving to invade us from abroad;—and thereupon desired your care and vigilancy for preserving the peace, and apprehending all dangerous persons.

Our intelligence of that kind still continues. And we are more assured of their resolutions to put in execution their designs aforesaid within a very short time; 'they' being much encouraged from some late actings of some turbulent and unquiet spirits, as well in this Town as elsewhere, who, to frustrate and render vain and fruitless all those good hopes of Settlement which we had conceived from the proceedings of Parliament before their Adjournment in June last, framed a treasonable Petition to the House of Commons, by the name of the "Parliament of the Commonwealth of England;" designing thereby not only the overthrow of the late *Petition and Advice* of the Parliament, but of all that hath been done these seven years; hoping thereby to bring all things into confusion;—and were in a very tumultuous manner procuring subscriptions thereunto, giving out, that they were encouraged to it by some Members of the House of Commons.

And the truth is, the Debates that have been in that House since their last meeting have had a tendency to the stirring up and cherishing such humours;—having done nothing in fourteen days but debate Whether they should own the Government of these Nations, as it is contained in the *Petition and Advice*, which the Parliament at their former sitting had invited us to accept of, and had sworn us unto; they themselves also having taken an Oath upon it before they went into the House. And we, judging these things to have in them very dangerous consequences to the Peace of this Nation, and to the loosening all the bonds of Government; and being hopeless of obtaining supplies of Money, for answering the exigencies of the Nation from such men as are not satisfied with the Foundation we stand upon, we thought it of absolute necessity to dissolve this present Parliament,—which I have done this day,—And to give you notice thereof: that you, with your Troop, may be most vigilant for the suppressing of any disturbance which may arise from any party whatsoever. And if you can hear of any persons who have been active to promote the aforesaid treasonable Petition, that you apprehend them, and give an account thereof to us forthwith. And we do further let you know, That we are sensible of your want of pay for yourself and troop; and do assure you that effectual care shall be taken therein, and that without delay. And so I rest, Your loving friend, OLIVER P.*

5. *For the Commanders of the Militia of the City of Gloucester: These.*

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 11th March, 1657.

We are informed that the Enemy from Flanders intend to invade us very suddenly, and to that purpose have Twenty-two Ships of War ready in the Harbour of Ostend, and are preparing others also which they have bought in Holland, and some men are ready to be put on board them. And at the same time an Insurrection is intended in this Nation. And the time for the executing these designs is intended by them to be very sudden.

We have therefore thought fit to give you notice hereof; and to signify to you our pleasure, That you put yourselves into the best posture you can for the securing the City of Gloucester, and put the arms into such hands as are true and faithful to us and this Commonwealth. We desire you to be very careful, and to let us hear from you of the receipt of this, and what you shall do in pursuance of this Letter. I rest, Your very assured friend, OLIVER P.†

* Gentleman's Magazine (London, 1788), lviii. 313.

† City Records of Gloucester (in Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis, p. 421).

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